Falklands Wars

Timeline History of the Falkland Islands

Volume 1
1481 to 1815

Britain

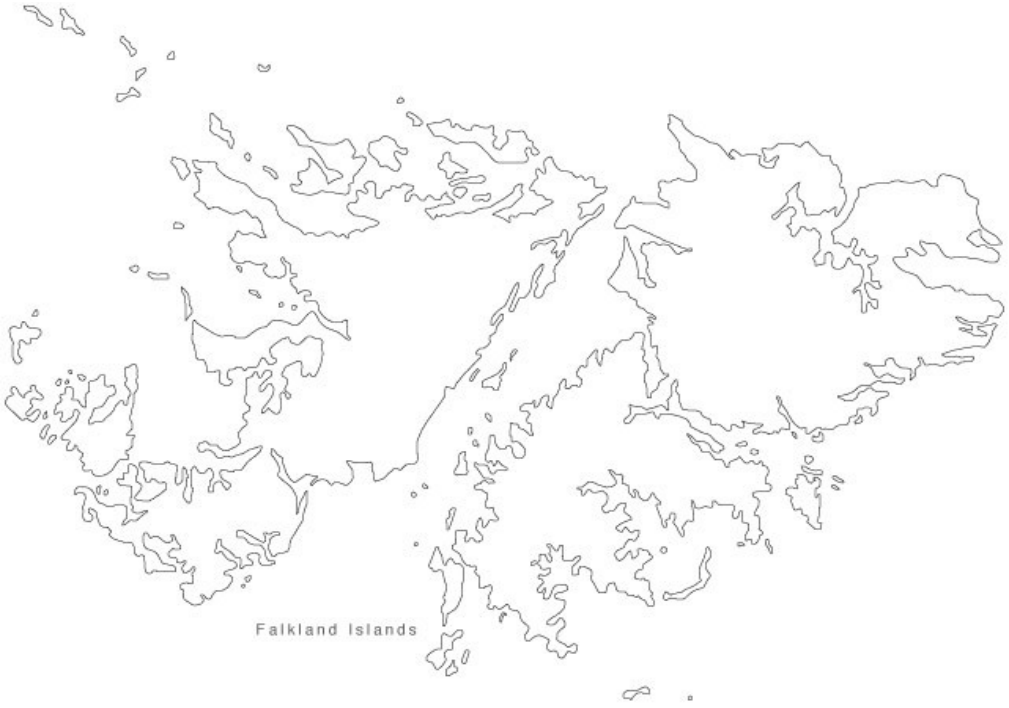
v.

France & Spain

Roger Lorton

"Not so much a timeline as a blow-by-blow account"

2nd Edition 2026



Falklands Wars - Timeline History of the Falkland Islands: Volume 1 - 1481 to 1815

Roger Lorton 2026 2nd ed.

Long-time Falklands activist and researcher, Peter Pepper, once described this work as a “Research Resource”, and so it is. The information here has been unearthed from numerous sources including the archives of the UK, the USA, Spain, France and Argentina. From both original documents and secondary sources including books, journals, newspapers and biographies. In many ways it is a book of books as I have been inclined not just to cite my sources, but to quote them. Indeed, wherever possible, I have used the voices of the people who were there. The witnesses. Commenced in 2009, this work has kept me pleasurably employed in all the years since. Please feel free to dip in and use whatever pleases you.

If anything here leads to new information, sources or discoveries, it would be good to hear of them. Messages can be left at https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/

Before commencing the timeline, a few geographical and geological facts would seem appropriate. The Falkland Islands archipelago is situated in the south-west of the South Atlantic Ocean between latitudes 51° 00' and 52° 25' South and between longitudes 57° 25' and 61° 25' West; with the central point at 51° 40'. Situated an average distance of some 500 kilometres from the coasts of South America, the archipelago consists of two main islands accompanied by some 748 smaller islands, islets and rocks. Geologically, the archipelago is unconnected to Patagonia, sitting on its own sub-plate which, at some time in the distant past separated from what is now South Africa and drifted west until it collided with the South American plate that it now rests against.[1]

1 Depiction of the Atlantic Ocean above by Tentotwo 2012. For a full explanation of the geology of the islands, see - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/geology-of-the-falkland-islands-1999.pdf

1481 – in **June**, a Papal Bull, *Aeterni regis,* issued by Pope Sixtis IV, confirms the *Treaty of Alcáçovas* 1479 between Castile (Spain) and Portugal. One of the accords reached at Alcáçovas recognises two zones of maritime influence. Castile's sovereignty over the Canary Islands is confirmed, while Portugal gains the right to explore, conquer and trade in the Atlantic to the south of the Canaries.

> "*The lands discovered and to be discovered, found and to be found … and all the islands already discovered and to be discovered, and any other island which might be found and conquered from the Canary islands beyond toward Guinea.*"

July 6th, from the English port of Bristol, two ships, *George* and *Trinity*, sail; "*… to serch & fynde a certain Isle called the Isle of Brasile.*" [2]

"There is indeed one well-attested voyage of 1480 conducted by well-known navigators, seeking this insular Brazil, and it was not the earliest." [3]

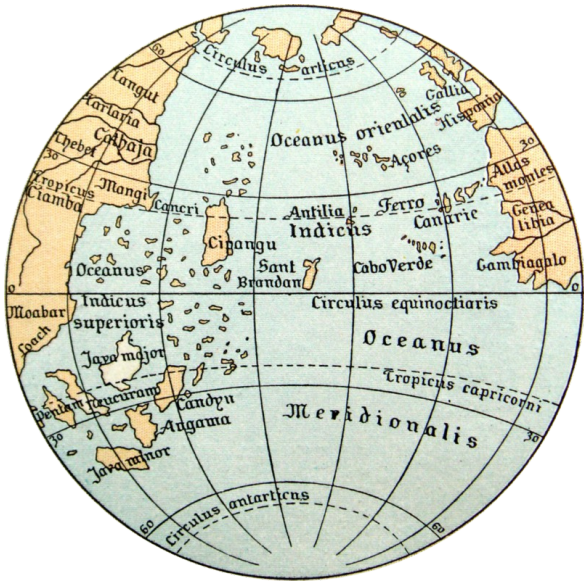
"*… since, according to John Day, the English discovered America before 1497 they must have done so either before 1480 or between 1481 and, … 1494. 1481 or a date near it would best fit the phraseology of the Day letter on the information now available…*" [4]

1491 – July 25th, reports reach Madrid, of the ships leaving Bristol.

"The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships, in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities,.."[5]

1492 – in Nuremberg, a globe produced by Martin Behaim (Martin of Bohemia) reveals how little is actually known of what lies to the west of Europe. He calls the globe, *Erdapfel* (earth apple). [6]

"(Behaim) found before Christopher Columbus the American islands and before Fernan Magellan the sound which bears the latter's name." [7]



2 *John Day to Almirante Mayor* 1497 (?) quoted in *The Argument for the English Discovery of America between 1480 and 1494* David B. Quinn 1961 in *The Geographical Journal* vol.27 no.3 pp.277-285. Brasil or Hy-Brasil was a semi-mythical island believed to lie to the west of Ireland. Almirante Mayor is believed to have been Christopher Columbus. The importance of Day's letter lies in references to land seen by the men of Bristol, before Cabot's own expedition(s). Day's letter was discovered in the Spanish archive at Simancas in 1956, and published by Dr. Louis Andre Vigneras.

3 *The Island of the Seven Cities* William H. Babcock 1919 in *Geographical Review* vol.7 no.2 (Feb. 1919) pp.98-106

4 Quinn 1961. *cf.* 1497

5 *Don Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, 25 July 1498* in Babcock 1919. *cf.* 1498

6 The world's oldest surviving globe shows islands between Europe and Asia. It is not clear whether these fragments of land were from myths, imagination or sightings. Little is known about Martin Behaim, but he is occasionally credited with providing information that helped Magellan to discover his Strait. However, any connection between Behaim (died 1507) and Magellan (sailed 1519) is largely a matter of conjecture. In 1682 there were calls for Magellan's Strait to be renamed the Behaim Strait.

7 Wagenseil, a Nuremberg scholar of the year 1682, quoted in *The Representation on Maps of the Magalhães Straits before their Discovery* Richard Hennig 1948 in *Imago Mundi* 1948 vol.5 pp.32-37

August 3rd, from Spain, a Castilian expedition of three ships, seeking a westerly route to China and led by Italian navigator Christopher Columbus, departs. [8]

October 12th, the Castilian ships sight land. [9]

> *"After sunset steered their original course west and sailed twelve miles an hour till two hours after midnight, going ninety miles, which are twenty-two leagues and a half; and as the Pinta was the swiftest sailer, and kept ahead of the admiral, she discovered land and made the signals which had been ordered. The land was first seen by a sailor called Rodrigo de Triana,.. At two o'clock in the morning the land was discovered, at two leagues' distance;... Presently they descried people, naked, and the admiral landed in the boat, which was armed, along with Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, captain of the Nina..."* [10]

1493 – March 4th, returning to Europe, Columbus lands first in Lisbon where he informs the Portuguese Court of the new discovery. King John II promptly claims the new lands for Portugal, citing the *Treaty of Alcáçovas* of 1479. The Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand, disagree and petition Pope Alexander VI to arbitrate. Valencian by birth, the Pope is Roderic Llançol i de Borja.

May 3rd, in Rome, Pope Alexander issues *Inter Caetera,* assigning the newly discovered lands, to Spain.

> *"... all and singular the aforesaid countries and islands thus unknown and hitherto discovered by your envoys and to be discovered hereafter, provided however they at no time have been in the actual temporal possession of any Christian owner, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances of the same... Moreover we command you... you should appoint to the aforesaid countries and islands worthy and God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and residents in the Catholic faith."*

Portugal's Ambassador to the Papal Court promptly protests.

May 4th, responding to Portugal's complaint, Pope Alexander issues a new, modified, *Inter Caetera*.

> *"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile... We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants, ...Wherefore, as becomes Catholic kings and princes,.. you have purposed ... to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands. ...*
>
> *And in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with the benefit of our apostolic favour, we, of our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but out of our own sole largess and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter*

8 Christopher Columbus is an anglicized rendition of the admiral's name. In Spain, he answered to Cristóbal Colón. In Portugal he was known as Cristóvão Colombo. The expedition had been sponsored by the joint crowns of Spain – Isabel and Fernando. Columbus was titled 'Grand Admiral' and had been promised 10% of any profits.

9 October 21, 1492 in the Gregorian Calendar. Which one of the islands of the Bahamas was first seen remains uncertain.

10 From the *Journal* of Columbus 1492. The admiral was inclined to speak of himself in the third person. Almost everything about the expedition is contested. From the names of the ships, to the name of the first person to sight land. Columbus would claim that honour for himself; together with the pension that went with it.

and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and the south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to be distant ***one hundred leagues*** *towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. …* [11]

Let no one therefore, infringe, or with rash boldness contravene, this our recommendation, exhortation, requisition, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. Should anyone presume to attempt this, be it known to him that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."

"… the Pontifical concession can and must be invoked by Argentina as a just cause for the possession which at the time was exercised by Spain." [12]

"… the Bulls were legally irrelevant. If the papal bulls were not considered as valid between the two Iberian powers, it is difficult to maintain that they were good titles against other states." [13]

"It was part of Augustinian theory that, the world belonging to God, mankind held no more than a right of user to the land. It was for the Pope as God's representative on Earth to grant rights to lands not already part of Christendom…" [14]

"St. Augustin argued that the whole world was the property of God. The pope, as God's vice-regent on earth, could rightfully grant unoccupied lands to Christian monarchs for the purpose of converting the indigenous pagans… Pope Alexander VI issued bulls that granted Spain exclusive right of occupancy and control over the region west of a line 100 leagues west of the islands "commonly called de los Azores y Cabo Verde" and running from pole to pole." [15]

"A second bull called Inter caetera, but dated 4 May 1493, … set a demarcation line extending 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands in a north-south direction … It granted the Catholic Monarchs ownership and possession of the lands … west of the demarcation line, while the Portuguese held dominion over the ocean to the east of the referred line until the African coast, except for the Canary Islands." [16]

"Even though the Pope's authority to distribute planet earth among Christian nations may have been accepted in the 15th and part of the 16th centuries, and only by some of those Christian nations, it is no longer realistic to imagine that it may be accepted as a universally "prevailing right" in modern times." [17]

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11 My emphasis. A league was approximately three miles or 4.8 km. The Romans measured it as 1,500 paces. However, land leagues of 2.63 miles were used by the Spanish in early surveys of south-west America.

12 *Las Malvinas ante el Derecho* Bonafacio del Carril in *La Nación* August 2, 1964

13 *The Falkland Islands in the European Treaty System 1493-1833* Jörg Fisch 1983, in *Jahrbuch für Internationales Recht,* (*German Yearbook of International Law*) 1983 vol. 26 p.108

14 *Sovereignty and the Falkland Islands Crisis* D.W. Greig in *Australian Year Book of International Law* 1983 vol.8

15 *The Sovereignty Dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands* Lowell S. Gustafson 1988 p.5

16 *Treaty of Tordesillas* Thomas Duve 2013 in *Max Planck Encyclopedia of International Law*

17 *Falklands or Malvinas: Myths & Facts* Manuel P. Peña & Juan A. Peña 2018

"... the 1493 Papal Bulls ... were applied in medieval Christian Europe for more than 50 years without objections from other Christian sovereigns.... these legal instruments are part of the colonial practice of the fifteenth century and should therefore be assessed in light of the Christian medieval law regarding the temporal powers of popes. The hypothesis that papal bulls might have constituted titles of territorial sovereignty ... should therefore be entertained." [18]

"In those days, the Pope not only had religious authority, but also temporal authority in areas of international law amongst the Christian nations of Europe. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Pope's temporal authority replaced the former Roman Imperial authority. ... The papal ruling, following the discovery of America by the Crown of Castilla... was in principle accepted by the Christian kingdoms of Europe." [19]

"*... the papal Bulls broke the basic legal principle nemo dat quod non habet [no one gives what he does not possess] – the Pope did not possess those lands, so he was not entitled to "award" them to anyone – ... the Bulls were not accepted by the kings of England or France."* [20]

September 26th, the Pope issues a further edict, *Dudum siquidem*. This prohibits other nations from:

> *"... navigating, fishing or exploring the islands or mainlands or for any reason or under any pretext whatever... without express or special licence of (Spain)..."*

"At the time of the pronouncement of the Papal Bulls by Alexander VI, England accepted the authority of the Pope. It was not until 1531 that Henry VIII proclaimed himself supreme head of the English Church, having published the Act of Supremacy in 1534." [21]

Portugal, believing that Pope Alexander's *Bulls* breach the *Treaty of Alcáçovas,* demands a new accord with their Iberian neighbour. Spain, wishing to avoid a costly war, agrees to a conference.

1494 – between **March** and early **May**, talks between the two Kingdoms are held at Medina de Campo.

May 8th, Spanish/Portuguese negotiations move to Tordesillas.

June 7th, reaching an agreement, Spain and Portugal sign the *Treaty of Tordesillas.* [22]

> *"... for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and love of the said King of Portugal for the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., ... they, their said representatives, acting in their name and by virtue of their powers herein described, covenanted and agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said ocean sea, from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole. This boundary or line shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of **370 leagues** west of the Cape Verde Islands,... And all other lands... which*

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18 *The acquisition of original titles of territorial sovereignty in the law and practice of European colonial expansion.* M. Hébié 2018 in *Research Handbook on Territorial Disputes in International Law* M. Kohen & W. Hébié (eds) 2018 p.31.

19 *Falklands or Malvinas* Conrado Etchebarne Bullrich 2000 p.48

20 *Falklands Facts and Fallacies: The Falkland Islands in History and International Law* Graham Pascoe 2020 p.12

21 *Ocupación Británica De Las Malvinas En Violación Del Principio Pacta Sunt Servanda. Consecuencias Jurídicas* Zlata Drnas de Clément 2019. Recognising a Pope's authority in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters is not the same as accepting his authority regarding temporal concerns.

22 Pope Alexander's 100 leagues became Tordesillas's 370. A denial of the Pope's edicts. Treaties are a form of contract, binding those that sign them. This was a bilateral treaty whereby Spain and Portugal bound each other to a division of the Americas. It carried no legal or diplomatic weight over other nations (*pacta tertiis nec nocent nec prosunt / agreements neither harm nor benefit third parties*). Rebuffed, the Papal Court refused to recognise the treaty for 12 years. In 1750, the *Treaty of Madrid* between Portugal and Spain, annulled the *Treaty of Tordesillas* of 1494. This was confirmed by the *Treaty of San Ildefonso* of 1777, which declared Tordesillas null and void, as if it had never been signed.

have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound ... belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., and to their successors... The said representatives of both the said parties agree and assent that within the ten months immediately following the date of this treaty their said constituent lords shall despatch two or four caravels, namely, one or two by each one of them, a greater or less number, as they may mutually consider necessary. These vessels shall meet at the Grand Canary Island during this time, and each one of the said parties shall send certain persons in them, to wit, pilots, astrologers, sailors, and any others they may deem desirable. These said vessels... shall lay a direct course to the west, to the distance of the said 370 leagues, ... When this point is reached, such point will constitute the place and mark for measuring degrees of the sun or of north latitude either by daily runs measured in leagues, or in any other manner that shall mutually be deemed better. This said line shall be drawn north and south ... from the said Arctic pole to the said Antarctic pole... This line shall be considered as a perpetual mark and bound, in such wise that the said parties... or their future successors, shall be unable to deny it, or erase or remove it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever. And should, perchance, the said line and bound from pole to pole, as aforesaid, intersect any island or mainland, at the first point of such intersection of such island or mainland by the said line, some kind of mark or tower shall be erected, and a succession of similar marks shall be erected in a straight line from such mark or tower, in a line identical with the above-mentioned..." [23]

"... the scanty international code of the Middle Ages could deal with questions of vassalage and supremacy, and settle the legal effects of the conquest or cessation of territory; but it was powerless to decide what acts were necessary in order to obtain dominion over newly discovered territory, or how great an extent of country could be acquired by one act of discovery or colonization." [24]

"The claim of Spain and Portugal to divide the American continent between them, based as it was upon an award given in entire ignorance of the geographical facts, would in no case have been respected for any length of time by other interested Powers." [25]

"The Catholic Monarchs thereby waived their rights derived from the line established by Alexander VI. ... In the same document, the parties established that the Pope should be asked to confirm their agreement... Obviously, other European powers did not feel bound by the agreements between the two parties." [26]

"Neither the papal Bulls of 1493 nor the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had the slightest validity as regards the possession of the Falkland Islands. Neither Spain nor Portugal regarded the papal Bulls as binding, and breached them by signing the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Treaty of Tordesillas applied to no countries except Spain and Portugal – from the point of view of all other countries, it was res inter alios acta ["a matter arranged between others"]." [27]

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23 My emphasis. Spain ratified the agreement on July 2, 1494. Portugal on September 5, 1494. Difficulties arose almost immediately. Firstly, the joint expedition to demarcate the line never set off. Secondly, both Spain and Portugal had different ideas as to what should constitute a '*league*' and, finally, the location within the Cape Verde Islands, that was to be the point from which measurements were to be taken, was never determined.

24 *The Principles of International Law* T. J. Lawrence 1905

25 Foreign Office *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

26 Duve 2013

27 Pascoe 2020 p. 342

"Despite the non-binding nature of the papal Bulls and the private, bipartite nature of the Treaty of Tordesillas, a potent myth has become established in Argentina to the effect that they gave Spain and Portugal valid title to the Americas under the international law of that time, and that they therefore support Argentina's present claim to the Falkland Islands. ... In fact international law at that time did not give the Pope power to make secular law binding on states, ... It is nonsense to maintain that the papal Bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas established Spain's titles to the Falklands or that they excluded other countries from South America." [28]

"The Malvinas Islands ... had been part of the area under the jurisdiction of Spain since the entry into force of the first international treaties that delimited the "New World" – such as the Pontifical Bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. In other words, since the time shortly after the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas." [29]

1496 – March 5th, in England, believing that further new lands lie undiscovered to the west, and in defiance of any pretensions of Rome, Spain and Portugal, King Henry VII issues *Letters Patent* to John Cabot.[30]

> *"Be it known and made manifest that we have given and granted ... to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancio, sons of the said John, ... full and free authority, faculty and power to sail to all parts, regions and coasts of the eastern, western and northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of whatsoever burden and quality they may be, and with so many and with such mariners and men as they may wish to take with them in the said ships, at their own proper costs and charges, to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christians. ...*
>
> *And that the before-mentioned John and his sons ... may conquer, occupy and possess whatsoever such towns, castles, cities and islands by them thus discovered that they may be able to conquer, occupy and possess, as our vassals and governors lieutenants and deputies therein, acquiring for us the dominion, title and jurisdiction of the same towns, castles, cities, islands and mainlands discovered;.."* [31]

March 28th, Spain's Ambassador to England, is sent instructions to discourage any expedition.

> *"We are of opinion that this is a scheme of the French King's to persuade the King of England to undertake this so that he will give up other affairs. Take care that you prevent the king of England from being deceived in this or anything else of the kind... it is also clear that no arrangements can be concluded in this matter in that country (England) without harm to us or to the King of Portugal."* [32]

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28 *The Falklands Saga* Graham Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.59-60

29 *The Question of the Malvinas Islands: Territorial Integrity and Peaceful Resolution of Disputes* Santiago Cafiero 2023 in *Horizons* Spring 2023 no.23 p.22-33. When written, Santiago Cafiero was Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs. International only in the sense that two sovereign nations had signed it. The treaty placed no obligations on those sovereign States that were not a party to it.

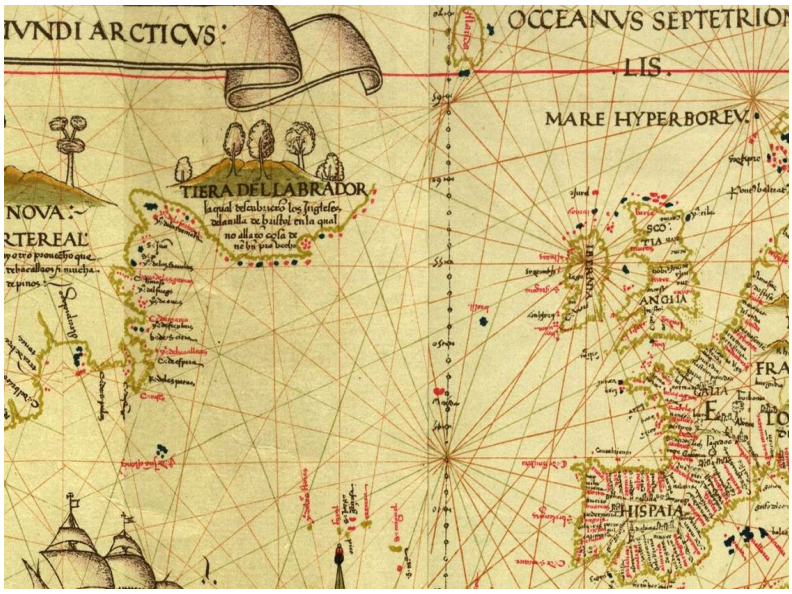
30 A type of legal instrument issuing a government order or grant. John Cabot is an Anglicized version of his name as he appears to have been Genoese or Venetian. Some sources refer to him as Juan Caboto Montecalunya. Cabot sailed in the summer of 1496, but encountered adverse weather conditions forcing him to turn back.

31 *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534* H. B. Biggar (ed.) 1911, pp. 8-10. Latin text, first printed by Hakluyt in 1582. *PRO 178/8* (Public Record Office).

32 *Ferdinand & Isabella to Gonzales de Puebla March 28, 1496* quoted in Hébié 2018

"... when Ferdinand was informed that Henry VII was contemplating an expedition to the Indies, he contented himself with instructing his ambassador to take care to point out to his brother sovereign that such expeditions were very uncertain enterprises and that it was his opinion that the idea had been thrown in the way of the English King by the King of France with the premeditated intention of distracting him from other business." [33]

"These instructions came a little bit late. King Henry had already granted to the Cabot's letters patent authorizing them to discover and conquer territories inhabited by Infidels on March 5, 1496. However, these letters required that they respect the rights of other Christian Princes. More specifically, Henry VII authorized the Cabots to navigate on the northern, eastern, western seas. Several commentators have noticed that Henry VII excluded only the southern seas, where he assumed that territories under Spain's sovereignty based on the papal bull of 4 May 1493 were located." [34]



1497 – May 2nd, from Bristol, Cabot sets out for a second time, sailing west.

June 24th, Cabot sights land; *"This year, on St. John the Baptist's Day, the land of America was found by the Merchants of Bristowe in a shippe of Bristowe, called the Mathew; the which said the ship departed from the port of Bristowe, the second day of May, and came home again the 6th of August next following."* [35]

John Cabot lands and claims the new discovery for the King of England, Henry VII.

"The English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any value. It was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol." [36]

July 8th, from Lisbon in Portugal, Vasco da Gama sails in search of a southern sea route to India.[37]

August 6th, Cabot returns to England.

"He came back from the 1497 voyage convinced that he had found the land of the Great Khan and that a further penetration down the coast of Asia would bring him Marco Polo's Cipango." [38]

"His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having, it would seem, discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England to the westward. These successes led His Majesty at once to entertain the intention of sending him with fifteen or twenty vessels." [39]

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33 *Spanish Claims to a Share in the Newfoundland Fisheries in the Eighteenth Century* Vera Lee Brown 1925
34 Hébié 2018 pp.51-52. No evidence offered; nor are the 'commentators' identified.
35 *Fust Manuscript: The Chronicle of Maurice Toby 1565.* Cabot is believed to have sighted Newfoundland.
36 Inscription on a world map by Diogo Ribeiro's dated 1529, identifying an area marked *Tierra del Labrador.* In 1529, Sebastian Cabot was Ribeiro's superior in the service of the Spanish Crown, at Seville.
37 Until this time the route involved a voyage across the Mediterranean Sea, followed by a land crossing. Vasco de Gama reached India, via the Cape of Good Hope, in May, 1498. Credited with opening up Portuguese trade with the Indian Ocean, much to Spain's annoyance.
38 Quinn 1961
39 *Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan August 24, 1497* in Babcock 1919.

Englishman John Day writes to Admiral Columbus to inform him of Cabot's discovery.

"It is considered certain that the cape of the said land was found and discovered in other times by the men of Bristol who found 'Brasil' as your Lordship knows. It was called the Ysle of Brasil and it is assumed and believed to be the mainland that the Bristol men found..." [40]

1498 – May 30th, Columbus sails from Spain on his third voyage to the west. Three of the fleet of six head directly for the island of Hispaniola. Columbus leads the others to the south-west to seek a land believed, by King John II of Portugal, to exist there. [41]

July 25th, from London, Spain's Ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, writes to his Court.

> *"I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents, [of] which he was informed [by] some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon asking assistance for his discoveries. The people of Bristol have,* ***for the last seven years****, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships, in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese ... I have seen on a chart the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what Your Highnesses already possess. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September.*
>
> *I write this because the King of England has often spoken to me on this subject, and he thinks that Your Highnesses will take great interest in it... I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of Your Majesties; but though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them. I believe that your Highnesses are already informed of this matter; and I do not now send the carta, or mapa mundi which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question was not the said islands."* [42]

"... when all England was ringing with the news of Cabot's success in his undertaking, the Spanish Ambassador did indeed mildly represent to Henry VII that in his opinion the new lands were within his master's dominions, but when the English King, who had been no party to the Treaty of Tordesillas, showed a dislike for the minister's views, the Spanish court seemed not to have sent orders to its representative to make a more official and serious protest, and the controversy was allowed to drop. ... The English, on this occasion, permitted no time to elapse before following up the advantage which Cabot's voyage had given them ..." [43]

"How far Ayala was speaking precisely and authoritatively it is also impossible to say, but it is reasonable to take his statement at its face value that a series of voyages began in 1490 or 1491 and was continued in, perhaps, each of the six years following." [44]

July 31st, Colombus sights land. [45]

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40 Quoted in Quinn 1961. The original is in the *Archivo General de Simancas, Estado de Castilla, leg.2 fo.6.* Day's letter, written in fluent Spanish, was undated, but is believed to have been written either in 1497 or early 1498. Who John Day was remains uncertain. Probably a spy. It has been suggested that Day's real name was Hugh Say, the black sheep of a well-connected family of merchants. See *John Day of Bristol and the English Voyages across the Atlantic before 1497* Alwyn A. Ruddock 1966 in *The Geographical Journal* vol.132 no.2 pp.225-233

41 A belief allegedly based upon a discovery of strange '*canoes*' on the coast of West Africa.

42 *Don Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella 25 July 1498* in Babcock 1919. My emphasis

43 Brown 1925

44 Quinn 1961

45 Trinidad Island, lying just off the coast of South America.

1499 – from Bristol, William Weston sails to explore the new lands found by Cabot. [46]

Spain and England sign a *Treaty of Trade and Amity*. [47]

In Lisbon, the *Casa de Guiné* is renamed *Casa de India*. [48]

1500 – March 9th, a Portuguese expedition led by navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral, sails for India. [49]

April 22nd, sailing far to the west of Africa in search of advantageous winds, Cabral's ships sight the north-east coast of South America. Cabral claims the land for Portugal.

"... the Portuguese had almost certainly been aware of the existence of the South American continent some years before Columbus made his voyage. Although it cannot be proved, it is very probable that Cabral had received instructions to visit this new land on his way to India." [50]

Cantabrian cartographer, Juan de la Cosa, produces a chart of Columbus' discoveries in the Americas (next page). He anticipates the Gulf of Mexico and reveals part of the northern coast of the South American continent.

"The representation of the New World in Juan de la Cosa planisphere is based on the various missions that took place from 1492 on, led by Columbus and other explorers in the service of the Spanish crown, as well as on those led by Giovanni Cabotto (for England), in the north (1497-98), and Pedro Álvares Cabral (for Portugal), in the south (1500). Although the planisphere contains the earliest known depiction of what we now designate (as) the Americas, the idea that this landmass was a continent separated from Asia was most certainly absent from (its) creator. ... While the northern coast of South America, to the west of the point reached by Pinzón in 1500, appears more or less correctly delineated, that is not the case of the coastline of Central and North America, as well as the coast of Brazil, to the south and east of the same point. Although information about the arrival of Giovanni Cabotto to the coast of North America, and of Cabral to Brazil, has certainly reached Spain before 1500, the apparently conjectural depictions of both regions in the planisphere suggest that such information did not include maps." [51]

46 The only evidence is a document ordering a stay of legal action against Weston while he voyaged to '*new founde land*.' See *Henry VII and the Bristol expeditions to North America: the Condon documents* Evan T. Jones 2009

47 See 1515

48 The *Casa da India* was, in effect, a colonial ministry, responsible for managing and charting Portugal's new discoveries. Its world map, the *Padrão Real*, reputedly hung from the ceiling with copies produced for navigators in the Royal service. All that survives today is the *Cantino Planisphere* (see next page).

49 At least that was its stated purpose.

50 *The Antarctic Problem* E. W. H. Christie 1951. In 1849, Portuguese Emperor Dom Pedro II suggested that this was no accidental discovery, but that Cabral had specific instructions to visit a coast already known to Portugal's mariners.

51 *The planisphere of Juan de la Cosa (1500): The first Padrón Real or the last of its kind?* Joaquim Alves Gaspar 2015 in *Terrae Incognitae* 2017 49:1 pp.48-68. A North-South line depicted as crossing the Caribbean is sometimes thought to indicate the Tordesillas line. If so, it is in the wrong place. Some experts, however, see it as more likely a line of null magnetic declination, as determined by the observations of Columbus in 1492.

1501 – March 19th, in England, further *Letters Patent* grant permission to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashurst and John Thomas, of Bristol to; *"... undertake explorations in the west."*

May 13th, from Lisbon, a Portuguese expedition in three caravels, led by Captain-General Gonçalo Coelho, sails to explore Cabral's discovery. Florentine astronomer Amerigo Vespucci is aboard the flagship as an observer. [52]

August 17th, Gonçalo Coelho's ships reach the Brazilian coast. They turn south.

In **December**, a planisphere of the known world is commissioned in Lisbon. [53]

1502 – January 1st, Coelho's expedition reaches Guanabara Bay at 23° S. He names it Rio de Janeiro. Portugal's voyagers then continue south.

April 3rd, Coelho's ships are beset by a storm.

> *"And we sailed on this course until we found ourselves at such an altitude that the South Pole had an elevation of full 52 degrees above our horizon, and we no longer saw the stars of either Ursa Minor or the Ursa Major. And we were already distant from the harbor whence we set forth full 500 leagues on a south-eastern course; and this was the third [day] of April. And on this day there began so violent a sea-tempest that it made us lower sail altogether; and we ran on with bare mast in a violent wind which came from the south-west bringing with it huge seas, and the wind was very violent. Such was the tempest that the fleet stood in much fear.*
>
> *The nights were very long; for we had a night on the seventh day of April which was of 15 hours; because the sun was at the end of Aries, and it this region it was winter, as Your Magnificence may well be aware. And while going along in this tempest, on the seventh day of April we sighted a new land, about 20 (leagues) of which we skirted; and we found it all barren coast; and we saw in it neither harbor nor inhabitants.*

52 Amerigo Vespucci would seem to have been a resident of Seville at this time.
53 *The Vesconte Maggiolo World Map of 1504 in Fano, Italy* Gregory McIntosh 2015

I believe that this was because the cold was so great that nobody in the fleet could withstand or endure it. So, seeing ourselves in such peril, and in such a tempest that scarcely could we see one ship from the other, on account of the high seas which were running and the excessive thickness of the weather, we arranged with the admiral to signal the fleet to put about, and that we should leave the land and turn our course toward Portugal." [54]

"It seems to me, that we can attribute the first discovery (of the Falklands) to the famous Amerigo Vespucci who, in his third voyage for the discovery of the America, traversed the north coast in the month of April, 1502. He did not know, indeed, whether it belonged to an island or whether it was part of the continent; but it is easy to conclude from the road he had followed, from the latitude at which he had arrived, from the very description which he gives of this coast, that it was that of the Malouines." [55]

"It has been asserted, that Americus Vespucius saw (the Falklands) in 1502, but if the account of Americus himself is authentic, he could not have explored farther south than the right bank of La Plata. In 1501-2 Americus Vespucius, then employed by the King of Portugal, sailed 600 leagues south and 150 leagues west from Cape San Agostinho (lat. 8° 20′ S.) along the coast of a country then named Terra Sancte Crucis. His account of longitude may be very erroneous, but how could his latitude have erred thirteen degrees in this his southernmost voyage? ... Vespucius has already robbed Columbus and his predecessor, Cabot, of the great honour of affixing their names to the New World – shall he also be tacitly permitted to claim even the trifling distinction of discovering the Falklands, when it is evident that he could not have seen them?" [56]

"The philologist no less than the historian is puzzled by the Vespucci 'Letters'; ... Vespucci's writings have a strange and complicated history. They have suffered at the hands of translators, copyists, printers, and even, it is to be feared, at those of modern editors. The texts on which we base our judgements are vastly different from those which left the author's hand. ..." [57]

"Priority of discovery of the Falkland Islands has sometimes been attributed to Amerigo Vespucci, who possibly explored the South Atlantic on his third voyage (1502). It is noteworthy that Vespucci, a Florentine by birth, sailed on this famous voyage under the Portuguese flag. The case in his favour is slight, for Vespucci's renown as an explorer rests almost entirely on his own letters and is largely uncorroborated evidence. Competent authorities – Humboldt and Varnhagen – have discounted his claims." [58]

"... the Ruysch map of 1508 has a legend indicating that Vespucci reached 50° south ..." [59]

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54 Part of a letter allegedly from Vespucci to his sponsor Piero Soderini which was written in 1504. Generally known as the *Soderini Letter* or *Lettera*, this missive is controversial and regarded by many as a forgery. Actual evidence is scarce; but there is, however, a little circumstantial evidence in favour of Vespucci's authorship. It is often forgotten that this correspondence was published while Amerigo Vespucci was alive; and as sixteenth-century European cartography was a small community, it seems likely that Vespucci would have been aware of the letter's circulation. There is no suggestion that he ever challenged its authorship. See also *Amerigo Vespucci* Alberto Magnaghi 1924.

55 *A Voyage Round the World performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* Louis-Antoine Bougainville 1772. Malouines is the French name for the Falkland Islands.

56 *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ship Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836.. Vol. II Proceedings of the Second Expedition, 1831 – 1836 under the command of Captain Robert Fitzroy* R. Fitzroy 1839

57 *Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere. The year 1504* Prof. George T. Northrup 1916 in *Vespucci Reprints: Texts & Studies IV. The Soderini Letter in Translation* Princeton University Library 1916.

58 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

59 *The Egerton MS. 2803 map and the Padron Real of Spain in 1510* Arthur Davies 1954 in *Imago Mundi* vol.11 (1954) pp.47-52. MS.2803 is an atlas purchased by the British Museum in 1895; believed to date from between 1507 and 1510. For the Ruysch chart see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg

"King Ferdinand of Spain, King Manoel of Portugal, Fernando Columbus' son, guardian of his father's fame, and the earliest chroniclers – Peter Martyr de Angleria, Ensico and Oviedo – never questioned the voyage. It was the Gymnase de Sait Dié, a sort of scientific Academy, under the patronage of Prince René of Lorraine, that the Lettera, received there from Lisbon, was translated and published in the Cosmographiae Introduction in 1507, with Hylacomilus' startling map of America. There were seven editions in the same year. This gives a guarantee for the Lettera, since no self-respecting group of scholars would have engaged in the task of translating and taking the responsibility of editing such important novelties, without the certainty of a genuine origin. ... Not one voice was raised then, to throw doubts on Vespucci's letters and voyages, when it could easily be done, by witnesses still living. ... The evidence afforded by the letters themselves, the revelations of the maps, the agreement between those two sources, and certain contemporary references, convince us that the six letters and the four voyages are genuine." [60]

"Comparing the measurements of length and the denomination of the winds used at that time, (Alurralde) came to the conclusion that Vespucci, when he reached the 52nd parallel, in front of the Strait of Magellan, not yet discovered, a storm threw him towards the East, with extremely grave danger of capsizing, and he sees the islands for the first time." [61]

"... we believe it very improbable that Vespucci discovered the Malvinas." [62]

"Vespucci was caught by a tempest which took him out into the ocean for two hundred and fifty leagues and caused him to discover the islands later called the Malvinas, on the 52nd parallel of latitude, on 7 April 1502 (or 16-17 April according to the Gregorian reform), a date which should be commemorated..." [63]

"Malvinas Islands were sighted, and the original discovery made... by Amerigo Vespucci on 7 April 1502" [64]

"... on the second voyage he spent March to early May 1502 sailing up the Brazilian coast, and crossed the equator in mid-ocean around 27 May. He went nowhere near the Falklands." [65]

September 7th, in Portugal, on the sole surviving caravel, Coelho and Vespucci sail into Lisbon. [66]

In **October**, the *Cantino Planisphere*, a product of Portugal's *Casa da India,* shows the world as it is known to Portuguese navigators. [67] The Tordesillas line is depicted spanning the world from north to south.

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60 *New light on Vespucci's third voyage: Evidence of his route and landfall* Roberto Levillier 1954 in *Imago Mundi* 1954 vol.xi. Hylacomilus is another name for German cartographer, Martin Waldseemuller.

61 *La recuperación de las Malvinas* Juan Carlos Moreno 1973 citing *El primer descubrimiento de las Islas Malvinas* Nicanor Alurralde 1967 (unpublished).

62 *The Malvinas, the South Georgias and the South Sandwich Islands: the conflict with Britain* Laurio H. Destefani 1982

63 *Nueva Historia del Descubrimiento de América* Enrique de Gandía 1989 p.167. 250 leagues are equal to some 750 miles; twice the distance that the Falklands are from the continent of South America.

64 *Las Islas Malvinas: Descubrimiento, primeros mapas y ocupación, Siglo XVI* Vicente Guillermo Arnaud 2000 p.235

65 Pascoe 2020 p.13. For a detailed analysis of Vespucci's voyages and letters, see Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.61-69

66 Did Amerigo Vespucci see the Falkland Islands? Two pieces of evidence suggest not. Firstly, from 1508 Vespucci ran the school for navigators in Seville at the Casa de Contratación (see 1503), where Spain kept its master chart. This record of the world was intended to include all certain discoveries, while dispensing with myths and imaginings. A chart for professional navigators that all Spanish captains were obliged to use. If Vespucci saw the Falkland Islands in 1502, it seems likely that he would have mentioned it to the cartographers of Seville in 1508. Second, after his death, his charts and maps were passed on to his heir, Juan Vespucci. Also, eventually, a cartographer at the Casa de Contratación, Juan Vespucci produced a chart of South America in 1523. No archipelago to the east of the Patagonian coastline was included.

67 Commissioned in December 1501. Named after Alberto Cantino, who would seem to have been the Italian spy who first obtained the planisphere, or a copy of it, through bribery. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/12/Cantino-Planisphere-1501-with-Tordesillas-line.png

1503 – in the Spanish city of Seville, the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) is founded. With responsibility for the collation of information regarding new discoveries around the world; and the training of pilots to explore for more.

"The Casa de Contratación was created by a cedula of Isabela la Catolica dated January 15, 1503 and established at the Admiralty House in Seville. ... The Casa de Contratación was the counterpart of the much older Casa da Guiné, Mina e India in Lisbon." [68] *"Initially, the Cádiz Customs Office was created, (as) an administrative entity designed in the image and likeness of two Portuguese commercial corporations – The House of Guinea (1463) and the House of the India (1499) – dedicated to regulating (the) trade of spices and other products. The first expeditions were coordinated by three royal officers under the direction of Juan Rodríguez Fonseca, but given the magnitude of the company, that precarious structure was quickly overwhelmed and the Casa de Contratación (1503), an institution intended to control all matters related to the American continent (and) which viewed cartography as a fundamental activity. Seville was chosen as (its) headquarters, ... The Trading House was responsible for the preparation of the ships, supervised the flow of products and materials, controlled and registered the goods, granted the licenses for emigration and dealt with registration and custody of discoveries. ... and, of course, make and maintain the Padrón Real."* [69]

At the Casa de Contratación, a world map is prepared (detail right). Updated with information from Amerigo Vespucci, it reveals the eastern coast of South America to around 37° South. [70]

"... using the information collected on trips and data obtained from the tidal charts of the Portuguese, those of Christopher Columbus, those of Juan de la Cosa, those of Andrés de Morales, and even globes. The first Padrón was already considered a document of great strategic value, so it was decided to keep it in a box with three keys and oath was taken the Senior Pilot so that he would not show it to no one without the consent of the officers of the Trading House." [71]

May 10th, Captain-General Gonçalo Coelho sails again for Brazil, accompanied by Cristóvão Jacques. A second ship is commanded by Amerigo Vespucci. [72]

June 24th, from Honfleur, French navigator Binot Paulmier de Gonnevile sails. Blown off course, he finds himself in southern Brazil. [73]

68 *Note on the Castiglioni planisphere* Armando Cortesao 1954 in *Imago Mundi* vol.11 (1954). *cf.* 1508

69 *El padrón real. Una base de datos cartográfica en continua actualización* Antonio Crespo Sanz 2012

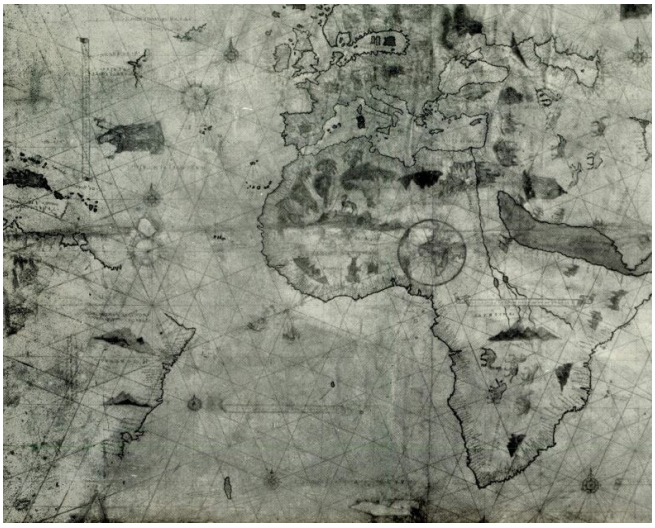
70 Now known as *Kunstmann II* (aka the 'Four-fingered' chart due to a strange feature top left). Unsigned, Vespucci is generally considered as a source and probably the cartographer. This chart is not dissimilar to the *King Hamy* map created around the same time. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/c.1502-king-hamy-chart.jpg

71 Sanz 2012

72 Following a shipwreck, all returned to Lisbon on June 28, 1504.

73 With no obvious evidence that this French ship ever saw the Falklands, some Argentine historians still include Gonnevile as a possible discoverer of the archipelago. See *Sintesis de la Geografia y la Historia de las Islas Malvinas, Georgias y Sandwich del Sur* Laurio H. Destefani 1982 (2).

1504 – June 8th, in Genoa, a world map (right) is completed by cartographer Vesconte Maggiolo (Maiollo). It shows the coast of Brazil down to approximately 30° S. [74]



"In it we see, poorly located and imprecise, our Malvinas Islands." [75]

"In the South Atlantic is an island depicted with the inscription: Ista yzolla vocatur santa trinitade inventa fuit pro rey de portugal de anno diij 1.50.3. dje ses otobj [This island called Santa Trinitade was discovered for the King of Portugal 6 October 1503]. ... This island is most likely that still known today as Trindade, 1,140 km (700 miles) from the Brazilian mainland. Santa Trinitade on the Fano-Maggiolo appears to be its earliest surviving cartographic appearance. Two other islands are also shown in the South Atlantic on the Fano-Maggiolo. One appears to be labeled stalena, clearly the modem St. Helena, probably discovered by Joao da Nova during his return voyage from India in 1502. The other island lies to the northwest of stalena and appears to be labelled izola dasansion. From the name and location, this would be the modem Ascension Island, also discovered and named by the Portuguese around this time." [76]

1506 – January 24th, a Papal edict by Pope Julius II, *Ea quae pro bono pacis (That which is good for peace)*, finally recognises the Treaty of Tordesillas.

In St. Dié, Lorraine, a German cartographer, Martin Waldseemüller, commences work on an atlas. After completing the first chart – a world map depicting the coast of Brazil – Waldseemüller sets it aside. [77]

July 28th, Pope Julius II licences the preparation and publication of a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. [78]

"The Spaniards have not even the pretence of first Discovery to the Magallanic Regions; for Magallan first came upon this Coast in 1520, and the Map of the discovered parts of the New World, in the Rome Edition of Ptolemy 1508, expressly says, "The Portuguese had then traced the Coast to 50° South without reaching its Southern Extremity"; and this Book, coming into the World with a Licence of pope Julius II, under date 28th July 1506, must be admitted, by His Catholic Majesty, as infallible Authority:.." [79]

In Genoa, cartographer Nicolay de Cavieri draws up a world map. [80]

74 The revealed Brazilian coastline stops short of the tip of Africa which, as known even then, was at 34°S latitude.
75 Arnaud 2000 p.77. Remarkable eyesight, but no indication where. There are islands, but then Brazil also has islands.
76 *Cartographic Monographs: Early Medieval Maps 400 AD – 1300 AD* J. Siebold 2015
77 This atlas was finally published in 1513, although not updated to accord with the cartographer's later works. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/waldseemuller-1513.jpg
78 See 1508
79 *The Spanish Pretensions Fairly Discussed* Alexander Dalrymple 1790
80 Also known as the Caveri Map or the Canerio map. Spain can be seen top right above Africa, with the coast of Brazil (as known) down the center. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1506-c.-caverio-map-by-nicolay-de-caveri-lisbon.jpg

1507 – April 25th, a book, *Cosmographiae Introductio,*[81] is published to accompany a new map of the known world by Martin Waldseemüller who names the newly discovered continent 'America" after Vespucci. Southern America is revealed down to the lower reaches of Brazil.[82] An island group identified as *Insule delle Pulzelle* (Island of the Maidens) is depicted mid-Atlantic.

"... maps can confuse rather than confirm the situation, as shown by diverse cartographical indications relating to the Falklands. Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 world map, based partly on data gathered during Vespucci's 1502 expedition, was the first to show an outline of North and South America as well as several isolated islands in the extreme south, including a group labelled "Insule delle Pulzelle." All these islands are shown too far east of South America to have been based on information from Vespucci, whose own account suggests that he explored no further south than the river Plate." [83]

1508 – March 22nd, King Ferdinand II of Aragon appoints Amerigo Vespucci as Pilot Major to train Spanish navigators at the Casa de Contratación in Seville.

> *"... a list of all the islands of the Indies that have been discovered until today is ordered ... a General Register which is called Padrón Real, by which all the Pilots are to be governed...*
>
> *Likewise we send to all the Pilots of our Kingdoms and Lordships, who from now on go to the lands of the known Indies or to discover new lands, or islands, or baxos, or new ports, or any other thing worthy of noting in the said Padrón Real, will give their reference to the House of Contratación of Seville, so that everything is oriented on the said Padrón Real."* [84]

"The royal pattern chart, or padrón real, was intended as a centralized repository of geographic information. By pooling all information into one centralized chart and updating it regularly, officials meant to create a resource they could call on at need. Furthermore, by making sure there was only one such reference chart, they provided a standard by which to measure all other charts in use. For all the flaws in the implementation of this plan, it was essentially a success. ... Pilots were regularly asked to provide information about their voyages, and their statements were kept at the Casa. While the chart was not always kept up to date, revisions were made from time to time, using the data collected from the pilots. ..." [85]

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81 *Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes. Universalis Cosmographiae descriptio tam in solido quam plano, eis etiam insertis, quae Ptholomaeo ignota a nuperis reperta sunt (Introduction to Cosmography With Certain Necessary Principles of Geometry and Astronomy To which are added The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci A Representation of the Entire World, both in the Solid and Projected on the Plane, Including also lands which were Unknown to Ptolemy, and have been Recently Discovered).* The book contained a copy of the *Soderini Letter* (see 1502).

82 Waldseemüller's latitudes are disputed, and Africa is clearly extended too far south. It is argued that these early charts suffered from latitude-distortion and that Waldseemüller's *Rio decananorū* (Cananor River) – his lowest point on the South American coast marked as at 45°S – is actually at 25°S. The *Insule delle Pulzelle* at Waldseemüller's 40°S would therefore be more accurately placed around 20°S (NB. St. Helena sits at 15° 54'S and Tristan da Cunha at 37° 11'S, which had been sighted in 1506). The Cananor River is generally considered as the location at which Vespucci calculated that the Tordesillas line (see 1494) crossed the American continent at its southerly point. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1507-waldseemuller_map_2.jpg

83 *Colonies in Conflict: The History of the British Overseas Territories* Charles Cawley 2015

84 Quoted in Cortesao 1954. The chart would be known as the *Padrón General* after August, 1517. *cf.* 1503

85 *Spanish Nautical Cartography in the Renaissance* Alison Sandman 2007 in *The History of Cartography* David Woodward (ed) 2007 vol.3

A new edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, authorised by the Pope in 1506, is published. Six new maps are included. Five of regions familiar to cartographers, however the sixth and last includes depictions of the West Indies and South America. This chart – *Vniversalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula Ex Recentibus Confecta Observationibus* – is by the Dutch cartographer, Johannes Ruysch. [86]

"... a planisphere on a conical projection, with its apex at the North Pole. Accordingly it is shaped like an opened fan with the curved edge at the botton... In latitude the map extends from 90° North to 38° South." [87]

"... the Ruysch map of 1508 has a legend indicating that Vespucci reached 50° south ..." [88]

"As early as 1508, i.e. 12 years prior to Magellan's discovery, there was printed a pamphlet which spoke of the circumnavigability in the south of the newly discovered south American country." [89]

1511 – Portuguese navigator João de Lisboa explores the South American coast as far as the San Matias Gulf, below what is now known as the Rio de la Plata; *"The Portuguese have circumnavigated this land and they have found a sound which practically tallies with that of our continent of Europe (where we live). The sound is hidden between the Eastern and the Western Sea. At a distance of about 60 miles from the promontory of this land, one has the impression of passing through the straits of Gibraltar or Sicily in the eastern direction and of seeing on the African side the Barbarian country of Mauretania."* [90]

Researcher's Comment: Following the discovery of Brazil in 1500, there appears to have been surprisingly little official interest by the Portuguese Crown. The court funded the Coelho/Vespucci expedition of 1502 but then Brazil was left mostly to private traders. [91] Portugal's leaders were more concerned with the eastern route to the Spice Islands (Moluccas). Maps of Brazil produced after 1502 reveal place names added to the Brazillian coast [92] which suggests voyages, exploration, and trade; but few records survive.

So little is known about the 1511 exploration that it may have been a private affair.

The lack of archives from this time leaves open the possibility of Portuguese discoveries later attributed to other explorers.

1512 – following the death of Amerigo Vespucci, Juan Diaz de Solis is appointed Chief Pilot in Seville. [93]

1513 – Ottoman Admiral, Piri Reis, compiles a world map (next page) from a collection of charts acquired via captured ships and other sources. [94]

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86 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg

87 *The Ruysch Map of the World (1507-1508)* Bradford F. Swan 1951 in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 1951 vol.45 no.3 pp.219-236

88 Davies 1954. For a brief consideration of latitudes, see the footnotes to 1507.

89 Siebold 2015

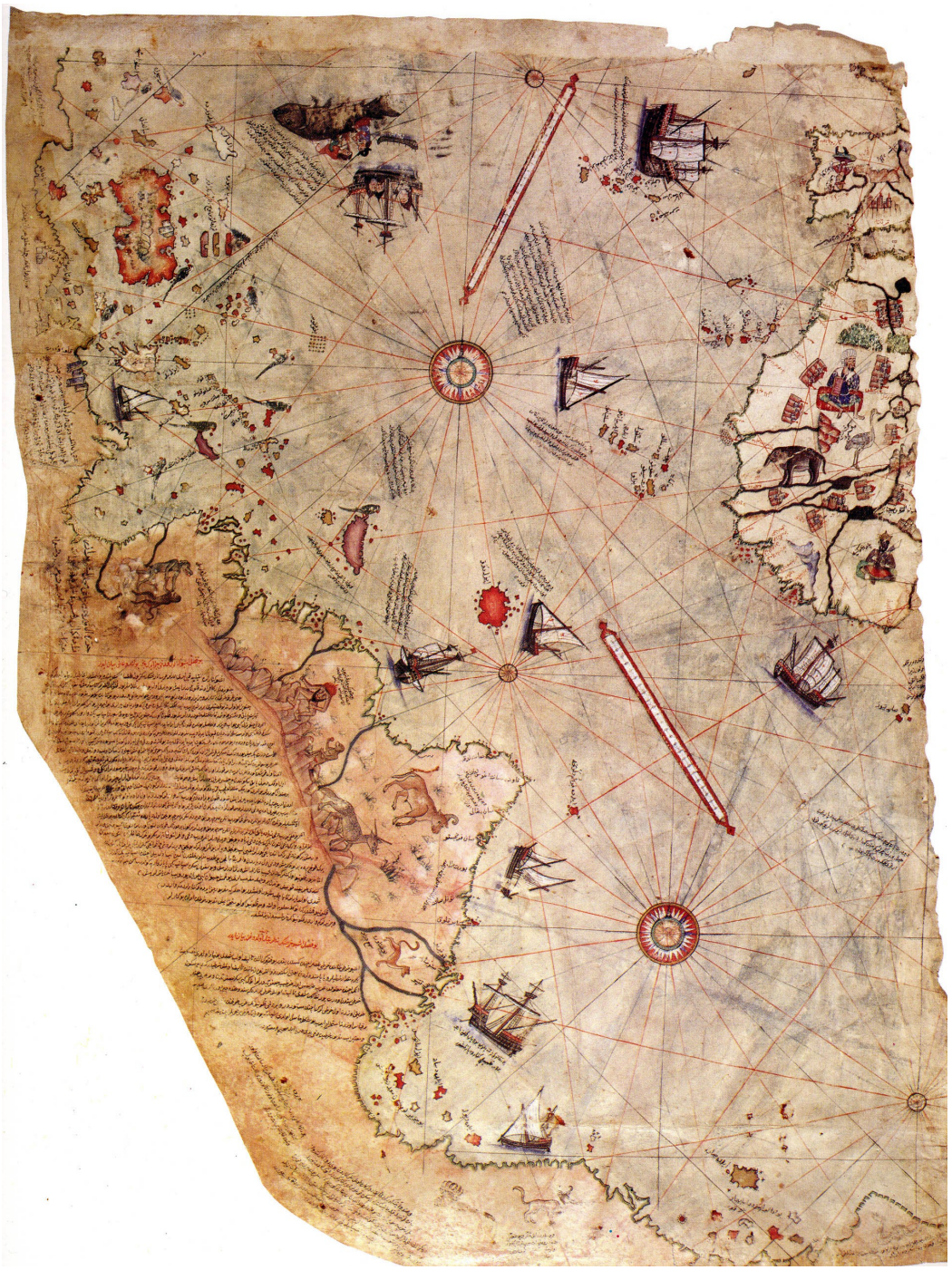
90 A text by Schöner of Nuremberg dated 1513, quoted in Siebold 2015. Lisboa, known mainly for a book on seamanship (see 1514), was either alone, or possibly in company with Esteban Froes.

91 See 1514

92 For examples see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/1504-june-8th-vesconte-maggiolo-italy.jpg, https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1506-c.-caverio-map-by-nicolay-de-caveri-lisbon.jpg & https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/c.-1503-kunstmannn-ii-detail.jpg

93 Also known as João Dias de Solis, this navigator's origins are disputed – Spanish or Portuguese is uncertain. *cf.* 1515

94 Apparently forged from up to 20 other maps of the world, or parts thereof, albeit with no obvious standardisation as to scale, this map is a remarkable achievement. Drawn on gazelle skin parchment, the surviving segment, which reveals the eastern coast of South America, can be found at the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul. One source of these charts is alleged to have been a prisoner taken in a campaign against Venice in 1501; who claimed to have sailed with Columbus. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1513-piri-reis.jpg



"The delineation of Brazil's coast is well defined and reasonably accurate to a point just south of the approximate location of present-day Santos (24° S) or Cananéia (25° S). In this, the Piri Reis map is typical of other manuscript maps of the early sixteenth century,.. Further south, just beyond the furthest point reached by the Portuguese during the early voyages, the Atlantic coastline of South America arcs to the east to join a southern landmass." [95]

95 *The Piri Reis Map of 1513* Gregory McIntosh 2000 p.44.

"The (Falkland) islands have been included on maps ... since 1502 (among others... Piri Reis in 1513...)..." [96]

Unsurprisingly, just what is depicted – below 25°S latitude at least – is disputed, with the land that veers eastward generally considered to represent a mythical southern continent. [97] Particularly controversial for the purposes of this timeline, is an island group shown off the coast dentifed as the *Il. de Sare* (to the right of center in the detail above). Within this group are the words "*Those islands are deserted but spring lasts here long*." It has been suggested that these islands represent the Falklands archipelago. [98] Moot at best, but those that believe it to be so, believe it absolutely. Those that do not, are equally as strong in their rejection.

One feature, however, remains intriguing; where the coastline changes from a vague serrated edge to something rather more specific. A topographical feature that stands out in Piri Reis, as much as it does in Google Earth (next page) today.[99]

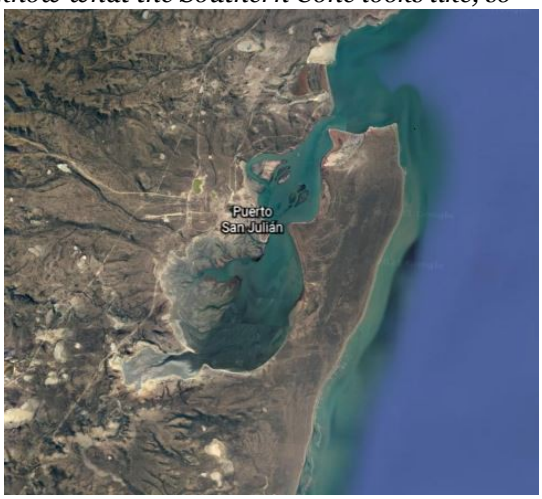
96 *The Malvinas/Falklands Between History and Law* Marcelo G. Kohen & Facundo D. Rodriguez 2017 p.17. This book appears to be an English language version of *Las Malvinas Entre el Derecho y la Historia* published by the same authors in 2016. However, there are sufficient differences for me to consider them separate publications; for example, the 2017 work is two-thirds the size of that of 2016. So in citations, I will treat them as different.

97 There had long been an anticipated 'counterweight' continent depicted on world maps. A southern mass considered necessary to balance the weight of the known northern lands. If nothing else, an opportunity allowing cartographers to exercise their imagination. One radical view, however, has it that the Piri Reis cartographer, with 900 miles of South America still to draw in and being about to run out of valuable parchment, simply veered the remaining coastline to the east; turning South America 90°. A notion that is not entirely implausible. Alternatively, perhaps, it was the simple result of reconciling 20 divergent charts.

98 Arnaud 2000

99 Satellite photograph courtesy of Google Earth.

"As for "seeing" Puerto San Julián on the Piri Reis map, you're not the first one to think he could…. The problem with looking at early maps with modern eyes is that we know what the Southern Cone looks like, so when we look at Piri Reis, or the Schöner globes, etc., we "see" South America going right down to the Magellan Strait. It just looks so right to us that we have to adjust our thinking to realise that before the 1520s, no one knew what South America looked like, or how far south it went. And before about 1524 it was always shown much too big and much too far south. So I recommend looking at those maps with 16th-century eyes." [100]



September 25th, from a hill on the Isthmus of Panama, Spanish explorer Vasco Nunez de Balboa sights "*an enormous expanse of water*" lying to the west. He claims possession of it on behalf of the Spanish Crown, naming it the *Mar del Sur* (South Sea). [101]

1514 – in Nuremberg, an account of a voyage is published. A copy of a letter, it relates the journey of two Portuguese ships down the coast of Brazil and beyond; suggesting that a passage through to the Pacific Ocean exists at 40°S latitude. [102]

"Even though Brazil was in the shadow of the Portuguese East India trade for most of the sixteenth century, news from the newly found lands in the West was eagerly received in Europe and prospects for profitable trade evaluated. The present text is the first originally German source on Brazil: the printed reproduction of a letter written by one of the agents of the Fugger trading company on the island of Madeira with news about the arrival of a ship from Brazil. The letter, written in German interspersed with Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, tells about a voyage made by two Portuguese ships down the Brazilian coast to the Rio de la Plata in 1514. It confirms for the first time the existence of an east-west passage in the vicinity of 40 degrees south latitude which Magalhaes (Magellan) would use for his circumnavigation. The narrator suggests to his superiors in Augsburg a profitable trade in furs and hides from southern Brazil, which were easy to barter from the natives for hard-ware: "They have no iron mines. In exchange for an axe or hatchet or knife they give whatever they have." The ship arriving in Madeira was loaded with brazil-wood, the red dye-wood that gave the country its name, and with young enslaved Amerindians." [103]

Researcher's Comment: Although only five pages long, the letter expands upon the opportunities for trade. No dates, names of ships, nor captains, were included.[104] Presumably, the original letter had been a report to someone who already knew those details. This may have been Cristóvão de Haro, a Flemish merchant who was also an associate, and sometimes representative, of the Fugger family.[105]

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100 Graham Pascoe in conversation with myself August 2, 2021. Using my 16th century eyes, I still see Puerto San Julian.

101 The name was apparently chosen because Balboa had travelled south to reach it. *cf.* 1790

102 *Copia der Newen Zeitung ausz Presillg Landt* published by Hieronymus Höltzel 1514

103 *Portuguese Exploration to the West and the Formation of Brazil 1450-1800: Catalogue of an Exhibition* Dagmar Schäffer 1988 p.20

104 Voyages by both Gonzalo Coelho (1501 & 1503) and Christovao Jacques (1503) have been suggested (see *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the Word 1480-1521* F. H. H. p.193). João de Lisboa's voyage of 1511 to the Gulf of Matias must also make him a candidate. A coincidence that he started his own book in the same year as this publication?

105 An immensely influential German family, the Fuggers controlled much of Europe's economy during the 16th century through a monopoly over copper. De Haro would go on to be a backer and financier of the Magellan expedition (see next page). For comparison purposes, the wide estuary of the Rio de la Plata is at 35°S latitude while the Gulf of Matias is at 41°S. Magellan's strait lies much farther south at 53°S.

De Haro has been associated with the publication of the letter, and may have been looking to excite some interest among investors with the prospect of a western route to the coveted Spice Islands (Moluccas/Maluku).

In Portugal, João de Lisboa commences his *Treatise on Seamanship* for Portuguese mariners. [106]

"... with Magellan went the Portuguese pilot João de Lisboa, which had been in Brazil before, and wrote a book on seamanship, whose appearance would be of transcendent importance to geographical history." [107]

1515 – a printed globe of the world depicts a strait cutting across South America at 40ºS. To the east of the strait between 30º and 40ºS, is depicted a large island and two smaller islets. [108]

".., a Pacifico-Atlantic passage is ... boldly drawn. It is represented in or about latitude 45° S., and in the earlier, or Frankfort, globe a line is traced embracing the coast beyond the strait and enclosing the legend "Terra ult. incognifa," thus implying – almost without a shadow of doubt – that this strait had been at that date already visited and recognised as a waterway between the two oceans. ... Some distance off the eastern mouth of the strait is placed a small group of islands." [109]

"... Magellan was inspired in his projects by a map of Martin Behaim which he had seen in the treasure room of the King of Portugal." [110]

"*Look at the matter how we may, certain broad facts remain:- that both Coelho and Christovao Jacques pushed far south along the shores of South America before Magellan sailed on his great voyage, though how far is unknown; that a pamphlet, likewise indisputably of an anterior date, describes a Pacifico-Atlantic strait at some length and finally, that Schoner considered the information he was possessed of to be sufficiently trustworthy to figure this strait upon his two globes of 15 15 and 1520."* [111]

106 This work is hard to date. Commenced, according to his own hand, in 1514. However, some elements appear to be much later suggesting another author completed the work (Lisboa died in 1525); with some sections possibly as late as 1560. Chart 4 is identified in the Torre do Tombo National Archive in Lisbon as '*South American coast*' and Chart 7 as '*South Atlantic islands*'. For the world chart contained in the *Treatise* (Chart 20) see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1514-globe-of-joc3a3o-de-lisboa-from-livro-de-marinharia-treatise-of-seamanship.jpeg

107 *Historia Geral do Brasil* Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen 1854 p.31

108 Unsigned, but now attributed to Schöner (Professor of mathematics at Nuremberg), it has also been linked to both Martin Behaim and Martin Waldseemüller. In 1507, Waldseemüller had depicted a similar island group he named *Insule delle Pulzelle* (Island of Maidens) in mid-Atlantic.

109 Guillemard 1891 p.192

110 *The Chart of Magellan* Marcel Destombes 1955 in *Marcel Destombes (1905-1983) Selected Contributions to the History of Cartography and Scientific Instruments* Schilder G., van der Krogt P. & de Clercq S. (eds) 1987 p.61. First published in *Imago Mundi* XII 1955

111 Guillemard 1891 p.195. The 'pamphlet' would be the *Copia der Newen Zeitung ausz Presillg Landt* 1514.

"... Schöner departs from Waldseemüller in several important ways... most famously in depicting a sailing passage around the southern tip of south America some years before Magellan discovered such a passage..." [112]

"The globe's most provocative feature, which has caused much discussion, is the unambiguous representation of a strait between the southern tip of South America and a partial southern continent under the name Brasiliæ regio. Whether any expedition actually preceded that of Magellan in 1522 is still uncertain..." [113]

October 8th, Spanish Pilot Major, Juan Díaz de Solís, leads an expedition of three ships and 70 men from the Iberian peninsula. Bound for the east coast of South America.

Spain and England renew the *Treaty of Trade and Amity* of 1499. [114]

1516 – Juan Díaz de Solís sails into the Rio de la Plata estuary to explore its upper reaches. [115]

In Lorraine, Martin Waldseemüller produces another world map – a *Navigator's Chart*. [116]

In Spain, sixteen-year-old Charles, the son of Philip (the Handsome) of Hapsburg and Joanna (the Mad) of Spain, is crowned King Carlos I. [117]

Cartographer, Visconte Maggiolo (Maiollo) works on a chart depicting the known world. [118]

From Portugal, Cristóvão Jacques, is sent to patrol the coast of Brazil. [119]

"... it seems that the first discoverers of the Falklands were the crews of at least two Portuguese ships (Thevet says 'ships' in the plural), who were exploring in the South Atlantic ... and found the Islands by chance.... The date must have been around 1518-19 at the latest" [120]

1517 – in **October**, following a quarrel with King Manuel, Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães/Fernando de Magallanes) travels to Seville in Spain where he studies the charts at Spain's Casa de Contratación. Magellan is convinced that there is a western route to the Spice Islands, via South America.

1518 – in **January**, Magellan rides to the Spanish court at Valladolid to present a proposal to King Carlos I, for an expedition to seek a western route to the Spice Islands (Moluccas). Seeing Magellan supported by influential financier Cristóvão de Haro, Carlos instructs his counsellors to examine the evidence presented. [121]

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112 *Some Results from a Study of Johann Schöner's 1515 Terrestrial Globe* Chet Van Duzzer 2011

113 Siebold 2015

114 See 1580

115 No dates are available. De Solis apparently took an advance party up the Rio de la Plata as far as the Parana River, where they were attacked and killed. Only a 14-year old cabin boy, Francisco del Puerto, was spared (still living with the tribe when Cabot found him in 1527. See footnote to 1526). After their leader's death, the remains of the de Solis expedition returned to Spain. There is no evidence that this expedition sailed any further south than the Rio de la Plata.

116 *Carta marina navigatoria Portvgallen navigationes, atqve tocius cogniti orbis terre marisqve formam natvram sitvs et terminos nostris temporibvs recognitos et ab antiqvorum traditione differentes, eciam qvor vetvsti non meminervnt avtores, hec generaliter indicat.* See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1516-carta-marina-navigatoria-portugallen-world-map-by-martin-waldseemuller.jpg

117 Carlos I would eventually inherit his grandfather's title and become the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V

118 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1516.jpg

119 Jaques remained until 1519. He is known to have travelled as far south as the Rio de la Plata, where he fought the French; who may have been settler explorers rather than pirates.

120 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.81-82. There is no known Portuguese expedition in the years 1518 or 1519, but Cristóvão Jacques was, at least, in the right general area during those years. For Thevet (French geographer described variously as eccentric or mad) see 1557, 1575 & 1586.

121 Raised in the Burgundian Netherlands, Carlos did not speak Spanish, much less Portuguese.

"... he (Magellan) knew it (the strait) well and had seen it in a marine chart of the King of Portugal, which a great pilot and sailor named Martin of Bohemia had made." [122]

"(When Magellan) appeared for the first time at the Spanish court in Valladolid, he showed the Bishop of Burgos a painted globe on which he had traced his planned route. He had on purpose left the straits white in order not to give a clue to his secret. When the King's Ministers assailed him with questions, he confided to the Ministers that he planned to land first on the promontory of St. Maria, i.e. at the La Plata mouth, and then to sail along the coast until he found a sound. ... He was all the more sure to find a sound as he had seen it on a sea map made by Martin de Bohemia..." [123]

"According to Pigafetta, Magellan derived his information from a chart existing in the King's treasury. We are not told when he saw it. Towards the end of his service with Portugal he was out of favour with the King. He was, indeed, never regarded by him with anything but dislike, and it is therefore improbable that he would be the only person permitted to see it. Gomara, too, says that when Magellan passed into the service of Spain, and his intention of visiting the Moluccas became known, Dom Manoel (sic) remained content when he learned that he had promised not to take the route by the Cape, "thinking that he could find no other way nor navigation for the Spices other than that which he (the King) had". Dom Manoel would hardly have felt so reassured had he seen a chart depicting the straits in his (Magellan's) possession, and knew that Magellan had consulted it." [124]

"It is ... astonishing that the sea-route south of the newly discovered America was distinctly drawn on individual maps in the beginning of the 16th century i.e. before Magalhães discovered in 1520 the sound which now bears his name. ... before embarking upon his journey, Magalhães himself stated he knew that south of America there was a sound that led to the Southern Sea, ... he, Magalhães, had seen the sound on a map by Martin Behaim." [125]

"Magellan, in order to convince the King of Spain and his counsellors that the Moluccas were situated in the Spanish hemisphere, presented to them a planisphere, made by Pedro Reinel, which he had brought along from Portugal." [126]

In Seville, Portuguese cartographer Estêvão Gomez is appointed a Pilot at the Casa de Contratación.

March 22nd, Spain's King Carlos approves Magellan's scheme; *"... to go in search of **the** strait."* [127]

July 10th, from Spain, Sebastian Alvarez informs the Portuguese King of the arrangements for an expedition to the south; attaching a list of those Portuguese captains and pilots who are involved. [128]

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122 Pigafetta quoted in *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969. See also *The Globe Encircled & the World Revealed* Ursula Lamb 2016. *cf.* 1502, 1507, 1519 & 1522

123 Spanish chronicler Herrera (1549-1626), quoted in Siebold 2015

124 Guillemard 1891 p.196. King Manuel I sat on the throne of Portugal at this time.

125 *The Representation on Maps of the Magalhães Straits before their Discovery* Richard Hennig 1948 in *Imago Mundi* vol.5 (1948) pp.32-37

126 Marcel Destombes in Schilder G., van der Krogt P. & de Clercq S. (eds) 1987

127 Quoted in Guillemard 1891. My emphasis. Apparently, the King and his advisers were finally persuaded by a planisphere (Reinel's), or globe (Schöner's/Behaim's?) presented in evidence. Worth noting that Cristóvão de Haro, Magellan's sponsor, has been linked to the letter published in 1514 that reported a way through to the Pacific (see above); and also with the creation of a globe (see 1515).

128 *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo ácerca das navegações e conquistas portuguezas publicadas por ordem do governo de Sua Magestade Fidelissima ao celebrar-se a commemoração quadricentenaria do Descobrimento da America* Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa 1892 pp.431-435. Estevan Gomez was second on the list.

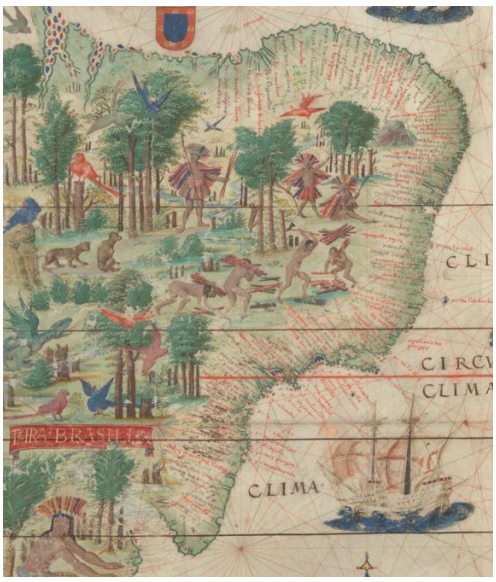
1519 – from Lisbon, renowned Portuguese cartographer, Pedro Reinel, travels to Seville seeking his son Jorge; who is employed preparing equipment, and charts, for Magellan's expedition.[129] Pedro Reinel assists his son.

"The cartographic work of the Reinel family began with Pedro Reinel, the first Portuguese cartographer with signed maps, and his son Jorge Reinel. Their known charts extend from about 1485 until about 1540. According to Cortesao, Pedro Reinel and his son created the "School of Reinel". They worked almost exclusively in Lisbon, but in 1519 they were in Seville. Jorge Reinel collaborated in the preparation for the circumnavigation of Ferdinand Magellan in the service of Castile. Sebastiao Álvares, feitor (consul) of Portugal, informed King Manuel that he had "seen the land of the Moluccas (Spice Islands) put on the globe and chart that the son of Reinel has made here, which was not finished when his father came here to fetch him, and his father finished it all and put these lands of the Moluccas [on it], and this is the standard for all the other charts which are made by Diogo Ribeiro". Jorge Reinel's departure from Portugal seems to have been motivated by the insolence of youth. Pedro Reinel went to Seville to get his son and succeeded in taking him back to Lisbon without punishment." [130]

Researcher's Comment: Exact dates remain unclear. It is believed that Pedro Reinel wanted his son to return to Lisbon so that they could assist the cartographer Lopo Homem with a prestigious atlas to be gifted to the French monarch. In order to hasten his son's departure, Pedro Reinel assisted with the work. Once complete, the two Reinels did return to Portugal.

The detail of Brazil (below) on the left is purportedly the work of Pedro Reinel for Magellan in 1519. The detail on the right is the known work of Lopo Homem, Pedro Reinel and Jorge Reinel in Portugal, also dated to (or from) 1519. There is a similarity of style although the *Lopo Homen-Reineis Atla*s is of far better quality, being illustrated by miniaturist António de Holanda. However, just to confound and confuse, there is also a similarity in style to a chart (also 1519) by Visconte Maggiolo of Naples. [131]

For the relevance of all this, see 1522.



129 The story is that Jorge Reinel had found it advantageous to leave Portugal following a little local difficulty (unexplained) and, on reaching Seville, he had taken employment working for the Magellan expedition.

130 *Portuguese Cartography in the Renaissance* Maria Fernanda Alegria, Suzanne Daveau, João Carlos Garcia, & Francesc Relaño 2007 in *Cartography in the Renaissance* David Woodward (ed) 2007 vol.3 p.987

131 See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1519-map-by-maiollo.png Styles were clearly copied.

In Spain, Martín Fernández de Enciso publishes a book on navigation – *Suma de Geografia que trata de todas las partidas e provincias del mundo* (*Sum of Geography that deals with all the parts and provinces of the world*). This includes a map that shows; *"... all the lands and provinces of the universe that until today there has been news (of) by ancient writings and by views in our times."*[132]

Arriving back in Lisbon, Pedro and Jorge Reinel join Lopo Homem in the preparation of the Atlas. [133]

February 28th, in Spain, Magellan presents Carlos I with a planisphere (detail right). [134]

"In 1519 the voyage of Magellan was prepared and a significant number of Portuguese experts were involved, including the cartographer Diogo Ribeiro. The Kunstmann IV planisphere, probably made in Seville c.1519 and attributed to Jorge Reinel, may have been made in that context." [135]

Carlos writes to reassure his neighbour, Manuel I of Portugal, that the 'armada' being sent out under the command of Magellan, will not harm any land or enter seas belonging to Portugal. [136]

June 28th, Carlos I of Spain is elected Holy Roman Emperor, as Charles V. [137]

September 20th, Magellan's squadron sets sail for South America – *Trinidad* (Magellan), *San Antonio* (Juan de Cartagena), *Concepción* (Gaspar de Quesada), *Santiago* (Joäo Serräo), and *Victoria* (Luiz Mendoza). [138]

"Besides the Spaniards, Portuguese and Basques, there were Genoese, Sicilians, French, Flemings, Germans, Greeks, Neopolitans, Corfiotes, Negos and Malays. One Englishman there was, and one only, a certain Master Andrew of Bristol, master-gunner of the flag-ship." [139]

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132 Sanz 2012. This author suggests that the work was quickly withdrawn to prevent it revealing Spanish discoveries.

133 Now known as the *Miller Atlas* or the *Lopo Homem-Reineis Atlas*. Three eminent cartographers, and yet the atlas places the *Tropic of Cancer* in the wrong hemisphere (see 1522). Seibold (2015) suggests that at least one chart – of the world - was a work of propaganda. A political ruse designed as a denial of the existence of any western route to the Pacific Ocean. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1519-miller-atlas-by-lopo-homen-portugal-e1548373441250.jpg The furthest south the Atlas went, was just below Brazil.

134 *Sebastian Alvarez to Manuel I de Portugal* July 18, 1519. Lost, but believed to be represented by the copy of a world chart known as Kunstmann IV. Generally attributed to the Reinels.

135 *The Representation of the West Indies in Early Iberian Cartography: A Cartometric Approach* Joaquim Alves Gaspar 2015 in *Terrae Incognitae* 2015 47:1 pp.10-32

136 *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo...* 1892 p.422

137 Also King of Italy, Archduke of Austria, Lord of the Netherlands and Duke of Burgundy. Dynasty's can be complicated.

138 Crews totaled 279 men including 40 Portuguese, plus supernumeraries such as Antonio Pigafetta and Juan Sebastián Elcano (del Cano). Portuguese navigator and cartographer Estêvão (Estevan) Gomez may also have been listed as a supernumerary. Andrés de San Martín was aboard *San Antonio* as chief pilot-cosmologer. Magellan's personal cosmologer, Rui Faleiro, did not accompany the expedition there being some doubts about his mental health. An unconfirmed story has it that Portugal's João de Lisboa was with the expedition as a guide. *cf.* 1514 & 1525

139 Guillemard 1891 p.137

"The expedition consisted of five ships under the command of Magellan. The two Portuguese adventurers who had undertaken to find a strait from the Atlantic to the South Sea so that the Spanish king could enforce his claim to the Spice Islands by reaching them from the west, were Fernando Magellan and Estevan Gomez." [140]

Magellan carries charts of the known, and imagined, world.

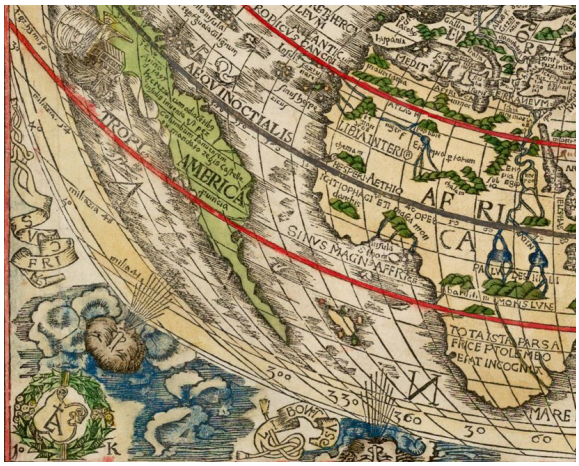
"The fleet took on board twenty-four nautical charts. Eighteen of them were prepared by Nuno Garcia de Toreño (seven of which were ordered by Rui Faleiro and eleven by Magellan); six others were commissioned by Rui Faleiro (destined for the king); the set also included twenty-four scrolls." [141]

The expedition's official cartographer, Andrés de San Martín, also carries copies of the known charts of the Americas, prepared or commissioned by Rui Faleiro and Nuño Garcia. [142]

"Among them were "two planispheres belonging to Magellan and made by Pedro Reinel"..." [143]

December 13th, on reaching Brazil, Magellan's ships turns south.

In Naples, Visconte Maggiolo (Maiollo) works on a chart of the world. He depicts the north-east coast of South America as it is known in 1519. [144]



1520 – in Amsterdam, cartographer Peter Apian completes his *Tipus Orbis Universalis iuxta Ptolemei Cosmographi Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorque Lustrationes a Petro Apiano Leysnico Elucbrat* world map (right). This reveals the east Coast of South America ending in a sharp point. No southern (Antarctic) continent is depicted, although Waldseemuller's '*Insule delle Pulzelle*' can be seen mid-Atlantic.

"For many years, it was believed that Apian's map was the first map to use the name America, as well as the earliest to utilize the a truncated cordiform (heart shaped) projection. It was not until the discovery in 1901 of the sole surviving example of Waldseemuller's 12-sheet map of the World, published in 1507, that the true source of Apian's map was (recognised as) the Waldseemuller map, which is known in a single example.... There is one significant improvement in Apian's map, the creation of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean which is not present in Waldseemuller's map of the world. The timing of the change corresponds to the departure of Ferdinand Magellan in search of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific and supports the theory that Magellan was aware of prior voyages of exploration which had reached the Pacific, which are not well documented in modern times." [145]

140 *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan* Sir Clements R. Markham 1911. See - https://ia804601.us.archive.org/27/items/earlyspanishvoya00markrich/earlyspanishvoya00markrich.pdf
141 *Autor du Globe? La carte Hazine no.1825 de la bibliothèque du Palais de Topkapi, Istanbul* Dejanirah Couto 2013
142 *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan's Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe* Laurence Bergreen 2003
143 Pascoe 2020 p.16 quoting Destombes 1955.
144 The style shows some similarities to the top of South America depicted in the 1522 Hazine map 1521. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1519-map-by-maiollo.png
145 Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique maps Inc. Rather more like Schöner's globes than Waldseemuller's works.

A manuscript globe is completed by Johann Schöner (detail left). It depicts a cone-shaped South America with a strait between its southern point and the fabled southern continent. Mid-Atlantic islands, as revealed by Waldseemüller (1507), Schöner's globe (1515) and Apian (1520), are included. Albeit closer to Patagonia than previously shown. [146]

"The fact that certain islands are figured in Schoner's globes in the neighbourhood of the strait is of some interest. Whether they are or are not the Falklands it is difficult to say. In the 1520 globe they bear the text "Ins. delle Pidzelle."[147] *That Davis, for whom the honour of the discovery of the Falkland Islands is claimed, should have called them the Virgin's Land, if a coincidence, is at least a curious one."* [148]

January 10th, Magellan's expedition reaches the Rio de la Plata at latitude 35° 34' South.

> *"This place was formerly called the Cape of St. Mary, and it was thought there that from thence there was a passage to the Sea of Sur; that is to say, the South Sea. And it is not found that any ship has ever discovered anything more, having passed beyond the said cape. And now it is no longer a cape, but it is a river which has a mouth seventeen leagues in width, by which it enters into the sea. In past time, in this river, these great men named Canibali ate a Spanish captain, named John de Sola, and sixty men who had gone to discover land, as we were doing, and trusted too much to them."* [149]

> *"... they found that they had got into a great river of fresh water, to which they gave the name of river of St. Christopher, and it is in thirty-four degrees, and they remained in it till the 2nd of February, 1520."*[150]

February 2nd, Magellan's ships continue south, sticking close to the relative safety of the coastline.

February 24th, the Spanish expedition explores the Golfo de San Matias at latitude 41° 29' South.

February 27th, pilot Francisco Albo, on *Victoria*, sees a bay. [151]

> *"On the 27th I took the sun in 50¼°, and it had 4¾° declination, and so our altitude came to be 44°; and here to the right hand we found a bay, and three leagues before it there are* ***two rocks****, and they lie East and West with the said bay, and further on we found another (bay), and there were in it many sea wolves, of which we caught eight, and on this land there are no people, but it is very good land, with pretty plains without trees, and very flat country."*[152]

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146 The *Insule delle Pulzelle.* Continental drift? See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/sch%C3%B6ner-1853-representation.jpg

147 Island of the Maidens.

148 Guillemard 1891 p.195. In fact, many previously undiscovered lands were named Virgin, Maiden, or just plain New.

149 *The First Voyage Round the World* Henry E. J. Stanley 1874. A translation of Pigafetta's account addressed to the Grand Master of Rhodes – Philip de Villiers Lisleaden.

150 *Navigation and Voyage which Fernando de Magalhães made from Seville to Maluco in the year 1519 (by a Genoese Pilot)*. Thought to be Mestre Bautista. This mouth of the Rio de la Plata extends from latitude 34º 58' S to 36º 53' S. A degree of latitude is 69 miles (111km) wide

151 This Portuguese pilot's name is variously rendered Albo/Alvo/Alvaro. However, Albo is the name that appears on the first page of what is now believed to be his log. He had been taken on as a Boatswain in Seville to work on *Trinidad*, Magellan's flagship. However, before reaching Brazil, Albo seems to have moved to the position of Pilot on *Victoria*.

152 *Extracts from a Derrotero or Log-Book of the Voyage of Fernando de Magallanes ...1519* in Stanley 1874. My emphasis. Identified as the log book of Francisco Albo (Alvaro); the given year is that of the log's commencement.

Magellan explores the "*rocks*". [153]

> *"... **two islands** full of geese and goslings and sea wolves. The great number of these goslings there were cannot be estimated, for we loaded all the ships with them in an hour. And these goslings are black and have feathers over their whole body of the same size and fashion, and they do not fly, and they live on fish. And they were so fat that we did not pluck them but skinned them, and they have a beak like crows."* [154]

"The two islands, ... were in a bay, named by Albo "Baia de los Patos" (Bay of ducks) and by the Genoese pilot[155] "Baia de los Trabalhos" (Bay of Sea Wolves); perhaps the Rio Deseado, in 47° 40' S off which an island is still named I. Pinguino." [156]

"In... the twenty-first book of my Cosmography I only spoke of one of these Islands, which is called by its inhabitants Perhamboup and by those of the mainland Pacahocaf, which is distant from the continent some eight or ten leagues. There are very many others, in which these little fellows of eight or nine feet in height have set up their hovels. The first who set foot in these Islands were some Portuguese, who were accompanying Ferdinand Magellan in his voyage; ..." [157]

"... the Jason Islands, seem to have been identified, as early as March 1520, by one of the ships of Magellan's fleet, under the name of "islands of ducks" or of Sanson (Ylas de Sanson y de Patos)." [158]

Magellan's fleet continues south.

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153 Where were these islands? There are bays both shallow and deep all along the coast of Patagonia, but no obvious candidate at latitude 44° S. Golfo Nuevo lies at 42° 56' but is bereft of islands. However, at 44° 46' S is Bahia Camerones and in that bay are the Islas Blancos, consisting of one long island in parallel with three islets lying, almost, east-west in front of the sweep of the bay. 500 years ago, before erosion and rising sea levels, it is possible that the three smaller islets formed a single island. Then, at 45° 05' S, is Bahia Bustamente, with two large islands on the approach – Isla Tova and Isla Tovita – together with quite a few islets and rocks. The bay *"further on"* is likely to be the very much larger Golf de San Jorge. So, there appear to be two possible candidates for the islands mentioned by Albo – the Blancos or the Tovas. But, how accurate were Francisco Albo's latitude readings? They can, perhaps, be compared to his reading for San Julian, which he put "*in 49 ⅔°*". The entrance to Puerto San Julian actually sits at 49° 14' 58". Pretty accurate, considering how long ago it was. On that basis, the Islas Blancos may be the islands that Albo recorded and, accordng to Yale University, named Patos/Trabalhos (There is some debate about this as *Trabalhos* does not mean wolves in Spanish or Portuguese. It translates as '*work*' in both languages. *Leones* is a more likely name, and was later found on some charts). Yale University's own candidate, the Island group to the south of the Rio Deseado, is three degrees of latitude (180 miles) off and more likely to be the group that would eventually become known as the Sanson Islands (see below).

154 *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition. My emphasis. Gosling was, perhaps, the nearest description available to Pigafetta, whose account of Magellan's expedition is widely considered accurate, in general terms, whilst not in detail. *cf.* 1526 & 1527

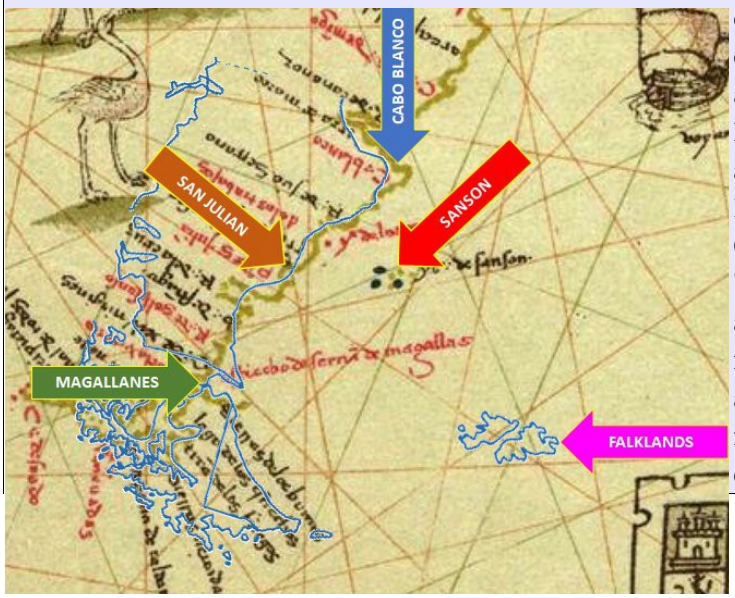
155 According to some sources, this was Juan Bautista Punzorol

156 Footnote to *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition. Puerto Deseado (Port Desire) received its name in 1586 from English Captain Thomas Cavendish. The entrance to the Deseado River lies at 47° 45'S. The islands group which today carries the name Isla Pinguino, are a few miles farther south at 47° 54'.

157 *Le Grande Insulaire et Pilotage* André Thevet 1586 quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.20 and referring to Thevet's 1575 map of South America. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1575-andrc3a9-thc3a9vet.jpg Giant inhabitants? Sadly, Thevet was viewed as an unreliable source in his own lifetime. *cf.* 1586

158 *Découverte Fortuite de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande par des Navigateurs Portugais et Espagnols entre 1521 et 1528* Roger Hervé 1982 p.41. Unlikely. The Jasons are 255 nautical miles from the coast (293 miles or 472 km) and 5 degrees of latitude (300 miles) further south.

#Researcher's Comment: Magellan sailed on, hugging the coast. It is not mentioned in the accounts that have survived, but there can be no doubt that the squadron encountered the second group of islands; mentioned by the Yale University team. Situated between the Golf de San Jorge and the natural port of San Julian; they lie just south of Cabo Blanco. This group first appear on a chart of 1522 as red dots, but then become a regular feature on maps after 1526. Named as the Sanson Islands on early charts. Most often seen as a group of red and blue dots after 1526, they are now known as Isla Pingüino, Isla Chata, Isla Blanca, Los Gemelos and Isla Castillo, situated to the south of Cabo Blanco/Puerto Deseado at 47° 54' S latitude.[159] Connected to this mini-archipelago are many 'wild theories'. A few of these are considered below as some researchers believe the Sanson Islands to represent the Falklands on early charts. Unlikely, as they lie 5 degrees of latitude (300 miles) too far north to be the Falklands archipelago; and far too close to the South American coastline. [160]



March 31st, Magellan stops at a natural port on the Patagonian coast (San Julian at 49° 14' S) to refit, refresh and sit out the coming austral winter. [161]

San Antonio, in particular, is in need of major repair work. [162]

*"Those who inhabit that land ..., are **men of large bodies, almost giants**, covered with skins of beasts. The land is sterile and of no value. Here Fernam de Magellan stayed six months, especially in the port of St. Julian which is by 50 degrees. There, Indians came on board, and having tasted the bread and wine that was given to them, manifested abhorrence for the same. No houses were seen. They live in the open air. There are many ostriches. The Indians use arrows. Some of the Indians came on board, and asked to be carried [away, and] they died afterwards at sea..."* [163]

159 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/pinguino-island-group-situated-at-47-54-degrees-s-and-consisting-of-5-islands-islets.jpg

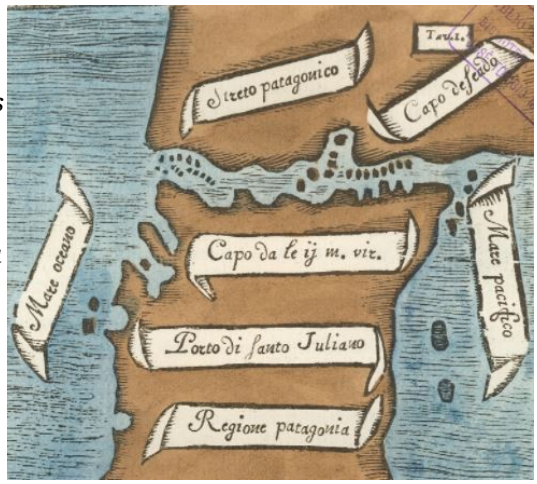
160 Image kindly provided by Fabian Turcato. A hyperlink on the map will take the reader to a Google maps image.

161 *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition. Pigafetta's depiction of the coast and the strait (south-up orientation on next page) places two islands alongside the port of San Julian. These were not the Falklands, but an illusion. On the approach to the port, from a distance, the outer arm appears to be two or more islands. Only on closing can the lower land between the heights be discerned. That Pigafetta's memory was not accurate is unsurprising considering his later experiences; one of only a handful to survive the circumnavigation. See also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/pigafetta-1.jpg

162 Magellan appears to have taken a month to cover five degrees of latitude – some 300 miles. At San Julian the fleet over-wintered for nearly five months in conditions that eventually fuelled a mutiny. Viciously suppressed by Magellan. *Santiago* was lost there, in a storm, while surveying the port. There is no record of *San Antonio* leaving San Julian during this time. Nor of it sighting an archipelago three degrees (180 miles/289km) further south.

163 Siebold 2015 citing a note by Diego Ribero on his world map of 1529. My emphasis. The rumours of giants in South America started with Magellan's expedition in 1520. Not with the British in 1764.

"On Friday the 11th of January (1619), a little after noon, we arrived at the entrance of the bay of St. Julian... Coming from the north and seeking it from a distance, when three or four islets are in sight, it is no other than the bay of San Julian. For these islets are seen at a distance, and on reaching them they are seen to shut out the land to the S.W., one with the other." [164]



"Mr. Allardyce... suggests that the (Falkland) Islands were discovered about 1527 and were known as the Ascensions Islands or the Sanson Group. I am now reading... 'America, La Bien Llamada Part II – by Dr. Roberto Levillier ... on page 195 he convinces me that the Sanson Group were the Islet and the peninsula at the entrance to San Julian, ... His book reproduces a map of Pigafetta (right), ... which shows two islands at the entrance to San Julian and no islands where the Falklands are."[165]

"The expedition of Magallanes of 1520, is considered by some historians, as the discoverer of the Malvinas Islands. Confirmed by the subsequent cartography, especially in the Planispheres of Diego de Ribero, 1527..."[166]

Magellan's ships continue to sit out the winter at San Julian; his crews, on restricted rations, disenchanted. [167]

"Part of the fleet then mutinied. Pigafetta says that the ring-leaders were killed or put ashore in Patagonia before the fleet sailed into the Pacific. No part of his narrative indicates that any of Magellan's ships sailed eastwards towards the Falklands, or that any mutineers escaped with a ship which passed the islands on its way back to Europe." [168]

At the end of **April**, Magellan sends *Santiago* (Serrão) to the south to reconnoitre the coast.

"Towards the end of April the Captain-general determined to undertake a reconnaissance of the coast in the vicinity. The fear of a more or less prolonged inaction and its effect upon the men most probably led him to this step. The Santiago, from her handiness and small draught, was chosen for the work, and her choice was the more indicated from the fact of Serrao being her commander. Few men Avere so well versed in the art of seamanship and navigation; fewer still were endowed with his experience." [169]

May 22nd, some 50 miles south of San Julian, *Santiago* is wrecked during a storm; grounding, the crew are able to get to shore. Two of the crew volunteer to trek north to find Magellan. [170]

"Upon their return, the crew of the Santiago were distributed among the four remaining ships, and Serrao, who had displayed both courage and ability in his conduct of the shipwrecked crew, was rewarded by the

164 *Narrative of the Voyage ... (of) the Captains Bartolome Garcia de Nodal and Gonzalo de Nodal... for the discovery of the new Strait of San Vincente (which today is called Le Maire) and reconnaissance of that of Magellan* 1766 in Markham 1911 pp.229-230. The Nodal brothers' observations date from 1619.

165 Commander Lloyd-Hirst in *Falkland Islands Monthly Review* December 6, 1971.

166 Destefani 1982 (2) p.25. Initially a doubter, Destefani was persuaded by Rolando A. Laguardo Trias, a Uruguayan historian, that the Magellan expedition had seen the Falklands' archipelago. Laguardo Trias based this conclusion on a story and chart by Frenchman André Thevet, produced in 1586. Unsupported by evidence. *cf.* 1523, 1527 & 1586

167 For a full account of the mutiny, its suppression and subsequent punishments see Guillemard 1891 pp.165-172

168 *Colonies in Conflict: The History of the British Overseas Territories* C. Cawley 2015. The gibbets were still standing more than 50 years later. *cf.* 1578

169 Guillemard 1891 p.175

170 Apparently, informed of the loss, Magellan sent a relief party overland to retrieve his missing crew, all of who were returned to San Julian without any loss of life.

command of the Concepcion. The ultimate result of the two disasters which had befallen Magellan was greatly to strengthen his hand. In lieu of three disaffected and traitorous captains - Quesada, Cartagena, and Mendoza - the commands were held by Portuguese, in whom he could place complete and absolute reliance. Serrao, as we have seen, took the Concepcion, while the S. Antonio and Victoria were captained by Alvaro de Mesquita and Duarte Barbosa, the former of whom was Magellan's first cousin, the latter his brother-in-law." [171]

July 28th, Magellan's crews celebrate the feast-day of Saint Samson of Dol, a Bishop of Brittany.

"Laguarda Trías[172] *carries out an exhaustive analysis and concludes that the the discovery (of the Falkland Islands) must have been at the end of July 1520 and, as the 28th was precisely the day of Saint Samson – a 6th century French bishop –, he thinks it logical that this was the exact date. Then he goes one by one to all the Portuguese who were with Magellan and ends up insisting that Jerónimo de Guerra and Esteban Gomes should be considered the discoverers of the Malvinas."..."* [173]

"... the history of the discovery of Malvinas was linked to Magellan's decision to send the ship "San Antonio" to explore the sea, commanded by Jerónimo de Guerra and with the Portuguese Esteban Gomes as pilot, from San Julián, where he wintered and a revolt dominated. These men discovered some islands that they called "de San Son", which was another of the names of the archipelago, based on the biblical character who is catalogued as a giant..." [174]

August 24th, Magellan's fleet finally sails on, but, encountering storms, they shelter in a river mouth. [175]

"The latitude was fixed, with very tolerable accuracy, at 50°. In this port ... two months were passed." [176]

"The Falkland Islands were not discovered by the expeditions of Amerigo Vespucci (1502) or Ferdinand Magellan (1520) – neither went anywhere near the Falklands." [177]

October 21st, Magellan's ships finally arrive at what the lack of fresh water suggests, may be the hoped for passage through to the Pacific; *"We all believed, that it was a cul-de-sac; but the captain knew that he had to navigate a very well concealed strait, having seen it on a chart preserved in the treasury of the King of Portugal, and made by Martin of Bohemin (sic)..."* [178]

"On the whole, then, the balance of evidence is in favour of a more or less inexact knowledge of the existence of some antarctic break in the vast barrier which America opposed to a western passage. No less indefinite statement can be made with any certainty. It is indeed possible that the wish was father to the thought, and that the explorers of those days, having tried Central and Northern America in vain, and feeling that the land to the south of the Terra Sanctae Crucis alone offered them a chance, eventually persuaded themselves into a belief in the real existence of the object of their desire. There were reasonable arguments in favour of it also.

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171 Guillemard 1891 p.179

172 *Nave española descubre las Islas Malvinas en 1520* Rolando A. Laguarda Trias 1983

173 *Malvinas. Su historia en historias* Arnoldo Canclini 2000 p.15. Only one ship left San Julian during the winter stop-over, the ill-fated *Santiago*. And why would an obscure French Saint from Britttany be chosen, when the ship that Estêvão Gomes was a crew member of was named *San Antonio* (San Son?) – Saint Anthony? Also the patron saint of lost things. What little evidence there is, eliminates Gomes as a candidate for any sighting of the Falklands archipelago. He certainly never mentioned such upon his return to Spain. Nor did Jerónimo de Guerra or the other 52 members of the crew. *cf.* 1523

174 *Valor Geoestratégico de las Islas Malvinas en la Distribución de Poder a principios del Siglo XXI* Juan Cruz Campagna 2014. For a consideration of the Sanson Islands, and their location, see February/March, 1520 above.

175 Marooning two mutineers that had not been executed – Juan de Cartagena and his priest, Pedro Sanchez de Reina.

176 Guillemard 1891 pp.186-187

177 Pascoe 2020 p.342

178 Pigafetta quoted in Guillemard 1891 p.189

The fact that the southern part of the continent ever trended to the west, that the vast mass of Africa terminated in a cape, appeared of no little import to navigators at the beginning of the sixteenth century." [179]

November 1st, Magellan orders two ships, to enter the mouth of the strait.

> *"After going and taking the course to the fifty-second degree of the said Antarctic sky, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, we found, by a miracle, a strait which we called the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, this strait is a hundred and ten leagues long, which are four hundred and forty miles, and almost as wide as less than half a league, and it issues in another sea, which is called the peaceful sea;..."* [180]

> *"This strait was a circular place surrounded by mountains (as I have said), and to most of those in the ships it seemed that there was no way out from it to enter the said Pacific Sea. But the captain-general said that there was another strait which led out, saying that he knew it well and had seen it in a marine chart of the King of Portugal which a great pilot and sailor named Martin of Bohemia had made. The said captain sent forward two of his ships, one named Santo Antonio and the other Concepción, to seek and discover the outlet of the said strait,.."* [181]

November 20th, feeling his way through the uncharted narrows, Magellan instructs *San Antonio* and *Concepción* to explore one possible way forward; while he searches another in *Trinidad*.

"The land on the left in the said strait faced towards the Siroco, which is the wind between east and south. And we called it the Pathagonico strait. In it we found at every half league a good port, and anchorage, good water, and wood all of cedar, and fish also like sardines...." [182]

"Now this straight, ... betwene two landes, named in Greke Istmas, a straight or a pointe of lande betwene two waters, as that of Daryen confineth America toward the South, and there seperateth with an other land discouered but not inhabited, euen as Gebaltar doeth Europe with Africa, and that of Constantinople doeth Europe with Asia, being named the straight of Magellan, by his name that first dyd discouer it, lyeng fifty two degrées and a halfe beyonde the Equinoctiall, contayning of bredth, two leagues by one only height straight East and West, two thousand two hundreth leagues from the North to the South, furthermore, from the Caape of Essead, which is at the entring of the straight, vnto the other South Sea seuenty foure leagues, vntill the first Caape or Promentary, which is fortie degrées. ... In this Region betwene the Riuer of Platte, and this straight, the inhabitaunts are very mightie, named in their language Pategones, Giants, bicause of their high stature, & forme of bodies. They which first discouered this countrey, tooke one of them finely, being twelue foote long, who was so vneasie to holde, that 25 men had inough to doe about him, and for to kepe him it behoued them to bynde his féete and hands in their shippe, notwithstanding they could not kepe him long aliue, but for sorow & thought (as they saye) he died for hunger. ... In this straight are many fair Ilands, but not inhabited, the country about is very baren: ful of hilles and mountaines, and there is founde nothing but rauishyng beastes, birdes of diuers kindes, chiefly Estriges, woodde of diuers sorts, Cedres, and others. Also an other kynde of trée bearing fruite almoste like a cherie, but muche more pleasant to eate. ... In the ende with good guide they came vnto Daryen from thence they entred in, and discouered the south sea, on the other coast or side of America, ... About this place of the west sea, ther are foure Ilands desert inhabited (as they say) onely with Satyres,

179 Guillemard 1891 p.197

180 *Anthony Pigapheta, Patrician of Vicenza, and Knight of Rhodes, to the very illustrious and very excellent Lord Philip de Villiers Lisleaden, the famous Grand Master of Rhodes, his most respected Lord.* Undated

181 *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition

182 *Ibid.*

therfore they haue named them Ilands of Satyres. Likewise in this same sea are found ten Ilands named Manioles, inhabited with wilde men, the which are of no religion, …" [183]

Allowing *Concepción* to sail ahead, pilot Estevan Gomes (Estêvão Gomes/z) seizes control of *San Antonio*. He imprisons its captain, Mesquita, and deserts Magellan's expedition. [184]

"According to Navarrete, the desertion of Magellan's fleet by the ship S. Antonio, was caused by Esteban Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, who, from rivalry with Magellan, and envy at seeing others promoted instead of himself, after the executions, got up a conspiracy on board the S. Antonio, and proposed to return to Spain. The mutineers put Alvaro de Mezquita in irons; they then went to the coast of Guinea, and thence to Spain." [185]

"… he conspired with certain Spaniards. And the following night they seized the captain of his ship, who was the captain-general's brother, and named Alvaro de Mesquita, whom they wounded and put in irons. And so they took it back to Spain. In this ship which went away was one of the aforesaid two giants whom we had taken, but when he felt the heat he died." [186]

On reaching the Atlantic, Gomes turns the ship for Spain.

"Ratto has supposed that Gomez, on leaving the Straits, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the Malvinas. This is not so; the documents of the hearings show that he did not set sail for the Cape but for the Guineas… Neither is anything said about the discovery of the islands in the testimony given by 53 members of his crew during the hearings." [187]

"Esteban Gomez, a deserter from Magellan's expedition could have passed close by (the Falklands), but again his notes make no mention of a sighting." [188]

November 28th, Magellan's expedition passes out of the western mouth of the strait into a calm sea – *Mar Pacifico*.

"The only Discovery then, which the Spaniards can claim here, is the Discovery of the Strait of Magellan, the Portuguese having discovered the East Coast of Patagonia, long before Magellan's voyage, and the English having completed the Discovery!.." [189]

"… Spain could have gained but a feeble title on the ground of priority of discovery: certainly none that would apply to the southern, eastern, and western coasts of Terra del Fuego, Cape Horn, Staten-land, and the Falkland Islands;…" [190]

"Magellan's discovery of the three hundred and thirty miles of tortuous strait between Tierra del Fuego and the tip of South America was the high point of this epic journey. …" [191]

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183 *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* André Thevet 1557. Also *The New found vvorlde, or antarctike,…*. André Thevet 1568. Thevet did much to promote the story of giants in South America. *cf.* 1557 & 1586

184 Fortunately (?), Magellan's chief pilot-cosmologer, Andrés de San Martín, had previously transferred from *San Antonio* to *Victoria.* San Martin did not survive the expedition, although some of his papers appear to have ended up in the hands of the Portuguese. None survive. *cf.* 1522 & 1586

185 Stanley 1874. Navarrete was a 19th century Spanish historian.

186 *Magellan's Voyage:… by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition

187 Destefani 1982. Héctor Ratto published a paper under the pen name, Doserres, in 1928 entitled *Bordejeando, trabajo de vulgarización sobre los descubrimientos, exploraciones, y levantamientos de las costas patagónicas.* The 'hearings' refer to two enquiries in Spain that followed the return of Magellan's 18 survivors in 1522.

188 Bullrich 2000 p.51. A world of possibilities, but no actual evidence. *cf.* 1523

189 Dalrymple 1790

190 *Voyage of the United States Frigate, Potomac…* J. N. Reynolds 1835 p.500

191 *Cape Horn* Felix Riesenberg 1950 p.5. Something of an understatement as only a handful of men returned to Spain.

"It must however be stressed that the discovered straits had not the slightest resemblance to the hypothetical straits of the earlier maps: these spoke of a wide water lane, similar to that of Gibraltar where the opposite shore could just be discerned; the actual straits are, as is known, of the nature of fjords – they are narrow and are flanked by high banks on either side." [192]

1521 — April 27th, in the Philippines, during a violent dispute with a local tribe, Ferdinand Magellan is killed, along with his chief pilot-cosmologer, Andres de San Martin. [193]

May 6th, in Seville, Spain, *San Antonio*, under the command of Estêvão Gomes, anchors. Gomes, together with the members of his crew, are detained for interview by the clerks of the Casa de Contratación.

"Gomes and his comrades had, of course, a well-concocted story to hide their treachery. They complained that the flagship had failed at the rendezvous, and having searched for her in vain they had no alternative but to return to Spain. But they did not confine themselves to excuses. The gravest accusations were brought against Magellan – that he was guilty of great harshness and cruelty, that he sailed at random, and that he lost time and wasted the provisions by endless delays, and that all this was to no good end or profit whatsoever. ... The result of the inquiry instituted by the India House, however, was such that Gomes and Guerra, together with two others more especially implicated in the mutiny, were also incarcerated." [194]

In the Pacific, the three surviving ships of Magellan's expedition are reduced to two when *Concepcion* is destroyed by fire. *Trinidad* and *Victoria* continue on to the Spice Islands (Moluccas).

December 21st, *Victoria* sails for Spain under Elcano (del Cano). *Trinidad,* unseaworthy, remains in the Moluccas.

1522 — in Seville, an existing chart from 1519 (right) has all the information that Gomes can provide added to it.

"... there are strong presumptions to believe that the map of the Top Kapu (sic) is an original map made by Pedro Reinel for the Magellan expedition in 1519 and retouched by him in 1522. ... The strait of Magellan is not represented, but we see in its place a large anonymous bay near 'Cavo San Antonio' which recalls the name of Gomez's ship.[195] *... Thus, one can accept that this map was made between 1522 and 1524 by Pedro Reinel for presentation at the conferences of Badajos."* [196]

192 Siebold 2015

193 A fight seemingly initiated by Magellan, following some resistance by the local population to being baptized.

194 Guillemard 1891 p.216. The crew had had plenty of time to get their stories straight; emphasising the supposed treachery of Magellan. Alvaro de Mesquita, shackled by the deserters, promptly found himself imprisoned in Seville. Gomes was not incarcerated for long. He, and his reputation, were subsequently restored during the Valladolid hearings. See Cortesao 1954.

195 The phrase '*Cavo San Antonio*', referred to by Destombes, eludes this researchers eyes.

196 *L'Hemisphere Austral en 1524: Une carte de Pedro Reinel a Istanbul* Marcel Destomes 1938 in Schilder, van der Krogt & de Clercq (eds) 1987. One fascinating anomaly is the presence of the *Tropic of Cancer* in the wrong hemisphere – an error that appears in the Miller Atlas of 1519, with which Pedro and Jorge Reinel are also associated.

The eastern coast of Patagonia is extended below the known features of Brazil to a great southern bay containing an island. To the east of which sits another large island. [197]

Written along the uncompleted west coast are the words - '*Land discovered by Fernado de Magalhaes.*' [198]

"I believe the map to be a copy, made by Pedro Reinel himself between 1522 and 1524, of a previous map, also drawn by him in 1519, in which the Moluccas were placed outside of the Portuguese hemisphere in view of Magellan's expedition round the world. ... It is the first map in date to give a fairly good representation of the austral hemisphere, it is the only Portuguese chart known between 1520 and 1530, it contains the original record of the discovery of South America by Magellan..." [199]

Researcher's Comment: Unsigned, undated and not widely examined, this chart was discovered in 1935 at the Topkapi Saray Library in Istanbul.[200] It provides no information as to its origin, authorship or country. However, in a brief description published in 1938 for the International Geographical Conference, Frenchman Marcel Destombes[201] called it the *Chart of Magellan*. Dating it to around 1522 and attributing the chart to Pedro Reinel on the basis of a questionable handwriting sample. Destombes hypothesised that the map had been started in 1519 by a Portuguese cartographer and then updated in 1522, by the same hand.

Many Portuguese cartographers were in Seville in 1519, including Pedro (briefly) and Jorge Reinel, also Portuguese pilot Estêvão Gomes and, allegedly, Diogo Ribeiro. Pedro Reinel, however, was not there in 1522, although Gomes certainly was.

On his return to Spain in 1521, Gomes was debriefed at the Casa de Contratacion in Seville and obliged to provide details of all the discoveries during his voyage.

He was also subject to examination during two inquiries following the return of the other Magellan survivors.

Istanbul's *Hazine no.1825* chart clearly shows Brazil as it was known to the Portuguese before 1519. It then reveals the east coast of Patagonia as discovered by Magellan's expedition, up until Gomes's desertion.

Nothing on this chart relates to Magellan or Elcano's experiences in travesing the strait, sailing up the west coast or crossing the Pacific Ocean. What this map reveals is seemingly limited to those discoveries known to Gomes, which identifies this chart as antecedent to the return of Elcano in September, 1522.

It seems obvious that the part of the chart dedicated to Brazil, is from a different hand to that whch outlined Patagonia. Near the tip of the south cone is a large bay generally acknowledged to be San Julian. The bay where Magellan, Gomes and the fleet overwintered in 1520.

197 Just above a hole in the parchment. Some photographs do not make this clear. See also 1646.
198 This chart employs a remarkably early terrestrial azimuthal equidistant or Postel projection centred on the South Pole.
199 Destombes 1955 in Schilder, van der Krogt & de Clercq (eds) 1987 p.67
200 Istanbul's authorities are unable to shed any light on the question of how this chart came to be there. See Couto 2013. *Hazine 1825* is a reference number associated with this chart. Topkapi library numbers 1827 & 1828 have also been cited. See *Manuscript maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Instanbul* E. H. van de Wall 1969.
201 Amateur historian with a specific interest in cartographic instruments. Destomes had no relevant qualifications.

If that supposition is correct, the large but incomplete island to the east is most likely a mispositioned Tierra del Fuego. Why? Because Gomes had explored part of a strait, and a strait has two sides. Destombes, however, believed the island represented a sighting of the Falklands archipelago by Vespucci in 1502. He does not seem to have speculated upon the missing Tierra del Fuego. If, however, the large bay with its central island is not San Julian, then it can only represent the strait itself. Or as much of the strait as Gomes explored; he never saw the western mouth. If that is the case, then the island to the east may well represent an early sighting of the Falklands archipelago, although its subsequent absence from Seville charts after 1522 is hard to explain. If there was an earlier sighting, the chart gives no indication by who, or when.

Wild theories aside, and possibly far more worthy of note, is the inclusion of six unidentified red dots close to the Patagonian coast.[202] Perhaps the first depiction of the Sanson group situated at latitude 47° 54'S?

"Later cartographers presumably copied Waldseemüller's data. For example, the Circulus Antarcticus, drawn by the Portuguese cartographer Pedro Reinel and dated to [1522], shows unnamed islands in the approximate position of the Falklands. No record has been found of other voyages in the area whose journals could have provided the basis for new information, apart from Magellan's expedition the survivors from which only returned to Spain in September 1522. The most likely explanation is that Reinel but simply repositioned the "Insule delle Pulzelle"..." [203]

"According to Destombes, this image is the work of the Lusitanian cartographers Pedro and Jorge Reinel, who in 1519 could have participated in the construction of the instruments and navigation charts for the Magallanes fleet. This, however, is unlikely. ... The Chart of Magellan is conserved in the Topkapi Palace Library of Istanbul, and in it, while the north coast of the Strait is clearly delineated, the southern band is indicated with a group of islands (sic). Beyond these lies a Southern Sea that – like the Greek and biblical oceanus – completely covers the Antarctic Region. ... Southern Patagonia, the Strait itself, the Archipelago of Tierra del Fuego and the Islands of Cape Horn, the Southern Sea and the American sector of Antarctica. All these entities were represented for the first time in the Chart of Magallanes of circa 1523." [204]

"... my vote goes to Gomes sighting the Jason Islands, but not the Falklands proper, after leaving Magellan, based upon my interpretation of Iberian cartography." [205]

"It seems to record an otherwise unknown Portuguese expedition before Magellan's much more famous one; the earlier expedition evidently visited sdome places in northern Brazil, and found at least the north coast of the Falklands too. They must have returned home in roughly mid-1519 at the latest, to allow time for their discoveries to be passed to Magellan." [206]

September 6th, at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the 18 survivors of Magellan's expedition on *Victoria*, led by Juan Sebastian Elcano (del Cano), finally return to Spain. Two days later they reach Seville. [207]

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202 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1522-hazine-map-no.-1825-in-topkapi-palace-istanbul-detail.-north-is-to-the-right.-revealing-brazil-and-the-southern-cone-as-known-to-estc3aavc3a3o-gomes.jpg

203 Cawley 2015. Waldseemüller had depicted the *Insule delle Pulzelle* mid-Atlantic. See 1507 above.

204 *The first representation of the Strait of Magellan Region* Jorge Guzmán 2017

205 Gregory McIntosh, cartographic researcher at the University of Lisbon. In conversation, August 24, 2019.

206 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.74. There is no evidence of a Portuguese expedition during 1519.

207 See Markham 1911 p.19. Thirteen more survivors had been abandoned in the Cape Verde Islands during an escape from Portuguese authorities. They were eventually returned via Lisbon, as were four others from the *Trinidad*. In her hold, on arrival, *Victoria* had 381 sacks of cloves from the disputed Spice Islands (Moluccas). The value of this cargo was far more than the cost of the original five ships fitted out in 1519. Magellan was never given the credit he deserved by Spain, or Portugal, as both considered him a traitor. The expedition, however, actually turned a profit for its investors.

"Having come unto Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 6 September 1522, the ship Victoria under the command of Juan Sebastian de Elcano, we learned in Spain the events of the expedition of Magellan,..." [208]

"... soul breaking hardships and great dangers... reduced a company of two hundred and forty adventurers to a mere eighteen, among them a ship's boy. Four natives of the Moluccas, last remnant of thirteen stolen people of the East, were also carried to Spain by the stout little Vittoria, the first ship to circumnavigate the world." [209]

October 21st, in the Pacific Ocean, *Trinidad*, still under repair, is captured by Portuguese forces.[210]

"When the Portuguese captured Magellan's flagship Trinidad at Ternate in the Moluccas on 21 October 1522 after Magellan's death, they seized the papers of the expedition's cartographer Andrés de San Martín, who had already died." [211]

In Spain, the Magellan expedition survivors are interviewed. Some are required to give evidence to a tribunal of inquiry at the Valladolid Court of Emperor Charles V. One, Antonio Pigafetta, provides a written account. [212]

The criticisms of Magellan, as reported by Gomes on his return, are reinforced by Elcano and others.

"Many details of Magellan's discovery and circumnavigation came from one original source, the journal kept with diligence during three years, 1519 to 1522 ... by an Italian scholar, Antonio Pigafetta, Knight of Rhodes, formerly assistant to His Excellency the Roman Ambassador of King Charles I of Spain." [213]

"... nothing is mentioned of such a discovery (the Falklands) in the famous Diaries of Antonio de Pigafetta, .., nor in what is related by Maxiliano de Taancilvano, which can be found in the "Collection of Documents" in Navarrete's and other editions. They are the only complete and contemporary accounts of the voyage." [214]

"Journals of the voyage were written by Antonio Pigafetta and Francisco Albo (from Brazil to the Strait only), and Maximilian of Transylvania interviewed the surviving crew of the Victoria after their return to Spain and wrote the first published account. None of those authors mentions any islands anywhere near the Falklands."[215]

In Strasbourg, a map of the world by Lorenz Fries is published (right). Next to the tip of South America is the drawing of a bird – a gosling or duck. [216]

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208 *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fines del Siglo XV,... By order of His Majesty* Martin Fernandez de Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.5

209 Riesenberg 1950 p.8

210 One of those taken prisoner was Ginés de Mafra, who had in his custody the navigational notes, papers and charts of deceased cosmologer, Andrés de San Martin. These papers found their way to Lisbon in 1526, where the charts were stored; then transferred to Madrid sometime after 1580. The archive is now lost, but was studied at the time by a number of notable historians, including Spain's Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. There is no evidence that any of the papers or charts included an island group similar to that drawn by Andre Thevet for his unpublished work of 1586.

211 Pascoe 2020 p.16

212 Pigafetta was not required to give evidence to the Spanish inquiry. He did, however, travel to the Valladolid palace and present Charles V with a copy of his journal. Pigafetta then returned to Italy where, between 1523 and 1524, he prepared his account for publication (*Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo*). More than one version survives. *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* by Yale University (1969 edition) was taken from one of three in French (a fourth was in Venetian Italian). Small discrepancies exist between the versions.

213 Riesenberg 1950 p.5

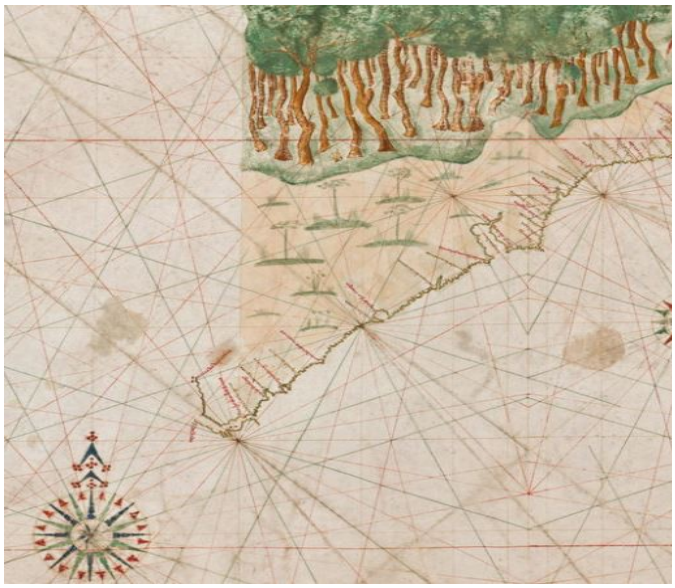
214 Destefani 1982 p.40.

215 Pascoe 2020 p.18 fn.2

216 Magellan was reputed to have given the name of *Patos* (duck) to an inshore island group. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-lorenz-fries-strassburg.jpg

1523 – another globe by Johann Schöner depicts South America and the Strait but, unlike his globes of 1515 and 1520, does not include Waldseemuller's *Insule delle Pulzelle* to the east of the strait. [217]

In Seville, where he works as a cartographer and cosmographer, a world map is completed by Juan (Giovanni) Vespucci (detail right). [218]



"The Geocarta Nautica Universale [Great Universal Maritime Chart], as defined in the recording inventory) is the first known map, drawn before the Junta de Badajoz (before 1524), which takes into account the results of the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan's expedition (1522)..." [219]

1524 – at Badajoz, a conference is held to consider outstanding issues between Spain and Portugal arising from the 1494 Tordesillas agreement. Delegates from both countries attend, together with notable cartographers in an advisory capacity. [220]

At the end of the debate, Spain and Portugal sign the *Treaty of Vitoria*.

"In the year 1493, when the feverish rivalry in distant navigation was at its height between the Castilians and the Portuguese, Pope Alexander fixed a meridian circle distant 100 leucae (leagues) from any of the Cape Verde Islands, or from any of the Azores, to mark off for each faction its rights in navigation and conquest, allotting the western hemisphere to the Castilians, the eastern to the Portuguese. This boundary, however, was set aside by both factions on account of the disputes that arose, and in 1524 there was established as their common boundary the meridian distant 370 leucae to the west of San Antonio, the westernmost of the Gorgades." [221]

Seville's Casa de Contratacion comes under the control of a new Royal Council – the Consejo de Indias.

"*... but the state dependency acted as a drag and the excessive bureaucracy decreased its effectiveness."* [222]

September 24th, from A Coruña in northern spain, Estêvão Gomes sails for North America. An expedition financed by the King to search for a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. [223]

1525 – Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Carlos I of Spain) orders a gift for Cardinal Salviati, a papal nuncio to Spain. A planisphere to be copied from the *Padrón Real* (detail next page).[224]

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217 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1523-sch%C3%B6ner.jpg

218 Juan Vespucci was Amerigo Vespucci's nephew and heir (See 1502). On Amerigo's death, Juan inherited his uncle's work and charts. He would also go on to inherit his uncle's position at the Casa de Contratación. It is worthy of note then, that no islands are shown to the east of the South Cone on Juan Vespucci's 1523 world map. Also, at this time, Estêvão Gomes was employed in the same building as Juan Vespucci. Had Gomes seen a large archipelago nearly 100 leagues to the north-east of the strait, it seems likely that he would have mentioned it to his fellow countryman.

219 Siebold 2015 #333.1

220 See April, 1529.

221 Gerardus Mercator 1569 (written onto sheet 15 of his map of that year.)

222 Sanz 2012. A Council consisting of lawyers.

223 Relevant to the dating of the *Castiglione Planisphere* of *c*.1527; erroneously dated to 1525.

224 A Papal nuncio was an ecclesiastical diplomat and envoy. Cardinal Salviati served in Spain between 1525 & 1530, and the work is now known as the Salviati Planisphere.

"Based upon the style and decoration employed on this map, it is thought by some scholars to be the work of Nuno Garcia de Toreno, once the head of the Casa de la Contratacion, the ministry in Seville that was responsible for all of the commercial and scientific matters relating to the new discoveries... It will be noticed that there are considerable similarities between this map and a planisphere in the Archivio Marchesi Castiglioni in Mantua produced in 1525 by the Portuguese cartographer Diogo Ribero, de Toreno's successor in the Casa de la Contratacion" [225]

July 24th, a second Spanish expedition to seek a western route to the Spice Islands, via South America, sails from the port of A Coruña with 450 Spaniards. Commanded by Garcia Jofre de Loaisa (Loaysa) in his flagship *Santa Maria de la Vittoria*; Magellan expedition survivor, Juan Sebastián Elcano (del Cano), is second in command. The rest of the fleet consists of *Santi-Spiritus, Santa Maria de Parral* (Jorge Manrique de Najera), *San Lesmes* (Francisco de Hoyas), *Anunciada* (Pedro de Vera) and *San* Gabriel (Rodrigo de Acuña). [226]

August 21st, the expedition to North America, led by Estêvão Gomes, returns to Spain having failed to discover a north-west passage.

December 28th, somewhat behind the rest of Loaisa's fleet, *San Gabriel* arrives at the Rio de la Plata. [227]

1526 – January 10th, following Magellan's track, Loaisa passes Cabo Blanco.

> *"... from this Cabo Blanco to the south-west there is another cape that looks like three islands, the one in the middle small, and the two larger:.., and this day the sun was sunk on the right side of three islands at 47 degrees,.."* [228]

"On the 11th they did not move because they were becalmed from the previous night ... around this time they were near a small island, which in the middle had a ravine (making) look like two islands because in the centre the land was flat; from this island to the coast was almost a league to Cabo Blanco and to the one of the previous day... From the dawn they made a course to the WSW to approach the land; at ten they found a dry one that was EW with the island of Los Patos, five leagues distant from it, barren and flat..." [229]

January 24th, the Loaisa expedition reaches the entrance to Magellan's Strait, where the ships anchor. [230] During the night they are beset by a storm, which beaches the *Sancti Spiritus*.

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225 Siebold 2015 #336

226 An all Spanish expedition.

227 *Relacion de Francisco Davila; sobresaliente de la nao S. Gabriel, asi de la navegacion de Loaisa desde la Coruna hasta el estrecho de Magallanes,...* in Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.225.

228 *Pilot of the voyage and navigation of the Loaisa armada from its departure from La Coruña until June 1, 1526; events of the Nao Victoria after being separated from the fleet; and description of the coasts and seas where she went: everything to the King by Hernando de la Torre* in *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fines del Siglo XV,... By order of His Majesty* in Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.255. This log appears to have been written up by Hernando de la Torres in 1528, before his return to Spain, and formed part of the documentation collected for de Acuña's trial in 1537. *cf.* 1520 & 1522

229 Navarrete 1837 vol.5 pp.19-20

230 *Ibid.* p.259

"The wind continued to increase in violence, and the ship of Juan Sebastian del Cano, where I was, drove broadside onto the beach. In reaching the land nine men lost their lives and the rest were half drowned." [231]

January 25th, seeing *Sancti Spiritus* breaking up, the other ships seek shelter within the Strait.

February 11th, at Magellan's Strait, storms return and *Anunciada* is driven out to sea; never to be seen again. *Santa Maria de la Victoria* suffers extensive damage. *San Lesmes* (Francisco de Hoces) is driven south before the wind.

"... Francisco de Hozes (Hoyas) was driven out of the strait to the south as far as 55S. They said when they returned, that they saw (what) appeared to be the end of the land." [232]

February 12th, Loaisa orders Rodrigo de Acuña in *San Gabriel* to rescue a lost boat.

"... the Captain ordered Don Rodrigo de Acuña to go back to where the pinnace was, and to recover his boat, for it was fine weather. He was to tell the captain of the pinnace that we were going to Santa Cruz, and to go for the boat with as much despatch as possible. Don Rodrigo answered the Captain General that if he returned in such weather he would be lost. The Captain General replied that it was necessary to return to recover the boat, because boats were much needed. Don Rodrigo then asked the Captain General why he was ordered to go where he did not want to go. However he went and took the boat, which was handed over to him by the captain of the pinnace. He then went where he chose, for we never saw him again." [233]

San Gabriel sails out into the Atlantic, before turning north towards the Santa Cruz river. [234]

"D. Rodrigo waited another two days to enter the river, and not being able to get in, he decided to go (up) the coast. Many times there was wind to return to the Santa Cruz River; but he wanted to look for water, and he went to the bay of Los Patos that was at 27° 30', where he took water and other refreshments." [235]

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231 *Narrative of the Voyage to the Malucos or Spice Islands by the fleet commanded by the Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa written by the Captain Andrew de Urdaneta* in Markham 1911 p.44

232 Markham 1911 p.46. There may have been a sighting of Cape Horn by *San Lesmes,* (not otherwise discovered until 1616), which did manage to rejoin the fleet. Lost later in the Pacific.

233 *Ibid.*

234 The other ships arrived at the Santa Cruz river two days later to find no sign of *San Gabriel*. Accounts differ somewhat, however Loaisa considered de Acuña's action as a desertion, in light of his failure to rejoin the fleet. In 1537, after the last of the survivors reached Spain, de Acuña would be tried for abandoning Loaisa. The papers, very difficult to read, can be found in the Spanish Archive at *ES.41091.AGI/29//Patronato,38,R.7*

235 Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.167. Francisco Devila's account suggests that de Acuña was unable to get into the Santa Cruz river due to adverse winds and had little choice but to sail north in search of fresh water. Possibly a story contrived by de Acuña and his fellow conspirators to explain their desertion. The Santa Cruz river lies at 50º 07' S, while latitude 27º S is some 1,380 some miles further north. By any measure a long way to go for fresh water, and would mean passing the Deseado River and the Rio de la Plata. This is the point from which the latitudes provided (or as transcribed) confusingly depart from the probable. Cabo Blanco lies at 47º 12' S and it is known from other Loaisa expedition accounts that islands had been seen to the south of that feature at around 48º S. This fits with the islands described by Pigafetta and which the Yale University scholars (1969) believed to be at 47º 40' S. The distance between the Santa Cruz and Pigafetta's *Bay of Patos* is two degrees of latitude (120 miles). It seems likely that the latitude figures as transcribed for Navarrette's work 300 years later were misread and 47º somehow became 27º. According to Francisco Davila's story, whilst at these islands de Acuña received word of a group of 'Christians' – survivors of a previous expedition. It transpired that these were from the Juan Díaz de Solís 1516 expedition to the la Plata river; decimated by the local tribes.

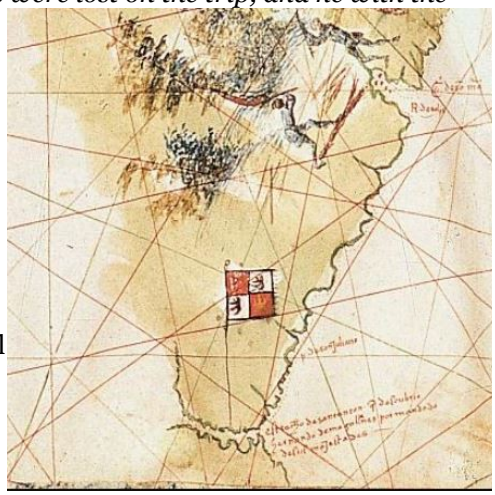
April 3rd, from St. Lucar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, four Spanish ships sail. Led by Sebastian Cabot the expedition is bound for Magellan's Strait and the Spice Islands of the Pacific. [236]

April 5th, in the south Atlantic, Loaisa re-enters Magellan's Strait with his remaining ships. [237]

"*.., Garcia de Loaiza, Knight of Malta at the service of Spain, undertook with a squad of seven ships, to follow the route of Magellan, and actually passed the Straits, but all his ships were lost on the trip, and he with the rest of his companions perished in the East Indies.*" [238]

A second planisphere is ordered by Charles V; intended as a gift for Count Baldassare Castiglioni, ambassador of Pope Clement VIII. [239]

"In the Archivo Marchesi Castiglioni, in Mantua, there is an anonymous planisphere which has never been properly studied or wholly reproduced;... This Planisphere is a product of the Casa de Contratación, of Seville, and undoubtedly a copy of the Padrón..."[240]



In Seville, Juan (Giovanni) Vespucci finishes another world map (detail right). A faint dotted line along the South American coast indicates the track of Magellan's voyage south in 1519/20. The bay where Magellan's fleet over-wintered is identified with the words *p. de san Juliano*.

At the strait are the words *'estrecho de santanton q descubrio hernando de magallanes por mandado de sus majestades'*. [241]

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236 At the time Cabot was Chief Pilot at the Casa de Contratación in Seville, but had to resign to take on the voyage. Cabot's investors, which included English cartographer Robert Thorne, a then resident of Seville, were interested only in the potential profits although Cabot may have had his own agenda. In any event he was distracted at the Rio de la Plata by rumours of Indian gold. He remained there until his inglorious return to Spain in 1530, without ever having seen the Pacific or made any discovery of note. There is no evidence that Cabot or any of his ships voyaged further south than the la Plata River. Of particular interest only because Cabot had been accompanied by two Englishmen – Roger Barlow and Henry Latimer (aka Patmer or Patimer). Both associates of Robert Thorne, who may have accompanied Cabot to keep an eye on Thorne's investment. In his book of 1557, French geographer Andre Thevet stated that the first man to step on the southern shore of Magellan's Strait had been an English pilot – "*Nowe as touchyng the other lande named Australl, which in costing ye straight is left on the left hand, is not yet known of christiā(n)s, but only of an English pylote, being a man as well seene & estemed in nauigation as any that can be founde, who hauing passed this straight, shewed me that he had descended on the land."* Magellan had carried an English master-gunner but no English pilots, while Drake did not get to those seas until 1577. Thevet, sadly, cannot be viewed as a reliable informant (see 1586). Another story suggests that Barlow returned to Spain in 1528 carrying news of Cabot's adventures but that Latimer arrived later – 1530, by some accounts. Accompanied by one Alonzo de Santa Cruz who had set out with Cabot in 1526. See *Roger Barlow: A New Chapter in early Tudor Geography* E.G.R. Taylor 1929 in *The Geographical Journal* vol.74 No.2 August 1929 pp.157-166. *cf.* 1557, 1560, 1575 & 1586

237 *Pilot of the voyage and navigation of the Loaisa armada from its departure from La Coruña until June 1, 1526; events of the Nao Victoria after being separated from the fleet; and description of the coasts and seas where she went: everything to the King by Hernando de la Torre* in Navarrete 1837 vol.5

238 *Títulos de la República Argentina a la Soberanía y Posesión de las Islas Malvinas* I. P. Areco 1885 p.15

239 Ambassador 1524 to his death in 1529. Variously dated from 1525 to 1527, the *Planisphero de Castiglioni* does show a small group of inshore islands to the east of the Patagonian coast. Unsigned but generally attributed to Diogo Ribiero. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1527-c.-planisphero-de-castiglioni-by-diogo-ribero-spain.png

240 Cortesao 1954. Hard to see, but there appears to be a group of seven dots located to the east of Patagonia.

241 *Strait of Santanton, discovered by Ferdinand Magellan by order of Their Majesties*. With Magellan dead, Pigafetta returned to Italy and Elcano gone, the only man still in Seville who had travelled to the strait in 1519 was Gomes. Reputation restored, his influence may perhaps be seen in this naming of the strait after his ship, *San Antonio*, by Juan Vespucci.

"Juan (Vespucci) was a member of the council to improve existing charts and the Badajoz-Elvas Commission of 1524, which attempted to resolve Portuguese Spanish claims in the East Indies. During the same year that Vespucci produced this map, he was appointed Examiner of Pilots,.."[242]

May 26th, the remains of the Loaisa expedition – *Santa Maria de la Victoria*, *Santa Maria de Parral*, *San Lesmes* and *Santiago* – finally break out into the Pacific Ocean. In poor condition and with insufficient supplies to attempt a crossing, *Santiago* heads for Mexico. [243] The remainder press on. [244]

At the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, Hernando Colón conducts a review of the *Padrón Real* master chart. [245]

1527 – May 28th, *San Gabriel* arrives back in Galicia. [246]

June 4th, the crew of *San Gabriel* are interviewed with regard to what has happened, what they saw and how they became separated from the main Loaisa fleet. [247] Following the interviews, cartographer Diego Ribeiro updates Spain's master chart at the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville (detail left). [248] On his depiction of South America, and adjacent to the Patagonian coastline, Ribeiro pictures both a single island and an island group. Above the group is written *y: de los patos*, while below it is *y· de s· ſon*. [249]

"As royal cosmographer, it was Ribero's duty to revise the padron real [padron general], the standard or official map, as new data was brought back by the pilots from their voyages of discovery. Therefore this map was the one that incorporated the most recent discoveries, corrections and revisions into one master map thereby providing the most accurate, continually updated delineation of the known world. ... No copy of this important padron real is now known to exist, although the

242 Siebold 2015 #338. It may be taken for granted that he had access to Spain's *Padrón Real.*

243 *Santiago* reached the coast of Tehuantepec in July 1526 and the crew were able to contact Spanish authorities. It is not clear what information was eventually sent back to Spain, although news of their arrival undoubtedly was.

244 *Santa Maria de Parral* got as far as Mindanao where its captain was killed and most of the crew sold into slavery. Contact was lost with *San Lesmes* and its fate is unknown. *Santa Maria de la Victoria,* leaking badly, pressed on but by the end of August, 1526 both Loaisa and Elcano (del Cano) were dead. Toribio Alonso de Salazar took over and changed course for the Mariana Islands where they arrived on September 5, 1526. In October, 1526, and with Salazar also dead, the survivors reached the disputed Moluccas (Maluku Islands of eastern Indonesia). The famous Spice Islands. Those that managed to get ashore were stranded under Portuguese control. Eventually, when the Spanish-Portugal dispute had been resolved, the survivors were transported back to Portugal; arriving in Spain a decade after they had left. Thus was completed the second and little-known Spanish circumnavigation of 1526 to 1536.

245 Sanz 2012. The resulting map was apparently well regarded for accuracy, but is now lost.

246 Without Rodrigo de Acuña. It would seem that he did not return to Spain until 1529. Those that did go back, would have had a legal obligation to report new sightings to the *Casa de Contratación*.

247 *Relacion de Francisco Davila; sobresaliente de la nao S. Gabriel, asi de la navegacion de Loaisa desde la Coruna hasta el estrecho de Magallanes,...* in Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.225

248 From this year, the *Padrón Real* would become known as the *Padrón General.* A copy of the 1527 chart is held by the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar. Ribeiro's 1529 map is believed to be a copy. Detail of the 1527 chart provided by Graham Pascoe.

249 On Ribeiro's 1527 chart, the island *Patos* is depicted close to the coast between Cabo Blanco and San Julian. A little further out sit the group identified as *S·ſon.* This latter group, are depicted some two degrees of latitude (120 miles) too far north; far too close to the South American continent and far too small, to be the Falklands archipelago. Dr. Roberto Levillier has suggested (*America, La Bien Llamada* 1948 vol.2 p.195), that the *Sanson* group could have been a representation of the islet and peninsula at the entrance to the San Julian port.

Pilot Major was authorized to make and sell copies to all pilots, who were ordered to take them on their voyages. Ribero's existing maps are the nearest example of what these copies of the official map probably looked like." [250]

A French expedition under Giovanni da Verrazzano sets out for Brazil. [251]

June 10th, an expedition sponsored by England's King Henry VIII, and led by John Rut, sails for North America in two ships – *Mary Guilford* and *Samson*. [252]

In Seville, Robert Thorne prepares a world map destined as a gift from the Emperor Charles (Carlos I) to the British Ambassador. No islands are shown off the South American coast. [253]

1528 – March 27th, Spain's King Carlos I complains about English ships in the Caribbean.

> *"With respect to what you say of the English ship which anchored in the harbor of the city of Santo Domingo in that island [Hispaniola], I would have been much pleased had you taken and detained it, and had there not been such carelessness in this matter; for, as you will have learned, we are at war with the King of England, and even were we not it would have been well had you learned what voyage the ship was making and what she carried, and had not let the master and men of said ship go (as go they did), and after they had landed and visited the city and seen how it lies, and its harbour, inasmuch as they were from a foreign kingdom, and this was a thing not heretofore experienced in those parts. Nor can you exonerate yourselves in the matter, for there was great carelessness and negligence."*[254]

1529 – cartographer Diego Ribeiro, produces a further copy of the *Padrón Real* world map (detail right).[255] Adjacent to the Patagonian coast is pictured a single inshore island (in red) identified as *y(sl)a. de los patos*. Nearby, he reveals a group of seven islands (five red, two blue). Alongside these is written *y(sl)as deſanſon*.

"In Diego de Ribero's charts of 1529, a group of islands appears which are named "Sanson." They are 8 or 9 islands which could be the Malvinas. Others which are called "de los Patos" are very close to the coast. The Sanson islands are quite a lot further North (49º S) than the Malvinas (51º S) and a little more than half the distance to the coast." [256]

250 Siebold 2015 #346

251 De Verrazzano returned to Diepe in September 1527, with a cargo of wood. The French were clearly no more impressed by Spanish claims of exclusivity, than Britain was.

252 Seeking the fabled North-west Passage, *Samson* was lost in a storm. The name a coincidence. Surely?

253 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1527-robert-thorne.jpg

254 *Charles I, King of Spain, to the Judges of the Audiencia of Hispaniola, 27 March 1528*

255 A copy of this chart is owned by the Vatican Library in Rome. See also *The Story of the Falkland Islands: Being an Account of their Discovery and Early History 1500-1842* William L. Allardyce 1909. Allardyce, who became Governor of the Falklands in 1904, conjectured that the name '*Sanson*' derived from '*Ascension*.' Chart detail kindly provided by Graham Pascoe.

256 Destefani 1982

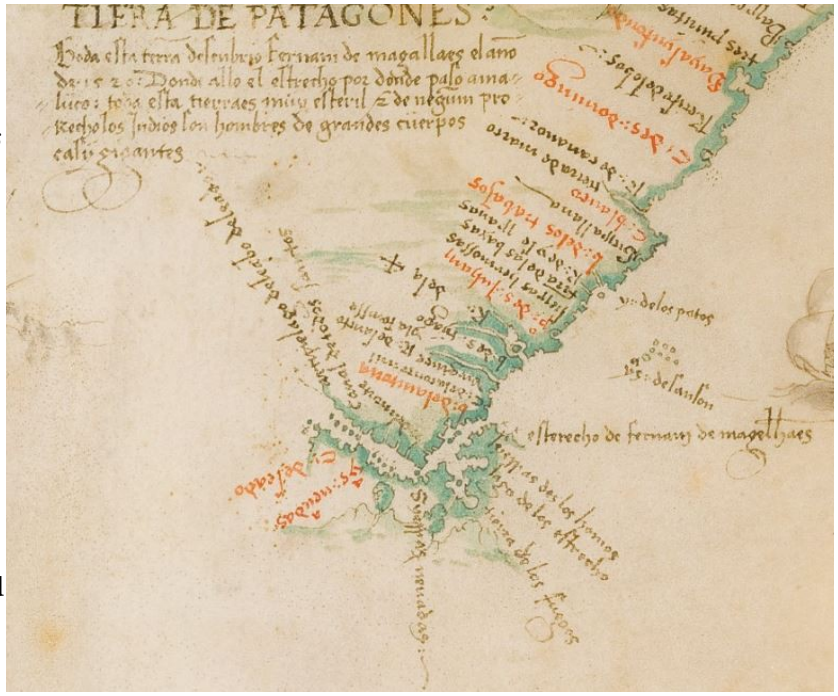
"There are two well known world maps signed by Ribero; one, produced in 1527 is in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar; and the other, produced in 1529 is sometimes called the Propaganda, or Second Borgian map, formerly in the Museo Borgia of the Propaganda Fide, now in the Vatican Library at Rome. A third map, produced in 1532 and closely resembling the other two, but unsigned, known as the Wolfenbüttel map, as it is in the Wolfenbüttel Grand Ducal Library, is also believed to be the work of Ribero." [257]

April 22nd, Spain and Portgual agree the *Treaty of Zaragoza,* creating a Tordesillas-style line, from pole to pole, across the Pacific Ocean. This anti-meridian line is set at 297.5 leagues (17°) to the east of the clove-growing Moluccas. [258]

Spain and Portugal settle their competing claims to the Spice Islands, in Portugal's favour.

1531 – in France, mathematician and astronomer, Oronce Fine (Oronte Finaeus), chair of mathematics at the Royal College, produces a double-condiform map of the world. Antarctica is depicted as a large island separated from South America by Magellan's Strait. No islands are shown off the Patagonian coastline. [259]

1533 – a map (right); *Mundus Novis,* by Spanish cartographer Alonso de Chaves features a single island close to the Patagonian coast identified as *y de los patos*. Also a group consisting of one large, and seven smaller islands further offshore. Named as *ys de ſanſon*.[260]



1534 – Oronce Fine produces a heart shaped map of the world – *Recens et Integra Orbis Descriptio*. [261]

September 24th, from Cadiz, a Spanish expedition to the Strait of Magellan sails. In two ships – *La Madre de Dios* and *San Pedro* – the expedition is commanded by Simon de Alcazaba; who has been granted territory in Patagonia.

1535 – January 18th, Alcazaba's two ships enter the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait; passing a high cross on a mast with an inscription – "*The year 1526.*"[262]

> *"We went into the strait as far as the island of ducks which they said was a third part of the strait. Our boat went to that island and, in three or four hours, brought back more than 300 ducks. In truth they were a new kind. They were unable to fly, and were killed with sticks."* [263]

257 Siebold 2015 #346
258 Assigning much of western Australia to Portugal and part of Japan to Spain.
259 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1531-oronce-fine-french.jpg
260 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1533-alonso-de-chaves-spain-detail.png
261 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1534-oronce-fine.jpg
262 Presumably erected by members of the Garcia Jofre de Loaisa expedition. See 1525, above.
263 *Narrative of the Events which happened in the Fleet of Simon de Alcazaba* in Markham 1911 p.143

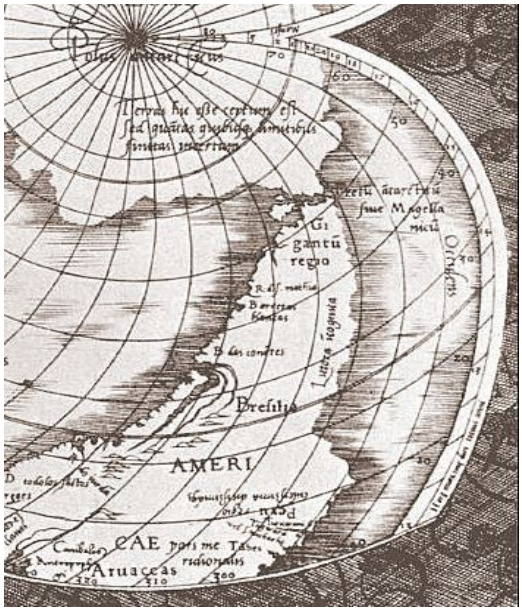
February 9th, with winter closing in, Simón de Alcazaba retreats from the Strait and returns north, sailing up Patagonia's eastern coast.

> *"We... arrived at the bay near the Cape of San Domingo on the day of St Mathias the Apostle, entering a river between two mountains… It was named the Puerto de los Leones. We were in this port from the 26th of February to the 9th of March, getting ready everything necessary for a march inland... The port was in 45°. Here, in this port, the Captain Simon de Alcazaba had himself sworn in as Governor."* [264]

June 17th, following a mutiny in which Simón de Alcazaba is killed, Puerto de los Leones is abandoned. [265]

1536 – February 2nd, at the Rio de la Plata, Pedro de Mendoza founds a settlement; naming it – *Ciudad de Nuestra Señora Santa María del Buen Ayre.* [266]

In Spain, after a period of chaotic management at the Casa de Contratacion, the Council of the Indies demand changes; *"After his stay in Seville (Suárez de Carvajal) issued a report that revealed a great lack of control in the cartography because "the pilots and sailors and masters, used in navigation ... (charts) of various patterns in which there were many different and contrary things", and ordered a review in which he brought together for more than a year a team of mapping experts composed of the Cosmographers Santa Cruz, Chaves, Falero, Caboto, Diego Gutiérrez, and Pedro Medina. They used their own data, those that Hernando Colón had collected years ago and those contributed by numerous mariners, but they did not reach an agreement, because there were strong discrepancies. The largest differences occurred between Caboto and Diego Gutiérrez, who were not in agreement with each other and also doubted of the works of Columbus."* [267]



November 6th, Spain's King grants Don Gutierre de Vargas Carvajal, Bishop of Plasencia, a huge area of western South America; *"... from 36º South latitude to the Strait of Magellan, ... to colonize."* [268]

1538 – cartographer and geographer**,** Gerardus Mercator, produces a world map based upon a double heart-shaped azimuthal polar projection (detail right). Antarctica is depicted as an island separated from South America by Magellan's Strait. A large oval shaped island sits in the mouth of the strait. [269]

1539 – in **August**, in Spain, Bishop Carvajal equips an expedition to be commanded by Don Alonso de Camargo. Camargo's orders are to inspect the territory granted to the Bishop; to open a westerly route to Peru and to colonise the Strait.

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264 *Ibid.* pp.143-144.

265 Order was eventually restored and the mutineer leaders executed. Others were marooned. My purpose in including this is the relevance of the name – Puerto de Leones. See 1749.

266 City of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Fair Winds. Abandoned in 1541, following a series of attacks by the local tribes. The indomitable Estevão Gomes (see 1518) accompanied this expedition. Killed in 1538.

267 Sanz 2012. These differences were finally resolved with a vote.

268 *Real Capitulación of Carlos V November 6th 1536*

269 The north-east tip of Tierra del Fuego was often depicted as an island due to two deep bays on either side of it. For another mispositioned Tierra del Fuego, see 1522, above.

"A far more sensible reason for undertaking a voyage to the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan than the enforcing of a claim to the Spice Islands, was the opening up of a communication by sea, with the ports of Peru and Chile. This was the opinion of the good Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. By his advice his brother-in-law, Dr Don Gutierrez Carbajal, the Bishop of Plasencia, equipped a fleet of ***three small vessels*** *with this object. The command was given, by the Bishop, to his relation Don Alonso de Camargo, and the expedition sailed from Spain in August 1539."* [270]

"Three small ships sailed on this voyage. ... The master of the ship was an able navigator, a competent seaman, a good observer, but an unfortunate recorder, utterly unaware of his discoveries." [271]

1540 – January 19th, off the eastern coast of South America, Alonso de Camargo takes a bearing.

> *"On the 19th I took the sun in 51° 30', being 10 leagues from the land, and we sounded in 40 fathoms, black sand. On the 20th I took the sun in sight of land, a league outside the point of land at Cape Virgins, in 52° 30'. We sounded in 20 fathoms, rock with sea weed."* [272]

January 20th, the Carvajal expedition enters the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait.

January 22nd, within the Strait, beset by a tempest, Camargo's flag ship, *Capitana*, founders.

A second ship, loses sight of the expedition; returning to the Atlantic mouth of the Strait to seek another route. Camargo transfers his flag to the remaining ship, and continues.

"Camargo lost his own ship, the Capitana, at the entrance of the first narrow in the Strait of Magellan. The second ship was separated from the others, ... Camargo continued the voyage through the strait in the third ship." [273]

At the Atlantic entrance of the Strait, the second ship turns south; *"... (They) went down the coast (from the Strait of Magellan), and entered a bay for more than seventy leagues..."* [274]

February 4th, after sailing south for some 200 miles, the separated ship approaches the coast.

> *"On the Fourth... in the morning, we sighted land which seemed to us to be some eight or nine islands, that were* ***on the chart*** *and we were between two lands. We had land to the N.N.E. to our larboard side, and there was also land to the south. It appeared to me and to all the others that we should be amongst those islands, while according to the chart there were channels between them through which we could pass, and all clear without shoals. ..."* [275]

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270 Markham 1911. My emphasis. Three ships, or four?

271 *Cape Horn* Felix Reisenberg 1950 pp.43-44.

272 Quoted in Markham 1911 chp..7 p.159. Following accepted practice, the ships sailed close to the safety of land.

273 Markham 1911 p.159. Camargo navigated the strait successfully. Making his way up the western coast of South America, he eventually reached Callao. Camargo settled in the city of Chuquisaca; never returning to Spain.

274 *Letter from Cristobel Rayzer to Lazaro Aleman about the arrival in Santo Tomé of one of the* ***four*** *ships sent from Seville by the Bishop of Plasencia to the islands of Spices through the Strait of Magellan* in Spain's Virtual Library of the Ministry of Defence (*Ref: BMDB20160045826*). The entry notes – *'The original is in the General Archive of the Indies of Seville among papers taken from the General Archive of Simanicas, a file labelled "Papers related to the Junta de Guerra de Puerto Rico." Copy of Martin Fernández de Navarrete.'* 70 leagues is 210 miles.

275 Log fragment in Markham 1911. My emphasis. The original log did not survive, although fragments of it are alleged to have appeared around 1570. These were eventually published in *Colección de documentos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones en América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias* Luis Torres de Mendoza 1866. A Chilean magazine, *Anuario hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile* 1879 vol.5, reprinted these fragments; concluding that landfall was in the Bay of San Sebastian in Patagonia. A view supported by Markham (1911).

"The statement in the log that the charts showed islands is difficult to explain. The only chart of those regions that is left us is the Pigafetta map of the strait. This map shows some islands in the entrance of the strait, but nowhere near the coast are there any other islands." [276]

"Eight or nine islands were claimed to have been seen in this region in 1540 by the crew... Whatever the proximity of this armada to the Falklands group, no bearings were given and the descriptive data supplied were of the scantiest." [277]

February 5th, seeing a promontory, the Bishop's ship sails around it.

> *"Next day, in the afternoon, we saw a point of land, and as it seemed that if we could double it there would be no more to the south, we got round it with much trouble. From the point several shoals run out to sea, and we were very near them. After we had doubled that point to the south, we sighted other land to the S.E. Between that land we saw a great bay, with high mountains on either side which yet appeared like islands, because great arms of the sea intervened between one mountain and another. On this day, in the afternoon, the master thought he saw a channel opening to the south through which we might go. Until that day we had seen all the land closed up. We thought it well to anchor that night by some beach."* [278]

February 11th, once again beset by gales, the ship's crew seek a better shelter.

> *"... on the 11th it blew so hard that the hawsers on one side were carried away, so we went further up the inlet. This port, in which we were enclosed, received from us the name of the "Harbour of Foxes," as there were many foxes on shore. This land appears to be a* ***part of the mainland south of Magellan's strait****. This seems to be so because the land from this point runs to the west, and is parallel with the strait. We found at the point of this land many stretches of shrubs and trees which had been burnt, and all the wood that comes out of the strait is washed up here. For at the place where we were, a* ***board of the captain's ship****, which was wrecked in the strait, was floated here, as well as other things. This land is bare, without trees, windy and very cold. It snows in several months of the year, the winds blowing from S.W. and West, and very seldom from any other quarter. In all this land there are many ducks, as well from shore as from the sea. There are also seals with skins 36 (sic) feet long. Within the land there is much* ***cedar wood****. Round this coast there are many small islands, a fact which is well to know. The land where we lost the berzos was an island; and in the bay where we are, there are many small islands and rocks, and many arms of the sea extending far inland. Here the summer only lasts for four months, January, February, March and April. In May the rigours of winter commence, and it snows frequently until December. In this land there is much game, consisting of ducks, foxes and seals. ..."* [279]

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276 *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* Julius Goebel 1927 p.20. Without the actual name of the ship, Goebel called it *Incognita*, and asserted that these islands could only have been the Falklands. The year after Goebel's book was published, his conclusion was challenged in *Bordejeando. Descubrimientos, Exploraciones y Levantamientos Marítimos Patagónicos* H. Doserres (pen name of Héctor Ratto) 1928. Héctor Ratto agreed with the Chilean (1879) and Markham (1911) conclusions that the ship over-wintered in Tierra del Fuego.

277 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

278 Markham (1911) identified the beach as being on the north coast of Statenland (Isla de los Estados), which lies off the toe of Tierra del Fuego.

279 Quoted in Markham 1911. My emphasis. There were no trees on the Falkland Islands in the 16th century. The story of the ship's board (plank?) washing up is often used to argue that the islands were the Falklands. Markham's conclusion was that the wood could not have come from the expedition's flagship.

"... entered a bay where they were ten months... and it was very cold, and (they) found much firewood and sea lions and fish, and there they were until the month of October..." [280]

"... (They) sailed through a strait (Le Maire) and wintered in what must have been the present Beagle Channel, running in behind either New Island or Picton Island." [281]

"In my opinion, they were none other than the archipelago of the Falkland Islands, thus fortuitously discovered by a Spanish ship, in February 1540..." [282]

In **August**, the crew of the Bishop's ship prepare for the journey back to Spain; *"We were here for six months. We then took in **wood** and water, and prepared our ship for the return to Spain."* [283]

November 24th, the Bishop's ship sails.

> *"We left this port of the Foxes on the 24th of November with an N.E. wind and fine weather. We discovered a gulf, and the wind became so strong from N. and N.E. that we were unable to work to windward, and were forced to put into a bay to the south, whither the sailors had been to fish during the winter. Here there was a good port, and we went into it. We found it landlocked with 10 or 12 fathoms of depth.*
>
> *Afterwards, on St Andrews's Day, there was such a gale from N.W. and W. that we were in great danger. This port was formed by an island surrounded by two arms of the sea. There was plenty of game, but no foxes, which shows that the former port, from which we had come, was on the mainland. On a cape of this island much wood was found, including a part of a **plank** which much have come from the strait, where the captain was wrecked. This port is landlocked, and suited for any ship to winter in.* [284]
>
> *There is a good supply of wood and water, and good shelter from all winds, with a means of departure by the west, and thence all the coast within sight to the westward may be reached. Between this island on the landlocked harbour and the mouth of the strait, there is a gulf extending for eight or nine leagues. We were eight or nine days in this harbour, on the return voyage to Spain."* [285]

December 3rd, they set out again.

> *"We departed from this harbour on the 3rd of December 1540, with fine weather and wind from S. and S.W. sailing large until we had passed the island where we lost the berzos. Then the wind veered to the S.W. before which we ran for two days, seeking the mainland to the north."* [286]

December 5th, the ship's log is updated; *"On the 5th I took the sun in 49° 6'."* [287]

"We know neither the name of the second ship of the Bishop of Plasencia's fleet, nor the name of the captain. But a very important fragment of the journal of the second ship has been preserved. ... Its importance consists in the fact that the ship appears to have been the first to visit Staten Island, and to enter the Strait of Le Maire,

280 *Cristobel Rayzer to Lazaro Aleman.* Cited above *(Ministry of Defence Ref: BMDB20160045826)*
281 Reisenberg 1950 p.44
282 Hervé 1982 p.41. My emphasis. Spain does not claim discovery. See 1758. Hervé appears to have based this conclusion upon the work by Argentine Vice-Admiral Ernesto Basilico in *La Armada del Obispo de Plasencia y el Descubrimiento de las Malvinas* 1967. For another of Hervé's theories, see 1586.
283 Markham 1911. My emphasis. 16th century Falkland Islands were treeless.
284 St. Andrew's Day is November 30.
285 Markham 1911. My emphasis.
286 *Ibid.*
287 *Ibid*.

and that she wintered in the Beagle Channel. The master appears to have been an intelligent observer and a competent seaman. He probably discovered the Strait of Le Maire, but Schouten still deserves all the credit of having discovered it to be an important strait." [288]

"A stronger claim for discovery could be put forward on behalf of a Spaniard, Alonso de Camargo, in 1540. One of the ships from his expedition, which had been sent out by the Bishop of Plasencia, may have sailed close to the archipelago and may even have sent some men ashore,.." [289]

"... it seems possible that a Spanish ship spent several months in the islands in 1540, though we no longer think it as likely... One account survives in two partial copies, one contemporary, the other of about 1570, and a second is in the archives of the Spanish defence ministry in Madrid,... The first account was printed by Luis Torres de Mendoza in 1866, and was reprinted and analysed in a Chilean naval magazine in 1879, which concluded that the ship visited the Isla de los Estados and islands in the Magellan Strait. ... the second account, from the Spanish defence ministry, supports the view that the ship remained around the Strait of Magellan and did not visit the Falklands" [290]

December 30th, the Bishop's separated ship arrives at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. [291]

1541 – some survivors of Camargo's 1539 expedition arrive back in Spain. [292]

Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (Spain's Carlos I), objects to French ships trading in the Americas. He orders Spanish ship to attack any French vessels found on the open seas. The French King, François I, responds tersely.

> "*The sun shines for me as for others and I would like to see the clause in Adam's testament which excludes me from a share in the world."*

"... in February 1541, Normandy's trade with the New World exploded. In 1541 alone more than forty ships made the crossing." [293]

A globe made by Gerardus Mercator (detail right) includes two large islands within the mouth of Magellan's Strait, but none to the north-east.

1542 – Spain founds a new colony on the Pacific coast of South America. [294]

"If half a century before the English expeditions.., Spain was the exclusive owner of Chile and Peru, and only she was sailing to the Pacific through the Straits, how could (we) suppose that her sailors ignored the existence of the Falklands, having, as they had at every moment, the inevitable opportunity

288 Markham 1911

289 *Storms and Dreams: Louis De Bougainville: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman* John Dunmore 2005. Some obvious reticence, despite Dunmore having published a translation of Hervé's work in 1983.

290 Pascoe 2020 p.22

291 That one of Camargo's ships over-wintered in the Falkland Islands is not supported by anything resembling evidence. Just another wild theory.

292 Markham 1911. Almost certainly interviewed upon their return; I have, as yet, found no record.

293 *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* Michael Wintroub 2006

294 This would become the Viceroyalty of New Castile (Peru) with the appointment of Francisco Alvarez de Toledo in 1544

to explore them? This consideration is so momentous, it is undoubtedly what makes more serious authors believe that the aforementioned Islands have been known by Spain, before any nation had any idea of them."[295]

1543 – a Venetian Atlas by cartographer Battiste Agnese contains two charts. One showing the Atlantic Ocean, depicts an unnamed group of six inshore islands. To the north-east of the eastern entrance to Magellan's Strait. Agnese's Pacific Ocean chart pictures eight islands in the same position. [296]

1544 – still in Venice, Battista Agnese finishes a Portolan atlas of nine charts, and a world map dedicated to Hieronymus Ruffault, Abbot of St. Vaast. The map of the Atlantic Ocean shows two island groups – *Y. d. los Patos* (1 dot) and *Y. de. Sanson* (7 dots). Both as inshore groups.[297]

Agnese's world map (detail left) reveals 6 islands outside the Magellan Strait – two large in green and 4 small, in black. Magellan's track is shown passing between these islands.

At Seville, a world map by cartographer and pilot-general, Sebastian Cabot, is completed. A little to the north of San Julian, the word *Sanson* can be discerned. [298]

In Antwerp, Peter Apian produces a world map titled *Charta Cosmographica, Cum Ventorum Natura et Operatione*. It depicts a single island off South America – in the mouth of Magellan's Strait.[299]

1545 – Pedro de Medina, with Royal authorization, completes a world chart despite objections from the Casa de Contratacion. [300] No islands are depicted to the east of the Patagonian coast.

1546 – Italian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi prints a world map. On South America's eastern coastline, to the north of the Magellan Strait, are depicted a group of four inshore islands identified as '*Sanson*'. [301]

1547 – in Dieppe, France, an atlas reveals the Patagonian coast with a bay containing three islands. Two more are depicted in a bay to the south of Puerto San Julian. [302]

1548 – Gastaldi produces another world map; a cut down version of his first. On this, the inshore group of islands is reduced to three and unnamed. [303]

1549 – Spain establishes the Gobernación del Río de la Plata to administer its claims around the river.

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295 Areco 1885 p.18

296 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1543-chart-of-the-atlantic-ocean-north-and-south-america-europe-africa-and-the-arabian-peninsula.-by-battista-agnese-venice-6-dots-representing-islands.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1543-chart-of-the-pacific-ocean-north-and-south-america-and-the-east-indies-by-battista-agnese-venice-8-inshore-islaets.jpg

297 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1544-c.-battista-agnese-venice-detail.png

298 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1544-attributed-to-sebastian-cabot-detail-e1553993600603.png & https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1544-attributed-to-sebastian-cabot-detail-e1553993600603.png

299 There is a bulbous feature of Tierra del Fuego which could have been mistaken for a large island. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1544-charta-cosmographica-cum-ventorum-propria-natura-et-operatione-by-peter-apian-antwerp.jpg

300 Sanz 2012. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/1545-mapamundi-de-pedro-de-medina.jpg

301 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1546-giacomo-gastaldi-venice.jpg

302 Named the Vallard Atlas, its authorship is unknown. Note that south is at the top of the page. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1547-southeastern-south-america-straits-of-magellan-in-the-vallard-atlas-by-unknown-dieppe-south-at-the-top-e1551875251849.jpg

303 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1548-giacomo-gastaldi-venice.png

1550 – during the year, three maps of the world are created. Sebastian Munster's *Figura del Monde Universale*, published in Basel, reveals no islands off the South American coastline. [304]

A map by Antonio Lafreri made in Rome depicts two large islands in the mouth of Magellan's Strait, but no others. [305] Pierre Desceliers' world map (Paris) also shows two islands within the mouth of the Strait. [306]

1554 – July 25th, Mary I of England marries Prince Phillip of Spain. Phillip orders an atlas as a wedding gift.

1555 – a globe by Antonius Florianus shows two islands in the mouth of the strait that separates South America from a great southern continent. [307]

In November, self-taught geographer and cosmographer André Thevet arrives in Brazil.

"Thevet himself would only be on American soil for ten weeks — from mid-November 1555 to mid-January 1556 — and he never left the small island at the entrance to the bay of Rio de Janeiro where Villegagnon had set up his fortified base, Fort Coligny." [308]

1556 – January 16th, the son of Emperor Charles V (Carlos I of Spain), ascends the Spanish throne as Philip (Felipe) II. Portuguese map-maker Diogo Homem works upon the atlas (detail right) ordered in 1554 by Phillip for Britain's Queen Mary.[309]

1557 – in France, André Thevet publishes a book, *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*. In this, and despite never having been there, Thevet describes the region between the La Plata river and Magellan's Strait.

> *"In this straight are many fair Ilands, but not inhabited, the country about is very baren: ful of hilles and mountaines, and there is founde nothing but rauishyng beastes, birdes of diuers kindes, chiefly Estriges, woodde of diuers sorts, Cedres, and others. Also an other kynde of trée bearing fruite almoste like a cherie, but muche more pleasant to eate..."* [310]

"Eventually Thevet returned to France on his sickbed on board the very ship that had taken him to America. The brevity of his sojourn, however, was no hindrance to the late-1557 publication of Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommee Amerique — Thevet's most representative work,..." [311]

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304 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1550-figura-del-mondo-universale-by-sebastian-munster-basel.jpg

305 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1550-c.-world-by-antonio-lafreri-antonio-salamanca-rome-detail.png

306 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1550-world-map-by-pierre-desceliers-paris.jpg

307 Cape Horn had not yet been discovered. Not officially, at least. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1555-untitled-but-attributed-to-antonius-florianus-detail.-original-unfinished..png

308 *Maps and Descriptions of the World in Sixteenth-Century France* Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier in *Cartography in the Renaissance* David Woodward (ed) 2007 vol.3 p.1468. See 1557.

309 Information is sparse. Apparently commissioned shortly after the wedding in 1554, the atlas was still incomplete at the time of Mary's death in 1558, and was never finished.

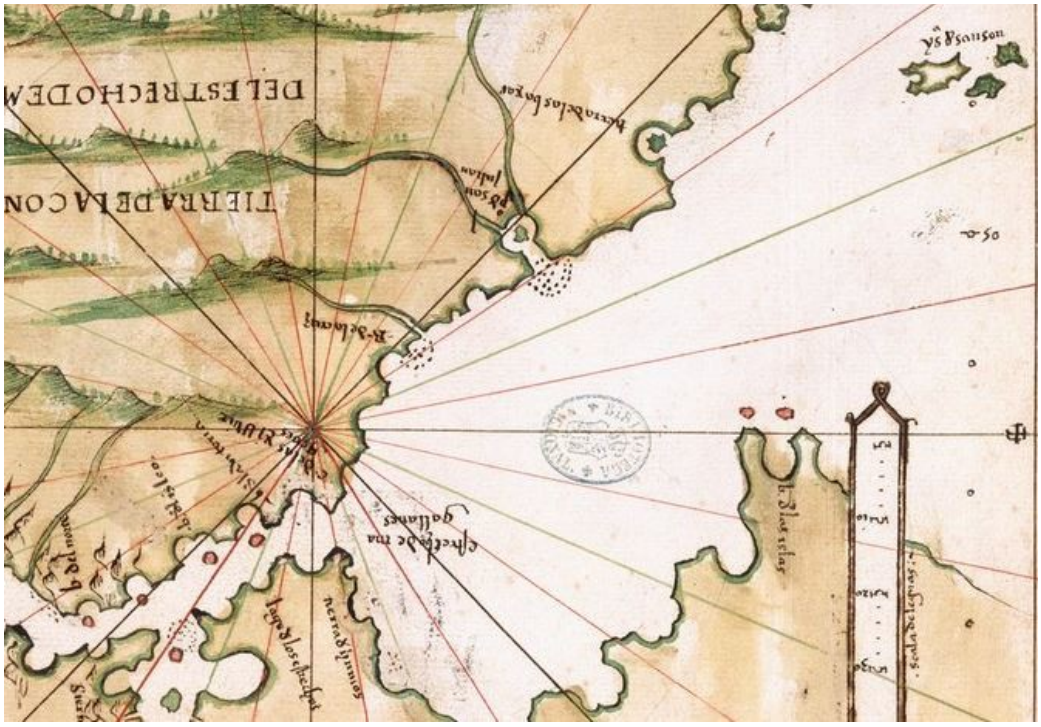
310 Published in England (1568) as '*The New found vvorlde, or antarctike,...*' Some assert that Thevet mentioned the Falkland Islands in this work, but he actually only described islands within the strait. *cf.* 1526, 1575 & 1586.

311 Woodward (ed) 2007 vol.3 p.1468

1558 – August 9th, Juan Fernández Ladrillero, a Spanish navigator exploring Magellan's Strait from the Pacific side, reaches the eastern mouth. He then sails out into the Atlantic before turning back to double the strait and sail for the South Sea. [312]

1559 – *Il Mondo Novo et l'Aphrica* by Venetian map-maker Battista Agnese reveals a group of six inshore islands with two names noted – *Ileſ de laſ patoſ* and *Ileſ de ſanſon*. [313]

1560 – in Spain, cartographer Alonzo de Santa Cruz completes his *Islario General de todas las Islas del Mundo*. An atlas of all the world's known islands commenced in 1541 and containing 111 charts. On the last page of the main body of the work is a map of the Magellan Strait (detail right). [314]



Tierra del Fuego is depicted as extending eastwards as a part of the fabled southern continent that, it was theorised, acted as a counterbalance to the northern lands. To the north-west of the strait's mouth, three islands are depicted and named *Ys de Sanson*.

> "*(Magellan)... having arrived and discovered some islands that are to the east of the San Julian port, for 18 leagues, (he) gave them the name of 'islands of Sanson and Patos', because in them they found many (penguins) and very fat ones that could hardly walk, and half peeled all, of which took many for their trip.*"[315]

312 How far into the Atlantic may be important. Sadly, we do not know.

313 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1559-il-mondo-novo-et-laphrica-by-battista-agnese-venice.jpg

314 A passing resemblance to the Falklands archipelago has led many observers to the belief that Alonzo de Santa Cruz's chart proves an early discovery of the islands. Despite the cartographer's own description indicating otherwise. Note the latitude of 50° S, below the island group, placing them far too far north to be the Falklands. The mythical southern continent is also featured, with a strange pronged feature with islands above each prong.

315 *Islario General de todas las Islas del Mundo* Alonzo de Santa Cruz 1560 p.695. Translation by Fabian Turcato. Santa Cruz is believed to have worked upon the *Padrón General* at Seville, and may also have accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his expedition to the Rio de la Plata. He wrote of John Cabot's method of longitude determination. *cf.* 1526 The *Patos/Sanson* group identified on charts from 1520 lie to the north-east of San Julian. As a comparison, the Falklands archipelago is located east-south-east of San Julian some 293 miles (473km) over the horizon. 18 leagues is 54 miles or 87 km. See 1520 & 1522.

"... in the map provided by the Islario General, of Alonso de Santa Cruz (1541), which highlights the "discovery of a group of islands that are east of the port of Sant Julian... to fifty and a degree of (latitude)." [316]

In Venice, Paulo Forlani publishes a map of the world – *Universale Descrittione Di Tutta la Terra Conosciuta Fin* Qui (detail below). Based upon Giacomo Gastaldi's work. The chart names a group of islands close to the South American mainland north of the strait as '*Sanson*'. [317]

1562 – in a world map (detail right), by Diego Gutiérrez and Hieronymus Cock, five islands appear to the north-east of the Magellan Strait. Positioned south-east of Puerto de San Julian, these are identified as the '*Insule de Sanson*'.[318]

Further north, two inshore islands are depicted south of Cabo Blanco and named *Ysla de los Patos*.

"Substantial mystery surrounds this map more than four hundred years after its creation. Confusion over its authorship, the location of its printing, and the reasons even for its preparation remains. The fact that only two known copies of this printed map are extant, one located in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) and the other preserved in the British Library (London) no doubt

316 *Una Tierra Argentinas: Las Islas Malvinas* 1982 Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois (6th ed.). As can be seen, the islands identified as the Sanson Islands, sit well above the 50 degree mark.

317 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1560-paolo-forlani-venice.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/c.1560-paolo-forlani.png

318 The cartographers, by accident or design, place the *Sanson* group in roughly the correct position for the the Falklands. Sadly, little is known about them and even less about their sources. Once again, the mythical continent is shown – with a river, islands and even place names.

contributes to our lack of knowledge… Diego Gutiérrez had been named cosmographer in the Casa de la Contratación by a royal appointment on October 22, 1554, following the death of his father in January 1554."[319]

Also in 1562, another chart by Paolo Forlani of Venice – *La Descrittione Di Tutto Il Peru* – is published (detail right). It shows a group of four inshore islands a little to the south of Cabo Blanco identified in Spanish as the *Y del Pato*.[320]

1564 – *Globus Terrestris* by Jost Amman of Nuremberg depicts the southern hemisphere with an azimuthal equidistant projection from the South Pole. One large island is shown within the strait that separates South America from the great southern continent. [321]

1568 – Paulo Forlani's *Paulus de furlanis Veronensis opus hoc exmi Cosmographi Dni Iacobi gastaldi Pedomontani* world map shows half a dozen inshore islands named *SanSon* near the port of San Julian. To the north of Magellan's Strait. [322]

1569 – a world map entitled *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata*[323] is published by Gerardus Mercator (detail right).

> *"To whosoever inspects this map, greeting. In this mapping of the world we have had three ends in view: first, so to spread out the surface of the globe into a plane that the places shall everywhere be properly located, not only with respect to their true direction and distance, one from another, but also in accordance with their due longitude and latitude; and further, that the shape of the lands, as they appear on the globe, shall be preserved as far as possible."* [324]

"By the time this monumental world map appeared in 1569, Gerard Mercator (1512-1594) had attained an international reputation as a cartographic innovator of the first order. The theoretical principles behind the projection on his maps allowed representation of the global landmass as accurately as possible, while still being of use to navigators. … Comprising 18 separate sheets from copper plates engraved by Mercator himself, it is not know how many copies of the map were printed, … Mercator believed,… that the 'Australis Continens' (southern continent), even though it was still hidden and unknown, could be demonstrated and proved by solid reasons and arguments…" [325]

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319 Siebold 2015

320 Noteworthy that the *Sanson* group are missing. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1562-la-descrittione-di-tutto-il-peru-paulo-de-forlani-venice-detail.jpg

321 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1564-globus-terrestris-by-jost-amman-detail.png

322 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1568-palo-forlani-venice.jpg

323 *New and enlarged description of the Earth properly adjusted for the use of navigation*

324 Gerardus Mercator 1569. Employing what is now known as the Mercator projection. Before this chart, Europe's cartographers had tended to use elliptical projections derived from Ptolemy's latitude and longitude grid. Many would continue to do so. For all the advances, Mercator still revealed a huge southern continent despite no mariner ever having seen one. A 'counterweight' continent, to balance the land masses of the northern hemisphere.

325 *Mapping our World: Terra Incognita to Australia* Peter Barber *et al* 2013

"Mercator was unaware of the complexity of the contemporary charts – which he considered to implicitly comprise a square grid of meridians and parallels – and all planimetric information was directly imported to the novel world map without correction. ... the Mercator projection was intrinsically incompatible with the navigational methods of the time. ... Contrarily to most nautical charts and planispheres produced by Portuguese and Spanish cartographers, which used to leave blank the unsurvey(ed) parts, Mercator used his imagination – or the imagination of his sources – to fill those blanks with conjectural information. That is the case of the western coast of South America, the western coast of North America to the north of California and of the Arctic and Antarctic land masses, which are entirely conjectural." [326]

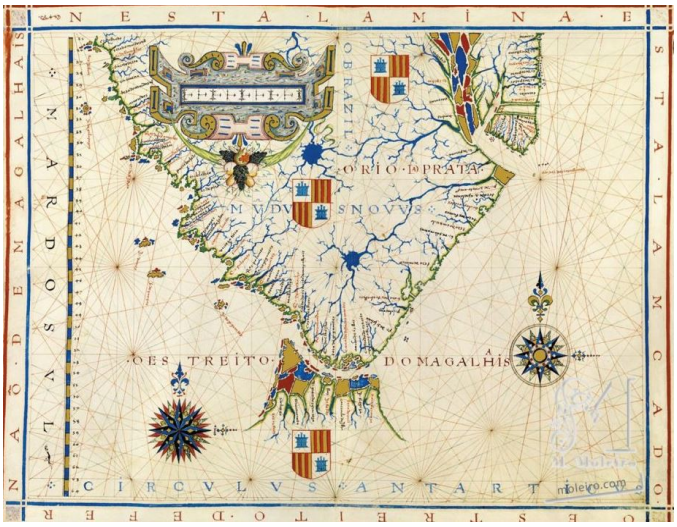
1570 – Paolo Forlani's *Universale Descrittione Di Tutta la Terra Consciuta Fin Qui* (detail right) reproduces his earlier works, but with six inshore islands identified as *Sanson*. No Patos pair.

Cartographer Abraham Ortelius includes four small islands near the mouth of Magellan's Strait, in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. [327]

Jean Cossin's *Carte cosmographique ou Universelle description du monde* reveals four inshore islands close to the Patagonian coastline. [328]

June 1st, Phillip II of Spain grants command of the Rio de la Plata to Juan Ortiz de Zaráte. [329]

1571 – Fernão Vaz Dourado's atlas includes a map of Magellan's Strait (right) with four small dots representing islands close to the coast to the north of the eastern mouth of the strait.

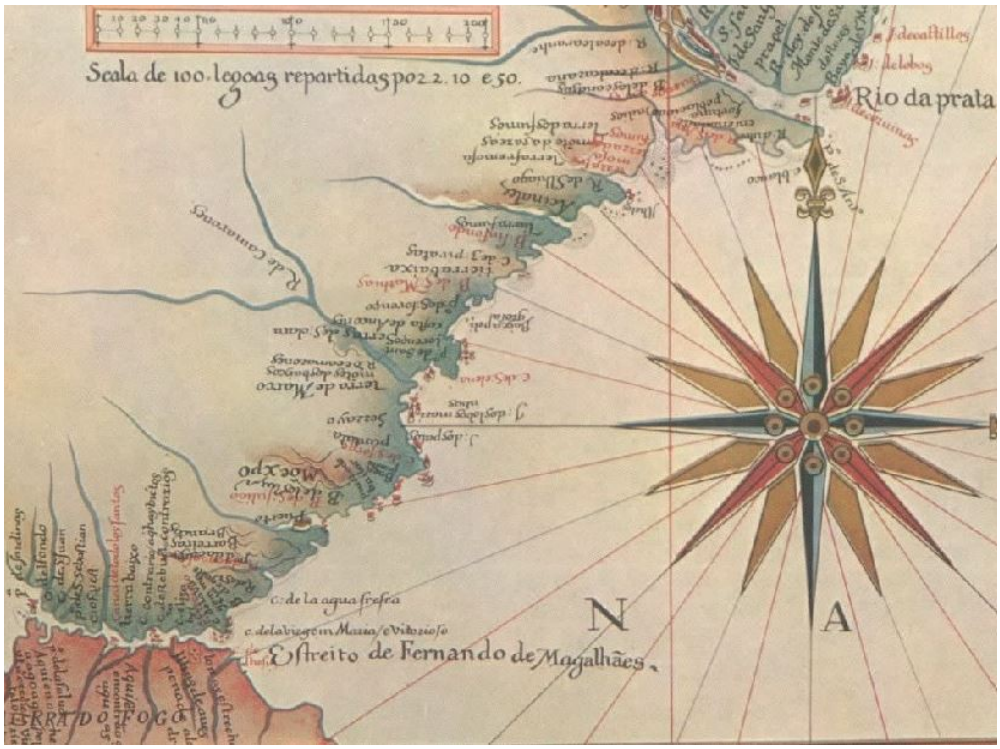


Benedict Arias Montanus's *Sacrae Geographiae Tabulam ex Antiquissimorum Cultor,* published in London, has no islands in the south-western area of the Atlantic Ocean. [330]

1573 – a world map by Portugal's Domingo Teixeira identifies the line of demarcation between Portuguese and Spanish interests in the New World. It does not include any islands off the Patagonian coast. [331]

326 *Revisiting Mercator world map of 1569: an assessment of navigational accuracy* Joaquim Alves Gaspar in the *Journal of Navigation*, 69, 6 (2016): 1183-1196.
327 See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1570-abraham-ortelius-antwerp.jpg
328 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1570-carte-cosmographique-ou-universelle-description-du-monde-by-jean-cossin-dieppe.png
329 Some sources date this appointment to 1769, with Zaráte arriving in the Rio de la Plata in 1572.
330 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1571-sacrae-geographiae-tabulam-ex-antiquissimorum-cultor-by-benedict-arias-montanus-london.jpg
331 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1573-world-map-by-domingo-teixeira-portugal-showing-the-demarcation-between-spanish-portuguese-areas-of-influence.jpg

1574 – Portuguese cartographer, Luis Teixeira, produces a map (below) depicting Brazil and the eastern coast of South America. Inshore islands only, are revealed.



La geografiagi tradotta di greco published in Venice by Claudius Ptolomaeus and Malombra Giovanni reveals no islands off the South American coast below the Rio de la Plata. [332]

1575 – French geographer, André Thevet, publishes a map of South America in his *Cosmographie universelle*.

332 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1574-la-geografiagi-tradotta-di-greco-by-claudius-ptolomaeus-malombra-giovanni-venice.jpg

Two island groups are depicted close to the eastern coast of Patagonia to the north of the strait. The lower archipelago of five islands is identified as *I.s.com* while the more northerly with four is named *I.de.lespatos*. Above those is a whale shaped feature identified as *Perhamboup*. [333]

"In... the twenty-first book of my Cosmography I only spoke of one of these Islands, which is called by its inhabitants Perhamboup and by those of the mainland Pacahocaf, which is distant from the continent ***some eight or ten leagues****. ... The first who set foot in these Islands were some Portuguese, who were accompanying Ferdinand Magellan in his voyage; ..."* [334]

"During his lifetime Thevet did not enjoy a good reputation as a scholar. His contemporaries, particularly Jean de Léry and François de Belleforest, ridiculed his work and vilified his character... According to Léry, Thevet was little more than an impudent liar and his works were 'second hand rags and tatters'..." [335]

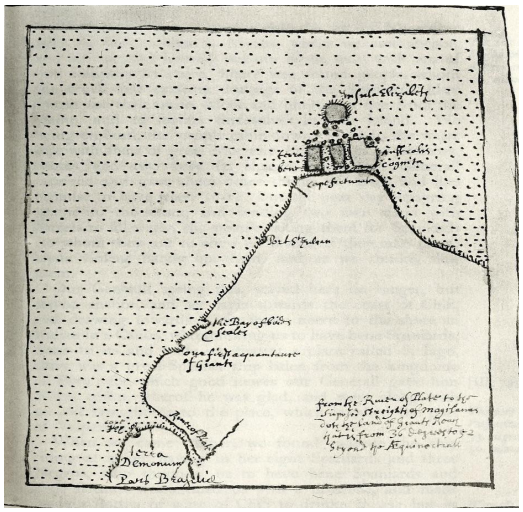
"(Thevet's) second printed work, the folio La Cosmographie Universelle (1575,..), ... A very extended and rambling account of the known world and hence unreadable in toto, its content is partly autobiographical, partly derivative – in large part anecdotal and in uncertain part fictional." [336]

"Exposed to ever greater mockery for his limits as a self taught scholar and his bullish pretensions to a monopoly over geographical knowledge, Thevet would see scholars from all over Europe form a "cabal" against him. ... Thevet flaunted works that were, in fact, the labor of others." [337]

1577 – December 13th, English explorer, Francis Drake, on *Pelican*, sets out on an expedition to the South Seas via the Americas. [338]

1578 – June 18th, Drake's expedition arrives at the port of St. Julian on the east coast of South America. The same bay that Magellan had over-wintered in during 1520, and where he had put down a mutiny. Drake observes the gibbets still standing; with skeletal remains hanging from them.

August 20th, Drake enters Magellan's Strait. Expedition chaplain, Francis Fletcher, makes a sketch of South America from the Rio de la Plata to the strait of Magellan (right). With the South Pole at the top, he depicts Tierra del Fuego as a broken land of islands. [339]



A Dutch chart of South America is produced by Joannes and Lucas Deutecum. The only Atlantic islands revealed to the east of Patagonia, are the *Patos Islands*. [340]

September 5th, Drake's English expedition arrives in the South Sea (Pacific Ocean).

333 The relevance will become clearer below.

334 Thevet 1586 quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.20. My emphasis. See May, 1493, above for a discussion on leagues. *cf.* 1520 & 1586

335 *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View* Roger Schlesinger & Arthur Stabler 1986. *cf.* 1586

336 *Thevet and the English* P.E.H. Hair 1994 in *European Outthrust and Encounter: The First Phase c.1400-c.1700: Essays in Tribute to David Beers Quinn on His 85th Birthday* Clough & Hair (eds) 1994

337 Woodward (ed) 2007 vol.3 pp.1468-1469

338 Also captain, navigator, privateer and, eventually, politician. His general plan in 1577, albeit now much disputed, was to harass Spanish shipping off the west coast of South America, with a squadron of four ships and 164 men.

339 Drake's charts did not survive a fire in 1698, but Fletcher's notes have come down in one piece.

340 Royal Museums Greenwich. See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/04/americae_peruvi_aque_ita_ut_postremum_detecta_traditur_recens_delineatio.jpg

"The unexpected appearance of Drake in the South Seas was a matter of serious alarm to the Spaniards. Their exclusive navigation of that Ocean was now gone;... they perceived that henceforth they would have to contend for their riches with a powerful and ambitious enemy." [341]

In Paris, Guillaume Postel produces a chart employing a South Pole projection. Magellan's Strait is identified as *Fretum Martin Bohemi*. [342]

1579 – June 17th, after sailing up the Pacific coast of South America, Drake claims land on the western coast of North America for England; which he names *New Albion*.

In **October**, aware of Drake's passage, Peru's Viceroy Toledo sends Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Strait to take possession of the unpopulated areas.

1580 – June 11th, Juan de Garay re-founds a Spanish settlement on the Rio de la Plata, naming it *Ciudad de la Trinidad*. He calls the harbour there – *'Puerto de Santa María de los Buenos Aires.'* [343]

September 26th, Francis Drake arrives back in England having circumnavigated the world, and with a hold full of gold, silver and jewels seized from Spanish treasure ships. Queen Elizabeth I's share exceeds all her other income in 1580. Bernardino de Mendoza, Spain's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, complains of English ships being in *'Spanish'* seas; making an angry and vehement demand for satisfaction. The Ambassador cites the Papal Bulls of 1493 as evidence of Spanish rights.

England's Queen responds that she; *"... would not persuade herself that [the Indies] are the rightful property of a Spanish donation of the Pope of Rome in whom she acknowledged no prerogative in matters of this kind, much less authority to bind Princes who owe him no obedience; or to make that New World as it were a fief for the Spaniards ... and that only on the ground that Spaniards have touched here and there, have erected shelters, have given names to a river or promontory; acts which cannot confer property. ... every nation had a right by the law of nature to freely navigate those seas and transport colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit."* [344]

"*Protestant reform took nations away from obedience to the Pope, ... the immediate consequence of the denial of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, was opposition to recognition of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly, and the emergence of new regulatory norms, according to which, the legal basis of any colonization must reside in the priority of discovery, followed by the effective occupation of the territory that was not part of any other State. From the moment that Great Britain rejected the validity of papal bulls as a source of law (it) became a continuing threat to the Spanish colonial empire;..."* [345]

From London, Ambassador de Mendoza writes of the encounter in a letter to the Spanish Court.

> *"... every one should be sent to the bottom ... This will be the only way to prevent the English and French from going to those parts to plunder; for at present there is hardly an Englishman who is not talking of undertaking the voyage, so encouraged are they by Drake's return."* [346]

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341 *Circumnavigation of the Globe* Harper & Brothers 1837

342 A reference to the German cartographer Martin Behaim. *cf.* 1492. For this chart, see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1578-polo-aptata-nova-charta-universi-by-guillaume-postel-paris-refers-to-the-south-american-strait-as-fretum-martin-bohemi.jpg

343 See 1536

344 *England in America, 1580-1652* Lyon Gardiner Tyler 1904. Also *Annals of Affairs in England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth* William Camden 1615

345 *Malvinas: el conflicto Anglo-Espanol de 1770* Octavio Gil Munilla 1948 pp.4-5

346 *Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II*

"In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, .., the English claimed the right to trade with all Spanish possessions in and out of Europe, by the virtue of the Treaty of Trade and Amity first made with Spain in 1499 and renewed by Henry VIII in 1515. The Spaniards disputed this interpretation of the original Treaty and maintained that there was "no peace beyond the line," i.e. the line of demarcation fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494." [347]

"The view so strongly asserted by Elizabeth did have the support of the civil law. In the middle of the 14th century, Bartolus had linked the Roman rules of private law for the acquisition of dominium over a newly created island by occupation (the taking possession of a res nullius with the intention of acquiring ownership) to the acquisition of imperium or sovereignty over it by a prince or ruler through a similar process." [348]

1581 – Antwerp's Nicola van Skype publishes a world map – *La herdike enterprinse faict par le Signeur Draeck Davoir Cirqvit Tovte La Terre* – revealing the track of Francis Drake. [349]

September 25th, disturbed by Drake's successes, a Spanish expedition with 23 ships and 2,500 men[350] under Diego Flores Valdés is sent to the South Atlantic. He is accompanied by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the nominal Governor of the – to be founded – Provincias del Estrecho (Provinces of the Strait). [351]

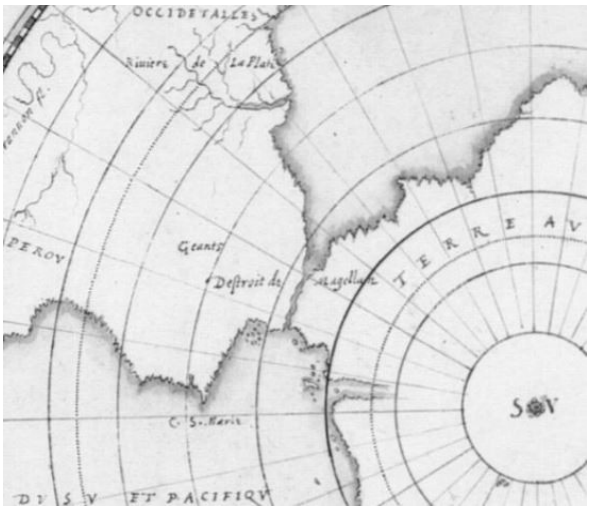
1582 – November 2nd, Diego Flores Valdés and Sarmiento de Gamboa arrive at the Rio de la Plata. [352]

1583 – August 5th, on the north-east coast of the Americas, Newfoundland is claimed on behalf on England. By Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

In **September**, at Magellan's Strait, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa arrives from Buenos Aires. He founds two settlements – *Nombre de Jesus* and *Rey Don Felipe*. [353]

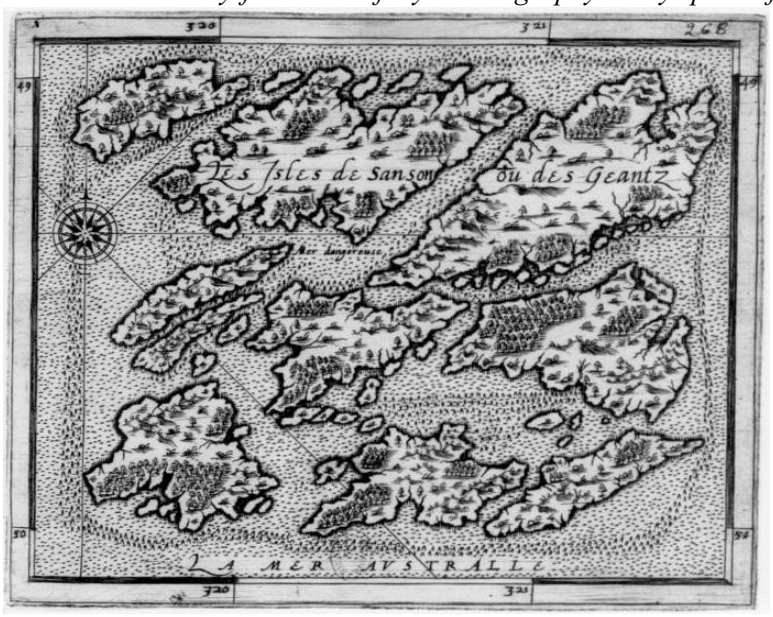
1585 – undeclared, conflict erupts once again between Spain and England. [354]

1586 – in France, geographer André Thevet, prepares maps for a new book – *Le Grande Insulaire et Pilotage*.[355] One (detail right), employing a south pole projection, shows the area around Magellan's Strait. No islands are depicted to the east of the South American continent, although three groups are shown to the west of the strait.



347 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
348 *Sovereignty and the Falkland Islands Crisis* D. W. Greig 1983
349 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1581-la-herdike-enterprinse-faict-par-le-signeur-draeck-davoir-cirqvit-tovte-la-terre-by-nicola-van-skype.jpg
350 Some of the troops were bound for Chile.
351 Not the first time that an attempt to colonize, and secure, the area of Magellan's Strait was planned. *cf.* 1539
352 The Spanish contingent bound for Chile insisted on disembarking at Buenos Aires. Unwilling to go further by sea, they opted instead for an overland route. Valdés sailed for the Strait in February, 1583, but encountering storms he was forced to return to Buenos Aires. He made no further attempt, and subsequently returned to Spain.
353 See 1587 and 1589.
354 The Anglo-Spanish War 1585 to 1604 was a sporadic affair with widely spaced set battles. The gaps filled in by minor acts of aggression. England defeated Spain's armada's in 1588, 1596 and 1597. However, English armada's and expeditions also suffered badly in 1589, 1595 and 1597. An inconclusive war, but see 1596.
355 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1586-le-grand-insulaire-et-pilotage-dandrc3a9-thevet-angoumoisin-cosmographe-du-roy-dans-lequel-sont-contenus-plusieurs-plants-disles-habitc3a9es-et-deshabitc3a9es-et-description-dicelle-e1564367368360.jpg & https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1586-thevet-detail.jpg

A second engraving (below) – *La Mer Australle* – identifies an island group as *'Les Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz'* (the islands of Samson or Giants). Ten islands plus islets, trees and mountains. Extending between 49° and 50°S latitude. [356]



"In… the twenty-first book of my Cosmography I only spoke of one of these Islands, which is called by its inhabitants Perhamboup and by those of the mainland Pacahocaf, which is distant from the continent some eight or ten leagues. There are very many others, in which these little fellows of eight or nine feet in height have set up their hovels.

The first who set foot in these Islands were ***some Portuguese, who were accompanying Ferdinand Magellan*** *in his voyage; they wishing to obtain supplies of fresh water, found themselves disappointed in their intentions, chiefly because they could not land on these Islands owing to the approaches, which are very dangerous; for in order to land on them, skirting the land which lies at the North east, the coast full of surf-beaten rocks and sandbanks with very few deep parts, they brought their ships no closer than a cannon-shot, to guard themselves from the dangers, and sent in two little vessels and some sailors to reconnoitre these Giants' Islands.* [357]

Of this I am assured by an ***old Portuguese Captain****, a good Pilot, whom I found in the city of Lisbon in Portugal, who* ***said he had at that time visited these Islands****, the plan of which I had from him, together with several others of this coast…"* [358]

"Thevet says he obtained a map of the islands from an old Portuguese captain in Lisbon; that map is lost but was the basis for the map in his book." [359]

With the work incomplete, and unable to find a sponsor, André Thevet's work remains unpublished.

"The contempt (that) rapidly developed for Cosmographie helps to explain why the manuscript works of the 1580s were never published... Even the maps he had had engraved for them never appeared." [360]

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356 The Falklands actually lie between 50° 59' (Jason West Cay) and 52° 54' (Beaucherne Island). A degree of latitude is 69 miles (111km) wide. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/thevet-c-1586.jpg *cf.* 1502, 1520 to 1529, 1557, 1558 & 1575 For a comparison of bearings, see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-typus-orbis-terrarum-by-abraham-ortelius-antwerp.jpg

357 Thevet 1586 quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.20. My emphasis.

358 Thevet quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.20. My emphasis. Magellan's fleet had employed some 40 Portuguese crew members. How many Portuguese expedition members survived is not clear. Magellan did not. Estêvão Gomes did return, but died in 1538 (see above). Another, a captain/pilot – João Rodrigues Serrão – did not. Rolando Laguarda Trias (1983), asserted (without providing evidence) that the "*old captain*" was Alonso (Álvaro?) de Mesquita. De Mesquita was returned to Spain in chains by the mutineer Gomes (see 1520 above). Released in Spain, his fate is unknown, but Álvaro de Mesquita may be the only candidate; assuming there is any truth in Thevet's words. *cf.* 1575

359 Pascoe 2020 p.19

360 Hair 1994.

"... one should also beware of regarding Thevet as being qualified to explain anything at all; his exuberant imagination was no less capable of suggesting a fanciful etymology than of peopling the islands with Giants."[361]

Researcher's Comment: Considered an eccentric in his own lifetime, Thevet was reputed, in his later days, to draw and reshape islands at a whim. Or upon the provocation of critics. Despite this, wild theories have arisen from this engraving of an archipelago. Thevet claimed that they lay between latitude 49° and 50° South and that his source was "*an old and good captain (and) Portuguese pilot, who I met in Lisbon in Portugal, ...*", and he names them the – *Isles of Sanson or the Giants*.

Thevet would have been aware that an inshore island group had been appearing on charts for 60 years with the name *Sanson*, or something akin to it, and his engraving is likely to have been based upon that knowledge.

An inshore group, which this research has identified (thanks to Google Earth) is located south of Puerto Deseado, at 47° 55' South (right). However, a 1982 book asserted that Thevet's engraving depicted the Falklands archipelago – as seen by a Portuguese pilot accompanying Magellan in 1520. [362] In light of this assertion, it is worth remembering:

1. Thevet had made no mention of any Portuguese source in his earlier publications of 1557 and 1575.

2. Thevet did not name the captain/pilot, nor date the encounter.

3. In 1586, when Thevet worked on this map – being sixty-seven years after Magellan sailed – either the '*good captain*' was very old, or the meeting between him and Thevet was.

4. There were no trees, cedar or otherwise, on the Falklands archipelago in the 16th century.

5. There were no giants, although that rumour had started as a result of Magellan's expedition.

6. These maps were part of a larger work which was not published for one simple reason; Thevet's reputation for honesty and accuracy had fallen so low, he was unable to find a sponsor.

With little certain, it seems likely that Thevet embelished renderings from other charts. Speculation that this map reveals the Falkland Islands is unsupported by any evidence. Just another wild theory. Sadly, as can be seen from some of the comments below, this particular fiction has its adherents.

"... more ignorant than you could possibly conceive and having no acquaintanceship with literature, nor antiquity, nor chronology, he put into his books the uncertain for the certain, the false for the true, with an astonishing assurance. ... I have often been astonished that a man so easily fooled has himself fooled persons of great reputation. I therefore warn them now no longer in the future to dishonor their works by citing an author so ignorant and contemptible." [363]

361 Pascoe 2022 p.87

362 Hervé 1982. Unpublished and incomplete, Thevet's drawings survived in Paris where, in 1982 – at the time of the Falklands War – Roger Hervé, honorary curator in the Department of Letters and Plans of the National Library of Paris, saw them. He claimed that Thevet's map depicted the '*Malouines*'. But then Hervé also asserted that Australia and New Zealand had been discovered by Portuguese and Spanish navigators in the 16th century. Wild theories, created to sell a book in the midst of a well publicized war.

363 French historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou in 1774, quoted in *André Thevet on the Amerindians of New France* Roger Schlesinger 1985

"Modern Brazilian critics, more merciless than the French critics of the sixteenth century, have for the most part dismissed Thevet as one who mixed fact and fantasy without discrimination. ... the friar's main weakness was his tendency to exaggerate; he accepted things he read or heard about uncritically." [364]

"All this totally invalidates the alleged and late discoveries of other lagging nations; all this confirms that, Argentina being legitimate heir of the territorial rights of Spain in this part of America, it corresponds in fact and right, without any kind of doubts or any kind of restrictions, the absolute and indisputable sovereignty of the Samson Islands-Malvinas." [365]

"There is a map of the islands of Samson or of the giants, with a note: The first to set foot on these islands were the Portuguese who accompanied Hernando Magallanes on his journey." [366]

"As we know, the Falkland Islands were uninhabited and (so) the description given by Thevet of their inhabitants and the name "Isles des Géants", ... makes it wrong ..." [367]

"Thevet's reputation as a scholar was hardly brilliant, and his constant solicitations with heavy doses of self-satisfied toadying would have been more than enough to irritate most people. ... Thevet had no overall plan and simply gathered together anything he could from his contacts at the court, in Paris, and in different ports. ... The patchwork that resulted quickly became the object of ironic comment. For example, it was said that Thevet simply drew his islands as he saw fit, choosing simplified forms – triangles, circles, or squares – according to the whim of the day. One person to make such sarcastic observations was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, an astronomer and humanist. He recounts that, to keep the sport up Thevet continually had to alter his maps due to the reproach that if "the outline as drawn was not agreeable to the eye, and it would look better if it was slightly rounder or squarer in shape, or more like a triangle or a pentagon; and he [Thevet] would immediately change everything, innocently adapting his drawings to instructions."..." [368]

"It has been established that the first specific map of the islands was made in 1520. ... This map was drawn by the Captain and Pilot Andrés de San Martín, a member of Magellan's crew, ..." [369]

"Thevet attached a large scale map which shows islands whose outline could, with imagination, be interpreted as resembling the Falklands. However, no indication has been found in the earliest account of Magellan's voyage that Thevet's suggestion is correct... No part of (Pigafetta's) narrative indicates that any of Magellan's ships sailed eastwards towards the Falklands,..." [370]

"... engraved in 1586, on the basis of a lost map made around 1518-19 at the latest by earlier ***unknown*** *Portuguese navigators before Magellan's voyage."*[371]

December 17th, Englishman, Thomas Cavendish sails into an estuary on South America's eastern coast at latitude 45° 47' S. He names the natural port there after his ship, *Desire (*Puerto Deseado*)*. [372]

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364 *Some Remarks concerning André Thevet* Manoel da Silveira Cardozo 1944 in *The Americas* vol.1 No.1 (July 1944)

365 *Nave española descubre las Islas Malvinas en 1520* Rolando A. Laguarda Trías 1983

366 *Malvinas. Su historia en historias* Arnoldo Canclini 2000

367 Arnaud 2000 p.188

368 Woodward (ed) 2007

369 *Las Malvinas Entre el Derecho y la Historia* M. G. Kohen & F. D. Rodriguez 2016. Established? History suggests otherwise. Andrés de San Martin accompanied Magellan into the Pacific in 1520, where he died, never returning to Spain. There is nothing to suggest that that Thevet's engraving was based upon the work of San Martin. Just another wild theory.

370 Cawley 2015.

371 *Argentine book debunking Argentine Falklands myths* Graham Pascoe & Peter Pepper 2019 in *Penguin News* May 17, 2019. My emphasis. Unknown is an understatement.

372 Cavendish had sailed from Plymouth on July 21, 1586, in a squadron of three ships.

1587 – **January 19th**, within Magellan's Strait, Cavendish encounters a ruined settlement – Rey Don Felipe – founded by Sarmiento four years earlier. Out of an original population of 400, only 12 men and 3 women remain. Cavendish only allows one, a pilot, onto his ship; steals the settlements six cannons and abandons the settlers. Cavendish renames the site – Port Famine. [373]

February 24th, Cavendish passes through the western mouth of the Strait. [374]

In his *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp pictures three inshore islands north of the Strait. [375] However, Rumold Mercator's *Orbis terrae compendiosa descriptio* reveals no islands. [376]

In Italy, a planisphere by geographer Urbano Monte (detailbelow) reveals seven islands, identified as *Isole de Sanson*. Also another, larger and a little to the south, called *Isola Cristalina*. [377]

"The collection of individual manuscripts is a stunning work of cartography even in its unassembled form, but pieced together into a digitised whole the remarkable scale of Monte's vision is finally revealed. As Monte's plan to revolve the map around a central pivot suggests, the 1587 masterpiece is a planisphere that seeks to portray the globe as radiating from a central North Pole. In its completed form we are able to appreciate a fascinating, brilliantly ambitious Renaissance attempt to visualise the world. ... Monte's planisphere is clearly an innovative work of map making that reflects a studious scientific mind, but beyond the variable accuracy of its cartography, the map is a thrilling work of imaginative creativity." [378]

From Brazil, the first black slaves arrive in Buenos Aires.

"More than 70 percent of the value of all imports arriving in Buenos were enslaved Africans. Slaves came primarily from Brazil via the Portuguese slave trade from Angola and other Western states in Africa. Once arriving in Buenos Aires, they could be sent as far as Lima, Peru; slaves were provided to Mendoza, Tucuman, Salta Jujuy, Chile, Paraguay, and what is today Bolivia and southern Peru. Córdoba functioned primarily as a redistribution center for this slave transfer until 1610." [379]

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373 England and Spain were at war. See 1589.

374 Cavendish would go on to circumnavigate the world and arrive back in Plymouth on September 9, 1588.

375 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-typus-orbis-terrarum-by-abraham-ortelius-antwerp.jpg

376 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-mercator-detail.png

377 All a little close to the Patagonian coast, but not too close. The Patos pair are not shown. Now at Stanford University in the USA, this map is made up of 60 sheet manuscripts measuring some 10 feet square. In this depiction of the South Atlantic, either the inshore Sanson group of six islands has drifted out, which seems likely, or this chart presents an argument for an earlier discovery of the Falklands archipelago than that of Davis in 1592. As for Isola Cristalina?

378 *How Urbano Monte's 1587 Map of earth Blends Fact with Fantasy* Harry Adkins 2022

379 *True or False: There Are No Black People in Argentina* Henry Louis Gates Jr. 2014

English settlers led by John White arrive at Roanoke Island, in North America.

1588 – Spain sends an *Armada* to invade Britain. It fails; defeated, initially, by a British force including Francis Drake. Subsequently defeated further, by bad weather. [380]

1589 – in Antwerp, a chart focused upon the Pacific Ocean by Abraham Ortelius – *Descriptio Maris Pacifici* – depicts three small unnamed islands to the north-east of Magellan's Strait just above latitude 50° South. The same can be seen on de Jode's map – *Totius Orbis*. [381]

August 5th, five ships under the command of Andrew Merrick sails from Plymouth for South America.

"It was a most disastrous venture, Merrick's being the only vessel, which reached South America, and having lost 16 men near Port Desire he proceeded to Magellan's Straits, which he entered on New Year's day 1590. Here he was reduced to subsist on penguins. A boat with 15 men was lost, besides which 7 others of his little party were killed by Indians. At Port Famine he picked up a Spaniard, the last survivor of 400 colonists left there by Sarmiento 6 years before; this man gave a fearful account of the sufferings undergone by the colony. Merrick died on the passage home, and so did the Spaniard: only 6 men reached England of this ill-fated expedition, in September 1590." [382]

1591 – August 26th, Thomas Cavendish, in *Leicester Galleon*, sails from Plymouth for the south Atlantic. His orders are to round the Horn and seek the fabled North-West Passage from the Pacific side. Cavendish is accompanied by Capt. Toby Stafford in *Black* and Capt. John Davis in *Desire*.

1592 – three maps are published during the year. Theodoro de Bry's depiction of South America places three large islands, within the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait.[383]

Spain's Christian Sgrooten (Sgrothen), produces a map from the perspective of the South Pole.[384]

The south cone by Cornelis Claesz of Amsterdam (detail right), places a group of inshore islands a little to the north of the Bay of San Julian – named *I. de Acençam*.[385]

May 20th, after leaving Port Desire (Puerto Deseado), *Desire* and *Black* lose contact with Cavendish's ship, *Leicester Galleon*. Davis decides to return to Port Desire, in the hope that Cavendish will look for him there. [386]

August 7th, at Puerto Deseado, after eight weeks, Davis and Stafford give up the wait, and sail south towards Magellan's Strait.

380 One of Spain's numerous attempts to invade England.
381 For both see https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/charts/
382 *The English in South America* M. G. Mulhall 1878 pp.28-29
383 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1592.png
384 German by birth but, after 1557, employed by the Spanish monarchy. This map appears to be from what is commonly known as the *Madrid Atlas*. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1592-orbis-terrestris-descriptio-by-christian-sgrooten-spain.-dedicated-to-felipe-ii.-note-two-vaguely-depicted-islands-off-the-magellan-strait.jpg
385 Sanson had become Ascension?
386 Cavendish did not survive the voyage but, before dying, he wrote a damning letter laying responsibility for the expedition's failure on '*abandonment*' by Davis. An accusation subsequently denied.

"… shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had still confidence to meete with our General."[387]

August 9th, a storm separates *Black* and *Desire*.

"The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force…" [388]

August 14th, being blown further from the South American coastline, Davis is; *"… driven in among certain isles **never before discovered** by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better from the shore, east and northerly from the Straits…"* [389]

Poor weather conditions prevent Davis seeing more. [390]

"Discovery of something cannot be limited to capture it with one's eyes, but effective possession is needed." [391]

"Ifles decouv. par Davis Anglois" [392]

"Those islands called by us Falkland's, and by the French the Malouines, were first discovered in the year 1592, by Capt. Davies (sic), who went out the associate of the brave and unfortunate Candish (sic), and is supposed to have basely deserted him in that fatal voyage. Davis, however, was too distressed at the time to make any particular observations of these islands; nor did he even give them a name,.." [393]

"… the Falkland Islands, of which Captain Davis certainly has the honour of being the original discoverer…" [394]

"These islands were discovered on the 14th August, 1592, by John Davis, the commander of one of the vessels of the squadron sent to the Pacific under Cavendish." [395]

"According to the slight evidence available in the Journal of John Jane, Davis located land 50 leagues or more north-east of the Straits of Magellan, but the weather was such as to prevent him from determining his latitude and making any close observations. As a result the evidence in favour of his claim carries no more weight than do those of Magellan and Alonzo de Camargo." [396]

"… while the explorer who is generally credited with a discovery may not have been the first to see land in that spot, the modern historian is bound to give credit only to those who have left more or less accurate records…"[397]

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387 *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea, or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares:…* Richard Hakluyt 1600 vol.3

388 *Ibid.*

389 John Jane quoted in *The Falkland Islands, a Memoir, descriptive, historical, and political* Robert Greenhow 1842 *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* vol.6 Feb 1842. My emphasis. It seems likely that the expedition's commanders would have poured over the available charts, and clearly saw their discovery as not being on any of them. Jane's account was published in 1600. See also *The Falkland Story 1592 – 1982* Mary Cawkell 1983.

390 Davis was seemingly at or near the archipelago for five days, before the weather improved. Busy surviving, little was recorded.

391 Grotius 1609, quoted in Peña & Peña 2018. Effective possession is required for sovereignty, not discovery.

392 *Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l'Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens* Nicolas Sanson 1696.

393 *The Annual Register for the Year 1771* printed for J. Dodsley 1772

394 *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier including an Introductory view of the Earlier Discoveries in the South Sea; and the History of the Bucaniers* published by Oliver & Boyd 1831

395 *Memorandum Respecting the Falkland Islands and Dependencies* John W. Field 1928

396 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

397 Christie 1951 p.29

"John Davis's sighting of the islands in 1592 was the first to be printed – in 1600 the geographical writer Richard Hakluyt published a brief account of it by a member of Davis's crew, John Jane, "a man of good observation", as Hakluyt calls him." [398]

1593 – Cornelius de Jode completes an atlas begun by his father, called – *Speculum Orbis Terae*. The map of South America (detail right) shows Magellan's Strait separating the continent from the long-imagined land mass to the south. Two groups of inshore islands are depicted close to the Patagonian coast. The most northern consists of two unnamed islands. The lower group is identified as the *I. de Acençam*. [399]

V M
CHI
CA
Estrecho de la Victoria
Estrecho de Fernando Magallanes
Brasilie populi, certis anni temporibus, sisphio ad expeditionē preparatus, se invicē mutuo hinc adoriuntur.

In England, Richard Hawkins is commissioned; *"To attempt some enterprise with a ship, bark, and pinnace against the king of Spain, his subjects, and adherents upon the coasts of the West Indies, Brazil, Africa, and America, or in the South seas,.."* [400]

June 11th, in Ireland, John Davis and *Desire*, make landfall in Berehaven. [401]

June 13th, Hawkins sails from Plymouth with three ships, *Daintie*, *Fancie,* and a store-ship, *Hawk*. [402]

1594 – February 2nd, Richard Hawkins, storm driven from Magellan's Strait, sees islands.

> *"The second of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee descried land, which bare South-West of us, which we looked not for so timely and coming neerer and neerer unto it, by the lying, wee could not conjecture what land it could be; for we were next of anything in forty-eight degrees .... The land is a goodly champion country, and peopled: we saw many fires, but could not come to speake with the people; for the time if the yeare was farr spent, to shoot the Straites, and the want of our pynace disabled us for finding a port or roade;...*
>
> *It hath great Rivers of fresh waters; for the out-shoot of them* ***colours*** *the Sea in many places, as we ran alongst it. It is not mountaynous, but much of the disposition of England, and as temperate. ...* [403]
>
> *The Land, for that it was discovered in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my Sovereigne Lady and Mistris, and a Mayden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetual memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gave it the name of Hawkins Maiden land ... the Westernmost part lyeth* ***some threescore leagues*** *from the neerest Land of America."* [404]

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398 Pascoe 2020 p.22

399 Pronounced *Acensam*. Not too unlike *Ascension* or *Sanson*. See also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1593-southern-hemisphere-by-gerard-de-jode-amsterdam.jpg

400 *America and West Indies: Addenda 1593, Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* Vol. 9 1675-1676 and *Addenda* 1574-1674 1893 p.30

401 On his return, Davis found that Cavendish's damning letter had preceded him. Hakluyt, the foremost English chronicler of the time, was married to Cavendish's sister and for a time refused to acknowledge any discovery by Davis. See 1600.

402 *The Hawkins' Voyages during the Reign of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth and James I* Clement R. Markham (ed.) 1878

403 Many early visitors to the islands described the fresh water as palatable, but tainted by the peat to a brownish hue.

404 *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voyage into the South Sea* Richard Hawkins 1622 (republished by the Hakluyt Society 1847). My emphasis. An extract of Hawkins' account was presented to the Duke of Grafton in 1765 by the Earl of Egmont *PRO SP 94/253. cf. Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766* Gallagher R. E. 1964 p.163. See also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/08/the-observations-of-sir-richard-hawkins.pdf

John Ellis, one of the captains with Hawkins' expedition, notes:

> *"... wee fell in with the land of Terra Australis, in 50 degrees, 55 leagues off the straits of Magellan, which land lay East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of Terra Australis: from which land wee entered the Straite upon the West South-west course."* [405]

"These Islands, which are in large number and form a fairly considerable one by its extent, were seen and described in 1594 by Captain Hawkins who named it Maidensland." [406]

"In 1594, the Englishman Captain Hawkins, found the way on the road & appointed them Maidens Land." [407]

"In fact, Captain Hawkins and Captain Sharp, English, discovered these Islands 1st in 1594, and the 2nd in 1681. ... the Navigators of St. Malo seem to have discovered them only a long time after the English and the Dutch." [408]

"The ship Dainty, now without a companion, pursued her course towards the straits; and falling in with the Falkland Islands, which Davis had discovered eighteen months before, Sir Richard, to whom this was not known, supposed that this Tierra Australis had not been seen by any European navigator, and in that belief,... gave it the name of Hawkins's Maiden Land." [409]

"... Frezier, a French voyager to these seas, admits them to have been discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins, and such is the opinion of the great French geographer Malte Brun." [410]

"The most noteworthy event during the voyage across the Atlantic was the sighting of land of which Hawkins believed himself to be the first discoverer, and which he named "Hawkins's maiden-land." ... in latitude, according to Hawkins, about 49° 30' S. Hawkins wrote from memory, and fortunately he is corrected, as regards his latitude, by one of his officers named Ellis, who tells us that the land was in 50° S and about fifty leagues off the Strait of Magellan." [411]

"... this navigator did not land, but rather erred in his latitude and configuration, and saw them from such a distance that he assumed them to be inhabited. His discovery, or more accurately, his ambiguous and faulty observation of a land that he observed from aboard his ship, is unsatisfactory and cannot produce any right."[412]

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405 *Purchas, His Pilgrimes* (aka *Hakluytus Posthumus*) Samuel Purchas 1625 vol. IV p.1415. Some of Hawkins' observations, such as sightings of fires, have raised questions as to what he actually did see – the Falklands, or some part of the mainland. Cape Tres Puntas was suggested by Commander B. M. Chambers in *Can "Hawkins Maidenland" Be Identified as the Falkland Islands* in *The Geographical Journal* vol.17 No.4 Apr 1901; cited by M. Paul Groussac in his work *'Les Isles Malouines'* 1910. However, Henniker-Heaton in *Did Sir Richard Hawkins Visit the Falkland Islands* (*The Geographical Journal* vol.67 No.1 Jan 1926), argued that Hawkins had indeed seen the Falklands following a professional assessment by Irish round-the-world yachtsman, Connor O'Brien. Chambers went on to defend his 1901 conclusion in *Hawkins Maiden Land and the Falkland Islands: A reply ...* (*The Geographical Journal* vol.67 No.6 June 1926), in which Chambers accused Hawkins of "*cooking*" the bearings. Surprisingly, John Ellis' supporting account merited no mention and may not have been known to either Chambers or Henniker-Heaton.

406 *Gazette de La Haye* no.97 August 13, 1764

407 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* August 14, 1764. Davis' 1592 sighting was still little known.

408 *Praslin to Choiseul August 31, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires 1957 vol. 1 pp.348-349. See 1764.

409 *Public Ledger & Daily Advertiser Tuesday August 5, 1834* citing *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopedia No. LVII – Lives of British Admirals* by Robert Southey

410 Reynolds 1835 p.500

411 Markham (ed.) 1878

412 *La Tercera Invasion Inglesa* A. Gomez Langenheim 1934

"The second English claim, that of Sir Richard Hawkins in the Dainty (1594), is more substantial, thanks to the detailed descriptions which appear in his Journal, written twenty-five years later. … It has been argued by an exponent of the English case that Hawkins, not De Weert, was the first to name the group, and that this formality has been acknowledged as an important factor in cases of oceanic exploration and discovery from the Middle Ages onwards." [413]

"Hawkins is often credited with the very first landing on the Islands although it was not entered in the log." [414]

Hawkins sees a prominent rock to the north of the islands.

"This rock was seen by Hawkins, and named by him 'White Conduit.' Now it is called Eddystone." [415]

"… Frézier, a French author, whose relation of a voyage to the South-Sea was published at Paris in 1716, admits that "ces Isles sont sans doute les memes que celles que le Chevalier Richard Hawkins decouvrit en 1593"…" [416]

"… Hawkins mentions several identifiable features – he describes the steep Jason Islands ("poynt Tremountaine"), what was perhaps Sedge Island ("Fayre Island"), the opening into Byron Sound ("a goodly opening"), and the Eddystone Rock ("Condite-head"). … those details leave little room for doubt that he saw the Falklands." [417]

The ship's crew also see smoke, which they assume come from the camp fires of an indigenous people.

"Fire caused by lightening strikes was probably the one single element responsible for the greatest natural loss of tussock. Many islands still bear signs of having been burnt many years ago. Layers of red ash, in some cases a metre below present soil levels, suggest that such fires occurred before the arrival of man. In 1594 when Sir Richard Hawkins sailed along the northern part of the Islands in his vessel the Dainty, he recorded: "It was peopled. We saw many fires". Hawkins many indeed have witnessed the fires from a vagrant group of Yaghan canoe indians deposited on the Islands, but more probably he had viewed tussock fires caused by lightning." [418]

Hawkins sails back to South America before passing through Magellan's Strait, bound for Peru.

> *"… care is to be had of the people called the Pentagones (sic). They are treacherous, and of great stature, so th(at)* ***most*** *give them the name of gyants."* [419]

June 22nd, after a three day battle with Spanish forces in the Bay of San Mateo, Hawkins is taken prisoner. [420]

In Amsterdam, cartographer Peter Plancius publishes a world map. A little to the north of Magellan's Strait and very close to the Patagonian coast, he depicts 3 small islands identified as *I. de Acenca*. [421]

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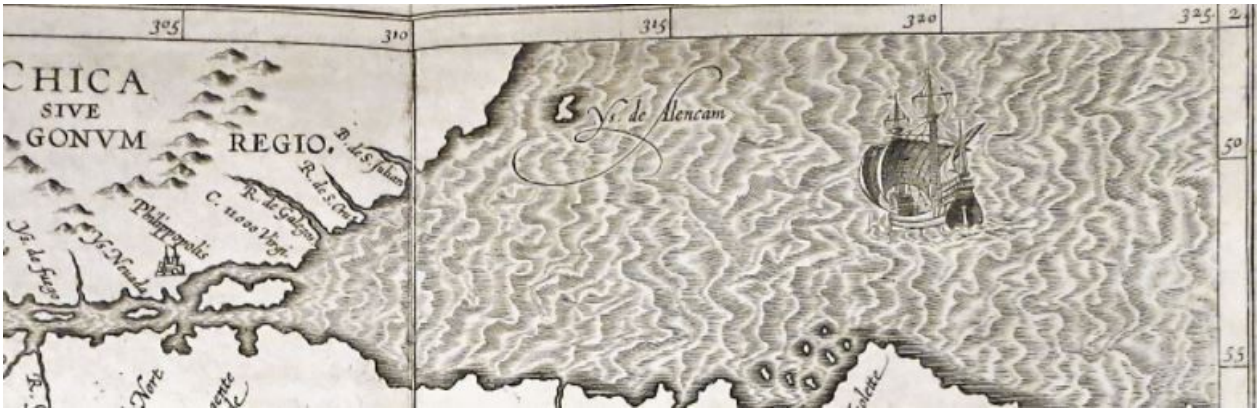
413 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
414 Peña & Peña 2018
415 Fitzroy 1839
416 *"… these Isles are undoubtedly the same ones that the Knight Richard Hawkins discovered in 1593"* in *Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza July 10, 1832* in *British and Foreign State Papers 1831 – 1832* p.348
417 Pascoe 2020 p.23
418 *Tussac Grass Survey* Ian Strange 1988 in *Tussac Grass in the Falklands* Strange, Parry, Parry & Woods (eds) 1988
419 Hawkins 1622 p.106. My emphasis. Note that Hawkins referred only to others calling the Patagonian Indians "*gyants*"
420 Hence the delay in reporting his discovery. Hawkins spent some 8 years in Spanish prisons and the account of his voyage would not be published until 1622.
421 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1594-peter-plancius.jpg

1595 – in Amsterdam, chart-maker Rumold Mercator produces a map in the style of his father – *America Sive India Nova America ad magnae Gerardi Mercatoris*. No islands are depicted off the Patagonian coast. [422]

Also in Amsterdam, Jodocus Hondius publishes a world map – *Vera totius expeditionis nauticae*. Revealing Francis Drake's track, no islands are shown offshore of Patagonia. Tierra del Fuego is depicted as four large islands separated, unusually, from the fabled southern continent. [423]

1596 – German cartographer Theodor de Bry completes his chart of the Americas (detail left) – *America sive Novus Orbis respectu Europaeorum inferior globi terrestris pars*. An inshore island is identified as *I. de Acenca* at approximately latitude 48° South.

1597 – Dutch cartographer Cornelius Wytfliet produces a chart of Magellan's Strait (detail below). To the north of the strait, is an island identified as *Ys. de Alencam*, above 50° S.



1598 – June 25th, a Dutch merchant squadron sails; with the intention of trading with South America in defiance of Spanish prohibitions. The squadron consists of five ships and 494 men. Sebald de Weert is captain of *Blijde Boodschap* (Good Tidings). [424]

1599 – April 7th, in a storm, the Dutch squadron arrives at the western mouth of the Magellan Strait.

September 3rd, after numerous attempts, the five Dutch ships finally break through to the Pacific Ocean. Only to run into another storm. *Geloof* is blown back into the Strait. Abandoning the fleet, Sebald de Weert runs ahead of the tempest to the South Atlantic.

422 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1595-america-sive-india-nova-america-ad-magnae-gerardi-mercatoris-by-rumold-mercator-amsterdam.jpg

423 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1595-vera-totius-expeditionis-nauticc3a6-by-jodocus-hondius.jpg

424 Following the death of the expedition's leader in September, 1598, there was a reshuffle which placed Sebald de Weert in command of *Geloof* (Belief). Simon de Cordes took over as leader of the expedition.

A world map by Wright and Molyneux, published in London, depicts islands within the Magellan Strait, but none outside its eastern mouth. [425]

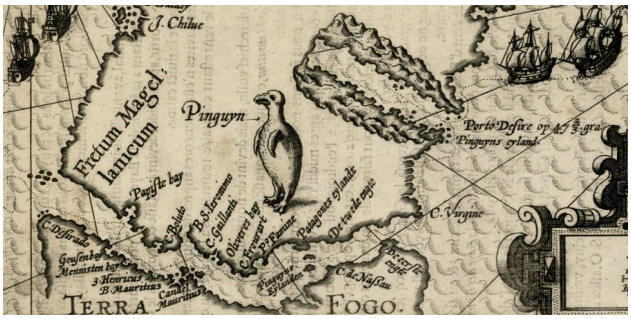
1600 – January 24th, Sebald de Weerdt, after being blown further offshore, sees land. [426]

> *"We found three small islets to windward, not marked on any maps, which we named the Sebaldine islands. These are in lat. 50 deg. 40'S., sixty leagues from the continent, and contained abundance of penguins, but we could not catch any having no boat."* [427]

"Lands recognized and fixed by the only two coordinates then applicable (distance from the continent and latitude). Only a material inconvenience prevented the effective inauguration. The fact was carefully recorded in the journal, and the group, called Iles de Sebald de Weert, after the name of the discoverer. Since then they appear like this (variants: Sebaldes, Sebaldinas) in all relations and geographical charts. First, the three Sebaldes are represented alone until the end of the 17th century; then, from the first years of the next and as they are discovered, they are accompanied by other islands of the archipelago." [428]

"The first authenticated discovery of the Falkland Islands was made by a Dutchman, Seebald de Weert (1600), who sighted three small uncharted islands... the Dutch expedition which sailed from Holland in 1614 under Le Maire and Schouten confirmed this discovery, ..." [429]

A Dutch map by Olivier van Noort notes a *Pinguyns Eyland* off Port Desire (Puerto Deseado) (detail right). [430]



In London, Richard Hakluyt publishes – *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Although he does not credit Davis with the sighting of the Falkland Islands, he does publish the account of John Jane.

1601 – in Madrid, Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas produces a chart of the Pacific and Americas. No islands are depicted to the east of either Patagonia or the Magellan Strait. [431]

1602 – Flemish chart-maker Petrus Bertius publishes a map of the *Strate van Magellanes*. A group of six islands are featured off the Patagonian coast to the north of *Baia de S Julian* and identified as *I. de Acençam*. [432]

Levinus Hulsius publishes – *Brevis & admiranda descriptio regni Guianae, auri abundantissimi, in America*. To the south of *P. Desire* is an island named *Pinguyns Ins*. Further offshore, and to the north of *B. de S. Juliano*, is a group of five islands identified as *I. de Acencam*. [433]

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425 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1599-wright-and-molyneux-map-of-the-world.jpg

426 Davis, Hawkins or de Weerdt? At least, from this point onwards, it can be said with certainty that the Falkland Islands had been discovered. However, with Davis disgraced, and Hawkins languishing in a Spanish prison, the Dutchman would be recognised as the discoverer. For a while, at least. All three had one thing in common, in that it took a tempest to get them far enough off the Patagonian coast to see the Falklands/Jasons. *cf.* 1764

427 Quoted by Rob Yssel in David Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.557. In Gallagher (1964 p.163) the date is given as January 21, 1600. The Vice-Admiral arrived back in the Netherlands in July, 1600.

428 *Les iles Maluines* Paul Groussac 1936 p.93. Edition ordered for schools by Argentina's National Congress, in 1934

429 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

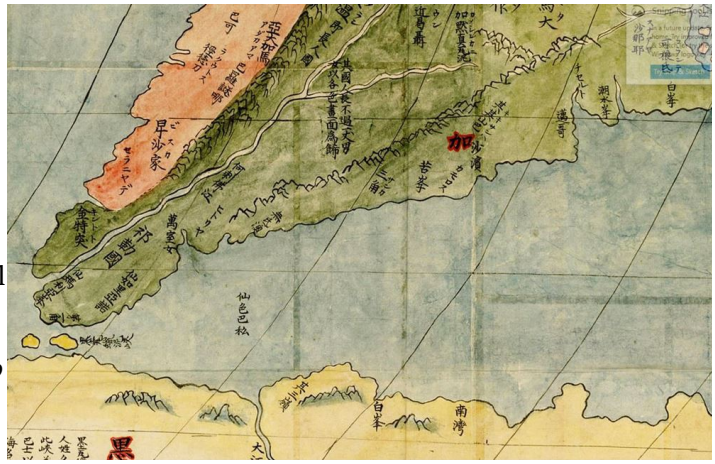
430 Still called that today. Without doubt the island that Magellan took a quantity of penguin meat from. *cf.* 1522

431 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1601-antonio-de-herrera-y-tordesillas-madrid.jpg

432 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1602-petrus-bertius-patagonian-giants.jpg

433 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1602-brevis-admiranda-descriptio-regni-guianae-auri-abundantissimi-in-america-hulsius.png

In China, commissioned by the Wanli Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Italian Matteo Ricci publishes a world map (detail right). [434]



1603 – in Antwerp, cartographer Abraham Ortelius depicts a group of islands named *Iſla daſcençion*. [435]

From Valparaiso, three ships sail out, led by Gabriel de Castilla in *Jesús María*.

"The South Shetland Islands - The Spanish claim to this is based upon the statement, made in a document preserved in the Rijksarchief at The Hague, that one, Laurent Kless, a shipmate of Dirck Gerritz, had reached latitude 64° S. in 1603, aboard a Spanish vessel. The master of this unknown ship was, in all probability, the first discoverer of the South Shetlands." [436]

1604 – August 28th, after nineteen years of indecisive warfare, the *Treaty of London* brings peace between England and Spain. [437]

"As to trade with the Indies, the treaty remained intentionally ambiguous. It simply declared that commerce could be resumed as it had taken place before the war. The Spanish believed that this clause boiled down to a general exclusion. The English took it as an authorization to trade outside the existing Spanish dominions. Neither side thought it prudent to seek further clarification." [438]

"... James I asserted that England would respect Spain's monopoly of trade and settlements in all territories effectively occupied by her but could recognise none in unoccupied territory." [439]

"Article 9 of this treaty provided "that there shall be and ought to be free commerce" in all places "where commerce existed before the war, agreeably and according to the use and observances of the ancient alliances and treaties before the war". This sounded like a clear provision. But the reference to the old treaties was simply a reference to their unceasingly disputed terms." [440]

1606 – King James I of England, founds the *Virginia Company*. Tasked with establishing colonies in America.

A map of South America – *America Meridionalis* – by Mercator and Hondius has an inshore island off the east coast of South America identified as *I. de Acencan*. [441]

1612 – Spain's Ambassador to London demands the removal of England's American colonies.

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434 Copy published in Japan in 1604.
435 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1603-americae-sive-novi-orbis-nova-descriptio-by-abraham-ortelius-antwerp-detail.png
436 *Territorial Claims in the Antarctic Regions (Compiled in the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty) 1919* p.18.
437 England agreed to end its support of the Dutch rebellion, while Spain accepted that England was a Protestant nation. Unpopular in England, the treaty surprisingly survived for two decades.
438 *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* Luc Duerloo 2012
439 Cawkell 1983
440 Fisch 1983 p.111
441 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1606-america-meridionalis-by-mercator-and-hondius.jpg

"(The Spanish) are very much displeased ... with our Plantation of Virginia, which they stick not now to say, that if his Majesty will not cause it to be recalled, this King will be forced by a strong hand to essay the removal of it; ...

I doubt not but he will receive a cold answer, and for their doing anything by the way of hostility, I conceive they will be very slow to give England so just a pretence to be doing with them." [442]

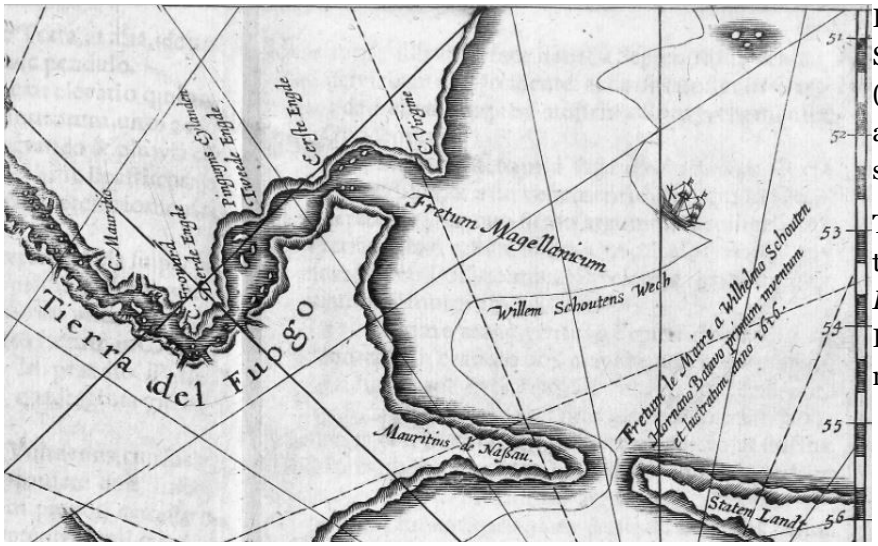
A world map by Dutch cartographer Hessel Gerritsz features a single unnamed island depicted near the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait. [443]

1616 – January 18th, the Dutch ship, *Eenracht*, under William Schouten, sights the Jason Islands before going on to round the southern cone of South America. Schouten names the cape in honour of his home town – Hoorn. [444]

"The 18 we saw Sebaldes Islands south east from vs about 3. leagues, they lie, as Sebald Dewert writes, distant from the straight, east northeast, and west southwest, about 50. leagues, then we were vnder 51. degrees." [445]

1619 – Buenos Aires survives as a small, isolated, Spanish colony.

"*...in 1619... the governorship of the Rio de la Plata stretched barely forty leagues from Buenos Aires.*"[446]



Following his return to Europe, Schouten produces a map of his voyage (detail left). Three islands are depicted at 51° S, confirming de Weerdt's sighting of 1600.[447]

Tierra del Fuego is incomplete but, for the first time, appears as an island. The *Le Maire Strait* between Tierra del Fuego and *Staten Landt* is also revealed. [448]

442 *Sir John Digby to Sir Dudley Carleton* June 20, 1612 in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China & Japan Vol.2 1513 -1616*

443 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1612.jpg

444 *Les Iles Malouines: Nouvel Exposé d'un Vieux Litige* Paul Groussac 1910 p.88. *cf.* 1526

445 *The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by Willem Cornelison Schouten of Horne. Shewing how South from the Straights of Magelan in Terra Delfuego: he found and discovered a newe passage through the great South Seaes, and that way sayled round about the world*. Imprinted for Nathanaell Newbery (London) 1619

446 *Memoria Historica sobre los Derechos de Soberania y Dominio de la Confederacion Argentina ...* Pedro de Angelis 1852 p.14

447 De Weerdt's discovery had been slow to appear on charts. After Shouten, however, cartographers knew that Magellan's Strait was not the only way through to the Pacific. Also that Tierra del Fuego was an island.

448 Around the time of Schouten's return, a Spanish expedition led by Bartoleme Garcia de Nodal was passing through the Le Maire Strait, and claiming it for Spain as the *Strait of St. Vincent*..

1621 – in Madrid, Pedro Teixeira produces a chart of the Magellan Strait for an atlas. No islands or archipelago is shown to the east of the Patagonian coast, but the *Islas de los Leones* are revealed in a Patagonian bay.[449] Tierra del Fuego is depicted as an island.

1624 – Jose de Acosta, in Amsterdam, produces a chart of Magellan's Strait entitled, *Kaerte van beyde de Straten Magellani en Iacob le Maire* (detail right). A single offshore island is shown to the east of the bay of San Julian, named *I de Açençam*.[450]

1625 – Joannes de Laef publishes *Provincien van de straet van magallanes, ende vande straet le maire*. Three offshore islands are named as the *Sybold de Waerdts eylanden*. [451]

"Navigators and geographers always coincide in respecting the rights of the old Dutch captain and in keeping, according to usage, the name of the discoverer, a name that enshrines the first and legitimate discovery." [452]

1626 – in London, John Speed publishes a map of the Americas (detail below) – *America with those known parts in that unknowne worlde both people and manner of buildings*. Two islands, unnamed, are shown to the north-east of the strait.[453]

449 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1621-pedro-teixeira-madrid.jpg *cf.* 1749
450 Soft c's making the name sound like Asensam.
451 The earliest chart I have found so far identifying de Weerdt's sighting by his name - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/1625-provincien-van-de-straet-van-magallanes-ende-vande-straet-le-maire-by-joannes-de-laef-spanish-netherlands.jpg See also - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1625-joannes-de-laef-spanish-netherlands-detail.png
452 Groussac 1936 p.94
453 Source: Library of Congress. First published in an Atlas in 1676

1628 – *Charte vniuerselle de tovt le monde…* a world map by Cornelius Danckerts and Melchior Taverier of Paris identify a group of islands off the Magellan Strait as *Is de Sybold de Waerdt*. [454]

In London, a new map published by Robert Vaughan depicts no islands near the strait. [455]

1629 – November 15th, Spain and England sign the *Treaty of Madrid*. [456]

"., article 7 simply referred to article 9 of 1604 – the existing state of affairs was thereby confirmed. It was obviously impossible to find a generally acceptable interpretation of the ancient treaties. Nevertheless some conclusions are possible. The most controversial matter was trade with those places in the Indies that were actually occupied by Spain. The Spaniards tried to go further, insisting on their general monopoly of navigation to and trade with the Indies, irrespective of effective occupation, excluding a priori all possessions and even navigation and commerce of possible competitors. But there was no legal basis for such claims, unless the papal bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas were recognized, something England had never done. It was impossible to interpret the existing treaties as derogatory to the British right to sail in and to trade in all parts of the world not actually held and occupied by Spain. Spain, of course. Would not have admitted this. But it was difficult to deny it on the basis of the international law valid at that time." [457]

1630 – in the Spanish Netherlands, Hessel Gerritsz produces a chart of the tip of South America and the Magellan Strait. Three islands are shown off the Patagonian coast (opposite Puerto San Julian); named the *Sebold de Waerdts eylanden*. [458]

1634 – *Carte universelle hydrographique* by Jean Guérard (France) shows a group of three offshore islands positioned off the patagonian coast. [459]

1636 – Jodocus Hondius, on his *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula* map depicts three inshore islands close to the coast of Patagonia above 50° S but does not identify them. [460]

1638 – on his *Polus Antarcticus* chart (detail right), Hendrik Hondius of Amsterdam depicts the *Sebaldi de Weert* Islands as below 50° S, albeit far too close to the coast of South America. Two islands are shown just off *Porto Desire*.

454 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1628-charte-vniuerselle-de-tovt-le-monde…-by-cornelius-danckerts-melchior-taverier-paris.jpg

455 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1628-a-new-and-accurate-mappe-of-the-world-drawne-according-to-the-best-and-latest-discoveries-that-have-beene-made-london.jpg

456 Another inconclusive and expensive conflict, poorly conducted. Parliamentary resentment would simmer until the English Civil War of 1642.

457 Fisch 1983 p.111

458 Inshore islands were depicted, but not identified. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1630-hessel-gerritsz-spanish-netherlands.jpg

459 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1634-carte-universelle-hydrographique-by-jean-guc3a9rard-france-not-two-groups-of-islands-one-inshore-one-of-3-offshore-e1552024097731.jpeg

460 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1636-nova-totius-terrarum-orbis-geographica-ac-hydrographica-tabula-by-jodocus-hondius-paris.jpg

1640 – French cartographer Jean Boisseau publishes a map of the Americas showing a single inshore island off the coast of Patagonia at 50º S. [461]

1641 – January 6th, the *Treaty of Quillin* is signed by Spain and a number of indigenous Indian tribes in Patagonia and the South Cone. The treaty recognises the Mapuche tribe as independent.

1642 – English frustrations within government leads to civil war. [462]

1645 – another Parisian map, named *Novvelle et exacte description dv globe terrestre,* depicts no islands off the coast of South America below the Rio de la Plata. [463]

1646 – in Rome, Jesuit priest Alonso de Ovalle produces a chart of the South Cone for a book – *Histórica Relación del Reyno de Chile* (detail left). [464]

1648 – January 30th, a peace treaty is signed between Spain and the Dutch Republic; the *Treaty of Munster*. Spain, for the first time, recognises limitations to the Tordesillas agreement of 1494. [465]

> *"... and in the said treaty shall be comprehended all potentates, nations, and people, with whom the said Lords the King and States, or members of the East and West India Companies in their name, within the limits of their said grants, are in friendship and alliance. And each one, that is to say the said Lords the King and States, respectively, shall remain in possession of and enjoy such lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, commerce and countries of the East and West Indies, as well as of Brazil, and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, respectively, which the said Lords ... hold and possess, ... it has been agreed and stipulated, that the Spaniards shall keep their navigation to the East Indies, in the same manner they hold it at present, without being at liberty to go further; and the inhabitants of those Low Countries shall not frequent the places which the Castilians have in the East Indies."*

"In view of the antecedent negotiations, and particularly the Spanish claims of possession to the large stretches of uninhabited lands lying between their scattered settlements, it was undoubtedly intended to limit the Dutch to what they actually held and to exclude them not only from trade in the Spanish ports but from access to the wild shores where they might found settlements or at least do business with natives." [466]

"(Spain) had to abandon its old claim to a general hemispherical monopoly, ... By now it was obvious that the papal bulls and the treaty of Tordesillas had no place in international law as regards third parties. Goebel

461 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1640-circa-french-jean-boisseau-detail.png
462 English expansion into the Americas was, unsurprisingly, curtailed for much of the following decade.
463 Attributed to Willem Janszoon Blaeu and Claes Visscher. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1645-novvelle-et-exacte-description-dv-globe-terrestre-by-willem-janszoon-blaeu-paris.jpg
464 North is to the left. The depiction of *Tierra Incognita* is reminiscent of the large island on the Hazine chart of circa 1522.
465 Complicated and not particularly relevant, except for context. Protestant parts of the Spanish-Netherlands had broken away in 1581 but only finally attained *de jure* (legal) independence with this treaty in 1648. Eventually these areas would form part of what we now recognise as the Netherlands. *cf.* 1494
466 Goebel 1927 p.127 (fn.1) quoted in Fisch 1983 p.113

maintains that the treaties of 1648 and 1667 gave Spain an exclusive right to commerce and navigation in the South Atlantic, debarring the Netherlands and Britain from any attempt not only to settle but also to navigate there. This would have included the Falkland Islands. … This is probably a fairly accurate statement of Spanish intentions. But it neither takes into account Dutch (and, mutatis mutandis, British) intentions nor does it necessarily follow from the wording of the treaty. Article 6 of 1648 was not at all clear on the subject, and this was, in all probability, no coincidence." [467]

1650 – in Amsterdam, a map by Jansson centred on the Pacific Ocean, reveals three small islands at about latitude 52º S. Named *Sebald de waerts Eylan*. [468]

1653 – in **December**, Oliver Cromwell becomes Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.

1655 – with England at War with Spain, Oliver Cromwell's *'Western Design'* sees British forces challenging Spain in the Caribbean. An attack on the island of Hispaniola fails, but Jamaica is captured. [469]

1656 – in Paris, a chart of *Le Paragvayr, Le Chili, La Terre et Les Isles Magellanicques* shows a group of three small islands at approximately 51º S identified as *Ins Sebaldi de Werdt*. [470]

1665 – a Dutch chart depicts South America. Off the coast of Patagonia is shown one large island, unnamed.[471]

1667 – a French ship, commanded by Jean Baptiste de la Feuillade, takes a western route from the Moluccas Islands to the Strait of Magellan; in defiance of Spanish prohibitions. [472]

May 23rd, a treaty of peace and commerce is signed by Spain and Britain. [473]

"And by the 8th Article of the Treaty of 1667 between Great Britain and Spain it is declared - "That the Crown of Spain doth grant to the King of Great Britain and his Subjects in both the Indies, and all that is granted to the United States of the Low Countries and their Subjects in the Treaty of Munster of 1648, point for point, in as full and ample a manner as if the same were therein inserted, the same Rules being to be observed whereunto the Subjects of the said United States are obliged," – and it appears by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Munster what these Rules are – viz - "That the Subjects of the two contracting parties shall forbear sailing to and trading in any of the Harbours, places, Ports or castles possessed by the other party." – And by the Treaty made between Great Britain and Spain for settling Peace in America in 1670, the same Rules or Regulations are again stipulated and confirmed…" [474]

"Spain was anxious not to grant more than it had been compelled to grant to the Dutch on an earlier occasion. … neither the treaty of 1648 nor that of 1667 contained any delimitation of the respective territories, Thus it was a kind of basic recognition, without indication of its exact extent. In this sense it was primarily a success for the Dutch and the British, because there had never been any doubt about the recognition of the actual Spanish possessions in America by other European powers, while Spain before 1648 and 1667 stubbornly refused to recognise its competitor's colonies. So there was no longer any doubts as to the basic legitimacy of these possessions, while their limits remained undefined. … By 1667 the (Falkland) islands were discovered, but

467 Fisch 1982 pp.112-113, referring to Goebel 1927
468 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1650-jansson-amsterdam.jpg
469 In 1656, the exiled Charles II agreed in the *Treaty of Brussels*, to return any territory captured by British forces. Following the restoration of the monarch in 1660, Charles failed to return Jamaica.
470 Albeit too close to the continent. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1656-nicolas-sanson.jpg
471 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1665-detail.png
472 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.25
473 *Treaty of Madrid* 1667
474 *TNA BT 5/5*. 1789 Board of Trade inquiry into Spanish pretensions. *cf.* 1670 & 1789

there had as yet been no successful landing. The archipelago was scarcely known to the Spaniards, and it was impossible to derive a Spanish title to it from the treaties of 1648 and 1667." [475]

1669 – September 26th, from England, John Narborough sails in *Sweepstakes*, accompanied by a merchant vessel carrying goods valued at £300. His orders are to make discoveries in the South Seas, and to trade. [476]

"King Charles II of England, confidered the diſcovery of this coaſt of ſuch conſequence, that Sir John Narborough was purpoſely fitted out to ſurvey the Streights of Magellan, the neighbouring coaſt of Patagonia, and the Spaniſh ports in that frontier; with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms with the Spaniards; and to eſtabliſh a commerce and a laſting correſpondence with them. Though Sir John, through accidental cauſes, failed in this attempt, which, in appearance, promiſed ſo many advantages to this nation, his tranſactions upon that coaſt, beſides the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation, are rather an encouragement for further; trials of this kind, than any objećtion againſt them. It appeared by the precautions and fęars of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the praćticability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences." [477]

"The design of an establishment on or near the coast of Patagonia, is not, however a new scheme: it had been eagerly entered into many years ago by Charles the Second, who, notwithstanding the continual distresses in which his profusion, and the ill terms on which he generally stood with his subjects, involved him, went to a very considerable expense in sending out Sir John Narborough for that purpose. This gentleman had directions to survey the Streights of Magellan, and the coasts of Patagonia; and, if possible, to procure an intercourse with the brave and unconquered Indians of Chili, and to establish a commerce and lasting correspondence with them." [478]

1670 – March 26th, John Narborough claims Port Desire on the east coast of South America (47º 48'S). [479]

> *"Gentlemen, you are by me desired to take notice, that this day I take possession of this Harbour, and the River of Port Desire, and of all the land in this country on both shores, for the use of His Majesty King Charles the IId, of Great Britain, and his heirs."* [480]

Sweepstakes' Spanish pilot tells Narborough that he; *"... did not understand the coast, nor where 'twas inhabited."* [481]

May 2nd, in London, a letter to the French Ambassador from his government, seeks information as to British intentions in Canada. It also notes that the French King has granted a concession regarding discoveries made on the American coasts to the south. [482]

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475 Fisch 1982 p.112

476 See *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* James Burney 1813 vol.3 p.318.

477 *The Modern Gazetteer; or, Compendious Geographical Dictionary* Richard Brookes 1771

478 Dodsley 1772

479 The river mouth named by Cavendish in 1586.

480 Quoted in Burney 1813 vol.3 p.336

481 *An Account of several late Voyages & Discoveries to the South and North, Towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas ...* Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood 1694. Now known by its Spanish translation, Puerto Deseado. Narborough's claim was never followed up, however, nor any effective occupation made.

482 *Jean Baptist Colbert to Colbert de Croissy Mai 2, 1670* in *Lettres, instructions ert memoires de Colbert* Jean Baptiste Colbert 1864 vol.3 p.238. Cited by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'Océan Pacifique* 1909 to demonstrate that France had not been deterred by claims of Spanish exclusivity in the Americas. Similarly employed by Argentine historian, Caillet-Bois (1982 6th ed. p.24).

"As for the two Frenchmen who offer to put the King in possession of the countries they have discovered in the Hudson Strait, provided that His Majesty has (been) pleased to give them one of his vessels, I must tell you that a (man) named van Heemskerk, who was in the service of the king of England and who led the English fleet in the Vlith (sic) during the last war of Holland, .., having given such a notice to the King of a country which he has also discovered at 51 degrees 33 minutes, His Majesty has recently granted the concession of all the countries which he has discovered or will discover, entering the seas of North America over Canada, same within said seas, and the coast of that of the South, so that it is necessary that you inquire carefully whether the Frenchmen have made the same discover(y) that (of) said van Heemskerk, ..., being certain that, the King of England having knowledge of this matter, His British Majesty would grant them what they asked of him, from which said Sieur van Heemskerk could receive some prejudice." [483]

"Louis XIV, whose relations with the Court of Madrid were far from being cordial at the end of the seventeenth century, did not fail to keep an eye on the immense Spanish empire, whose final fate could in no way be indifferent to him." [484]

July 18th, with the *Treaty of Madrid,* Spain recognises English possessions in the Americas.

"VII. Moreover, it is agreed, that the Most Serene King of Great Britain, his Heirs and Successors, shall have, hold, keep, and enjoy for ever, with plenary right of Sovereignty, Dominion, Possession, and Propriety, all those Lands, Regions, Islands, Colonies, and places whatsoever, being situated in the West Indies, or in any part of America, which the said King of Great Britain and his Subjects do at present hold and possess,..

VIII ... The Subjects of the King of Great Britain shall not Sail unto, and Trade in, the Havens and Places which the Catholique King holdeth in the said (West) Indies: Nor in like manner shall the Subjects of the King of Spain Sail unto, or Trade in, those Places which are possessed there by the King of Great Britain. ...

XV. The present Treaty shall in nothing derogate from any Pre-eminence, Right or Dominion of either Confederate in the American Seas, Channels or Waters, but they may have and retain the same in as full and ample manner, as may of Right belong unto them: But, it is always to be understood, that the Liberty of Navigation ought in no manner to be disturbed, where nothing is committed against the Genuine Sence (sic) and Meaning of these Articles." [485]

"He (Lord Shelburn) read me the end of a dispatch from Caviero Godolfin, who signed the treaty of said year of 1670, which concluded by saying "that he has done everything possible to assure this Crown the incontestable right of free navigation in the southern seas, and that he hopes that His British Majesty will be well served by his work". " [486]

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483 *Jean Baptist Colbert to Colbert de Croissy Mai 2, 1670* in Colbert 1864. The latitude reading herein appears to relate to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland.

484 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.)

485 To the British the West Indies was the Caribbean. An area referred to by the Spanish as the Spanish Antilles or la Antillas Occidentales. Spain called its American colonies as a whole, The Indies. *cf.* 1667, 1713 & 1789

486 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 21, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas (1766-1767)* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1957 vol.2-3pp.158-167

"From the Terms of this last Article the Spanish Ministers have heretofore pretended to infer, that there are Seas which are the Objects of Sovereignty or Dominion and they have on former occasions endeavoured under this pretence to confine the Freedom of Navigation in the American Seas... Nothing can be more extravagant than to found a Right of this extent and importance, a Right of Dominion in the Spanish Monarchy over the Seas of South America, to the exclusion of all other Nations, on what is stipulated in the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670, which contains nothing more than a general reservation of supposed existing Rights in favour of Great Britain as well as of Spain." [487]

"The restrictive interpretation of article 6 of the treaty of 1648 was confirmed by the next Anglo-Spanish treaty in 1670. Basically it renewed the provisions of 1667. There was an even more explicit recognition of the British possessions by Spain (article 7). According to the eighth article both parties were to refrain from sailing to or trading in all places which the other side held. ... There was another somewhat enigmatic stipulation in the treaty, in article 15: ... There was no explanation as to which rights etc. were meant. So one might imagine that a Spanish monopoly of navigation in the South Atlantic was intended. But there is no further evidence for this, while the other provisions of the treaty show no signs that the reciprocal restrictions of trade and navigation applied to more than the actual occupied areas of America. The result of the treaties of 1667 and 1670 was therefore a mutual recognition of the respective possessions in America and of the exclusive right to trade with them. The exact extent of these possessions, however, remained undefined, which meant that no further restriction as to the access to the American coasts and to the navigation in the seas around America could be inferred. This applied particularly to the Falkland Islands, which up to this time had neither been claimed nor occupied by any power." [488]

"The 17th- and 18th-century treaties between Britain and Spain did not prohibit British possession of the Falklands; none of them described the extent of Spanish possessions in South America." [489]

When news of Narborough's expedition reaches Lima, the Viceroy halts the regular silver shipment to Panama.[490]

1672 – France considers a proposal to seize Spanish Peru.

"We have other evidence, no less suggestive, of the interest aroused in France by the Castilian possessions in America. An inhabitant of Bearn, for example, whose name is unknown, presented to Colbert "a plan to take Peru away from the Spaniards and establish French domination there"..." **[491]**

1673 – John Narbrough's detailed chart of the '*Streights of Magellan'* is published in England. With an insert of Patagonia (detail left).

1675 – in **April**, an London merchant, Anthony de la Roche, returning from Peru, is blown off course. He seeks refuge in the bay of an Island with snow-capped mountains (South Georgia). [492]

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487 *TNA BT 5/5* at *418*. Board of Trade inquiry into Spanish pretensions. *cf.* 1789

488 Fisch 1983 p.115. This Austrian author appears unaware of the claim by Hawkins in 1594.

489 Pascoe 2020 p.342

490 *The Inexhaustible Fountains of Gold: English Projects and Ventures in the South Seas, 1670-1750* Glyndwr Williams 1973 in *Perspectives of Empire* John E. Flint (ed.) 1973

491 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.25

492 De la Roche remained for 14 days, until the weather improved. See also 1750, 1756, 1775 and 1947

"The treaty of Tordesillas (1494) under which the Spanish and Portuguese divided the New World between them... would have the effect of awarding South Georgia to Portugal... at no time has the Portuguese Government claimed any sovereignty over it." [493]

"There is no doubt that Great Britain's presence in the Antarctic has been evident for more than two centuries. The earliest discovery of land in the area is believed to have been South Georgia in 1675 by the British merchant, Anthony de la Roche."[494]

"The first discovery of land in the Antarctic, south of the Antarctic Convergence, was most probably the sighting of South Georgia in 1675 by a London merchant, Antoine de la Roche. ... only a translated precis survives. ... The island that la Roche discovered was almost certainly South Georgia. ... Dr. L. Harrison Matthews reviewed the description. His interpretation, based on an extensive knowledge of South Georgia, was that la Roche sailed past the southern side of the island, turned north near Cape Disappointment and anchored in Doubtful Bay or Drygalski Fjord..."[495]

A map of Magellan's Strait by Frederik de Wit identifies a group of three offshore islands as the *Sybold de Wayerds Eylanden* (detail right). Islets are depicted to the south of Cabo Blanco and Puerto Deseado.

Three French ships pass through the Strait of La Maire, bound for the Pacific Ocean. [496]

1679 – Englishman William Dampier sets out on a planned circumnavigation of the world. [497]

1680 – London map-maker Nicolas Sanson publishes – *A mapp of all the world projected in two hemispheres in which are exactly described all the parts of the Earth and seas* (detail left). Islands to the north-east of Magellan's Strait are identified as *Hawkins Land*. [498]

1681 – London map-maker Jonas Moore identifies three islands at 48º S as *I. Sebald de Verdt*. [499]

English captain, Bartholomew Sharpe, circumnavigates the Falklands archipelago. [500]

In Paris, cartographer Pierre Duval publishes *Terra Magellanica*. [501]

493 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands Dependencies* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
494 *Anglo-Argentine Rivalry after the Falklands/Malvinas War: Laws, Geopolitics and the Antarctic Connection C.* Joyner 1984
495 *The Island of South Georgia* Robert Headland 1992 p.21
496 *Una Tierra Argentinas: Las Islas Malvinas* Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.25
497 Taking passage with others, Dampier's circumnavigation may be the slowest on record at just under 13 years. *cf.* 1684
498 A rare acknowledgement, after more than a century. *cf.* 1594
499 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1681-jonas-moore-london-e1548214378593.png
500 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* August 14, 1764
501 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1681-terra-magellanica-by-pierre-duval-paris.jpg

1683 – in **August**, a British expedition is prepared. To be commanded by Capt. John Cook. *Revenge*, carries 18 guns. Cook's officers are William Dampier and Ambrose Cowley.

"The Revenge set sail in August 1683 with a crew of 52, and in November captured a 36-gun Danish ship; the crew transferred to her and renamed her The Batchelor's Delight.... They burnt the Revenge, and set off in January 1684... for the Pacific." [502]

1684 – January 28th, in the south Atlantic, *The Batchelor's Delight* anchors off the Jason Islands.

> *"We made the Sibbel de Wards, which are 3 islands lying in the latitude of 51 deg. 35 min. south, and longitude west from the Lizard in England, by my account, 57 deg. 28 min… These Islands of Sibbel de Wards were so named by the Dutch. They are all three rocky barren Islands without any Tree, only some Dildo bushes."* [503]
>
> *"I persuaded Capt. Cooke to anchor near those Islands, being sensible of danger in Our Passage through the Streight of Magellan considering, especially that Men aboard the Privateers are not so strictly at Command as in other Vessels. We came to an Anchor within two Cables length of the Shore of the furthermost of those three Islands where We found foul rocky Ground & the Island barren & destitute of Trees, but some Dildo Bushes growing near the Sea Side."* [504]
>
> *"This month we were in latitude 47° 40', where we espied an Island bearing West of us, and bore away for it, but being too late we lay by all night. The Island seemed very pleasant to the eye, with many woods. I may say the whole Island was woods there being a rock above water to the Eastward of it with innumerable fowls. I sailed along that Island to the Southward, and about the SW side of the Island there seemed to me to be a good place for ships to ride.*
>
> *The wind blew fresh, and they would not put the boat out. Sailing a little further, having 26 and 27 fathoms water, we came to a place where we saw the weeds ride, and found only seven fathoms water and all rocky ground, therefore we put the ship about: but the harbour seemed a good place for ships to ride in. There seemed to me harbour for 500 sail of shipping, the going in but narrow, and the North side of the entrance shallow that I could see: but I think there is water enough on the South side.*
>
> *I would have had them stand upon a wind all night; but they told me they did not come out to go upon discovery. We saw likewise another Island by this, which made me to think them the Sibble D'wards."* [505]

502 Pascoe 2022 p.111

503 *A New Voyage Round the World* William Dampier 1697.

504 Dampier quoted in *Harris' Collection of Voyages* 1744 in *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766* R. E. Gallagher 1964 p.167. A *"cable's length"* is equal to 608 feet.

505 Cowley quoted in *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* James Burney 1816 vol.4 pp.137-138 citing Cowley's *MS Journal* in the Sloane Collection. Having lost his original log Cowley attempted to write up the voyage from memory, raising inaccuracies which he acknowledged. Further muddled in 1699 when the account was published by William Hack(e) and the location of the island mistakenly set at latitude 41ºS. Hacke took this to be another, previously undiscovered, island which he named Pepy's Island. Hacke ignored Cowley's protestations that the islands were those identified by Sebald de Weerdt and even added a drawing of Pepys Island with an *Admiralty Bay* and *Secretary's Point* – all fictitious. Pepys Island would be long sought. Many explorers thought the Falklands archipelago wooded from a distance, as that was the impression given by the tall tussock grass.

"And Whereas there is reason to believe that Lands and Islands of great extent hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Atlantick Ocean between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanick Streight,.. as likewise His Majesty's Islands called Falkland's Islands, lying within the said Tract, notwithstanding the first discovery and possession thereof taken by Cowley…" [506]

"According to the general, common and particular geographical charts of Spain, France, England, and Holland, and specifically that of Admiral Anson, in the history of their journey around the world they uniformly state that the first to discover them (the Falkland islands) (was) Captain Cowley, Scot, in the year 1668 (sic); 80 leagues distant from the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, at the southern latitude of 51 degrees…"[507]

"… important in that Cowley reported a large harbour on Pepy's Island, "where five hundred ships could ride at anchor." This information was to form the subject of Admiralty speculation in the 18th century." [508]

1687 – in **March**, out of La Rochelle, a French ship under the command of Capt. Massertie, passes through Magellan's Strait into the Pacific Ocean. [509]

1689 – English philosopher, John Locke, publishes his *Two Treatises;* the second dealing with rights of sovereignty.

> *"… discovery alone, not followed by Actual Possession and Establishment, can never be admitted as giving any Right to the Exclusion of Other Nations."* [510]

In Amsterdam, Gerard van Schagen publishes a world map. Islands depicted at 51°S but close to the mouth of Magellan's Strait are named the *Syb. de Waerds Eylanden* (detail right). [511]

May 24th, in Britain, the *Toleration Act* grants freedoms of worship to to nonconformists. [512]

October 12th, Englishman, Captain John Strong, sails from the Downs in *Welfare,* via Portsmouth and out into the Atlantic Ocean.

"The Farwell (sic), haveing on Bord about 100 Men, and 38 Gunns; Cap.t John Strong Com□ander, Sett out from Plymouth Novemb.e the 1.st 1689 for the South Seas…" [514]

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506 Instructions to Byron quoted in Gallagher 1964 *cf.* 1764. Cowley's account of the voyage does not include any mention of his "*claiming*" any territory.

507 Spanish historian Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, in a letter dated January 5, 1771. Spanish Archives reference *ES.28079.AHN//Codices, L.237*.

508 Foreign Office *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

509 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.25. Returning December, 1693. Most likely a privateer, but further evidence that Spanish pretensions were ignored.

510 *Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, The False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, And His Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter is an Essay concerning The True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government.* John Locke 1689. Disputed, particularly by the Spanish during the 17th and 18th centuries.

511 See also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1689-gerard-van-schagen.jpg

512 Frustrated by the death of Queen Anne, this never became law. However, some commentators attempt to use this legislation – which mentioned several colonies – as evidence that the Falkland Islands were not considered a British domain at this time. See Clément 2019

513 Strong carried *Letters of Marque*, authorising him to attack French ships. The *Downs* are a road-stead (area of sheltered sea) in the southern North Sea near the east Kent coast, and close to the English Channel.

514 *Observations made during a South-Sea Voyage* Richard Simson c.1692 (unpublished) *British Library Sloane MS 86*.

1690 – January 23rd, in the South Atlantic, Capt. Strong writes in his *Journal*. [515]

> *"I did intend to tuch (sic) at Port Desire but the winds hanging so much W(ester)ly that we could not come near the shoar (sic) that I was forced to stand to the southward to gain our passage through ye straits..."*

January 27th, islands are sighted by Strong. He recognises them as those seen by Hawkins.

> *"Munday from twelve y^e^ twenty sixth day to eight in y^e^ morning this day that we see y^e^ Land our Course was WSW 3^d^ 00^m^ S^o^ distance eighty one miles the wind at NW and WNW fair weather at four in y^e^ morning we had seaventy five fathom water and within three or four Leagues of the shoar we had 36 fathom this land doth show like a great many Islands. It is a large Land and lyeth E and W nearest there is severall keys that lye along the Shoar We sent our boat on Shoar to one of them and they brought on board abundance of Pengwins and other fowl and seals and at three in y^e^ afternoon we stood down along shoar and steer'd E B(y) N and att eight at night we see y^e^ Land run to ye Eastward as farr as we could discern. Latt --- 51: 03"* [516]

"The spirit of adventure being however excited by the wars in the reign of King William, one Strong, whose manuscript journal is in the Museum, fell in with them, and is supposed to have given them their present English name; which also being adopted by Halley, has since that time been generally received on ourmaps."[517]

January 28th, Strong's log continues.

> *"Tuesday this morning att four a clock we see a **rock** that lyeth of the Main Island about fowr or five Leagues it makes like a sail we tack't and stood to y^e^ W^st^ward and att six a clock we did stand (sail) and through a sound that lyes about twenty Leagues from y^e^ W^st^ermost Land that we saw but what length this Island is I doe not know the sound lyeth S and N nearest there is twenty four fathom water three Leagues wide and shoulds (shoals) gradually till yoū come close on board of the W^st^ end and then yoū have eight and nine fathom good ground it is about four Leagues y^e^ mouth of it but as you Run in it is broader at eight at night we came to an Anchor in fourteen fathom water about six or seaven Leagues within y^e^ wind was at W S W."* [518]

January 29th, Strong's log:

> *"Wednesday this morning we weighed and stood unto a harbour on y^e^ W^st^ side and there came to ane anchor and sent our boat on Shoar for fresh water and we did kill abundance of geese & ducks but as for wood there is none"* [519]

January 30th, Strong's log:

> *"Thursday we rid at Anchor in this harbour filling of fresh water there is a great many good harbours in this Sound ~~&~~ and at eight a clock att night we made an end of filling of water this harbour is about eight Leagues within ye cape on your Starboard side"*

January 31st, Strong's log:

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515 *British Library Sloane MS 3295*
516 Transcription provided by Graham Pascoe from the original log.
517 Dodsley 1772
518 My emphasis. Eddystone Rock. Named Condite Head by Hawkins. *cf.* 1594
519 Strong did not himself go ashore; but the landing is believed to have been in the vicinity of Bold Cove.

"Fryday this morning at five a clock we weighed from this harbour yē wind at WSW Wee sent our Long boat a head of yē ship to sound before us we keept y^e^ W^st^ side on board all y^e^ way till yo^u^ come about 12 legues up and y^n^ (then) yoū take one small Island on y^e^ Starboard side of yoū at eight a clock we came to an Anchor in nine fathom water by reason it was night"

February 1st, Strong's log:

"Saturday this morning at four a clock we weighed & sent our long boat before to sound and ye 1st at ten we got clear out of y^e^ Sound and at twelve we sett y^e^ W^st^ Cape which we gave y^e^ name of Cape Farewell[520] *and it bore NNE distance about five leagues at 7 at night y^e^ W^st^most Land we see bore WNW distance six leagues the wind at WSW this Land lyes nearest E and W but as for y^e^ lenghth of it I doe not know from the W^st^most end that we see to Falkland Sound as I named it is twenty four Leagues this Sound is about seaventeen Leagues Long the first entrance lyes S B(y) E seaven and eight fathom three or four Leagues over & afterwards S B W"* [521]

The visit to the archipelago, is also recorded by one of the crew.

"Before our entrance into the Straits, we touched at two several Islands (viz) S.^t^ Jago, lying in about 15 degrees North Lat. and Hawkins Land. ... As for Hawkins Land 'tis parted by a great Sound, which we past through. The Designe of our voyage... being part to make Discoveryes, Oblidged our Comnder to stay some time at the place. The Sound in several places was so full of Weeds, that the ship could hardly make her way; and if one might Judge by appearance, there it was, we Sayled rather through a Medow then an Arme of the Sea, and notwithstanding our Officers Courage in the Attempt and Skill in the Management we grazed (as they call it) the ship drawing 3 fathom water, we had just so much to cařy us, and the Chañell being hard gravel, gave a new but Melancholy diversion to the Ear, our Sayling being for some time extreemly rugged and attended with a rattling, like that of a hackney Coach in the streets of London. The Inhabitants, such as they were, were exceeding numerous. The Pengwins (a Bird larger then a Duck) gave us the first reception, Being muster'd in infinet numbers on a rock, upon some of our mens landing they were so far from turning tayle, that they stood & viewd and seemed to salute them with a greate many gracefull bows with the same gesturs equally expressing their Curiosity and good breeding, Their wings about 3 Inches long, may rather be thought finns, because first they bear a delineation but no seperation of feathers, and again, in diving they use them so swiftly that as we observed in a very clear Sea, they seem rather to fly then swim. On the rest of the body they have a distiction [sic] of feathers as other fowles.

As for other Creaturs, there were, Eagles, Hawkes, which thô they had long wings, Suffered themselves to be taken up by our men; Foxes twice as big as in England, Haveing some Greyhounds we carryed from England, we caught a young one alive, which we kept a board some months, but upon the first Engagem.^t^, and Firing of the Guñs he was frighted over board (as were the Monkeys of a delicate green coulour, that we had at S.^t^ Jago) Otherwise he was of a very antient wild and cunning family, where non of his kin degenerates or abate anything of their natures, as other Animals in that Island do; As to their Antiquity, since they cannot fly at all, not likely swim so farr as from America, nor again is it probable, that any would be at the pains to bring a breed of Foxes so far as any Land is from Hawkin's Island, it will follow, that there has been either two distinct Creations, or that America, and y^t^ (that) Island, have been formerly the same Continent which is the most probable of the two by farr. ...

520 Cape Meredith
521 Named after Lord Falkland, one of the voyage's sponsors.

The Island if it were not quite destitute of Wood would make a Noble plantation; It bears an English name, a good Harbage, and a great variety of Land and Sea Fowle." [522]

March 24th, Strong's log:

"... at nine a clock we came to a verry good Port that I found over against St. Jeromes Sound on Terra Ffogo side. We came to an Anchor in fifteen fathoms water and Mor'd you may lye in several places of this Port from all winds safe so (that) none can hurt you. I gave it the name Port Ffaulkland." [523]

May 10th, Strong and his crew finally sail back towards South America.

"... this morning at 9 a clock wee weighed from Port Ffaulkland." [524]

"The diſcovery of theſe iſlands is generally aſcribed to Sir Richard Hawkins, in 1593, who named them Hawkins's Maiden land. The name which they now bear is improper, becauſe Capt. Strong (whoſe original journal is in the Muſeum) applied the name of Falkland only to the found or ſtreight which divides the two large iſlands, upon the weſtern of which iſlands he watered in." [525]

"Captain Strong in the "Welfare", sailed through between the two principle islands in 1690, and called the passage Falkland sound, in memory of the well-known Royalist Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643;..." [526]

"The first authenticated landing in the Falkland Islands was English. In 1690 Captain John Strong navigated the passage between the two main islands in the Welfare and named it Falklands Sound, a name later transferred to the whole archipelago. He made a careful coastal survey and reported good harbours, but did not take formal possession. With Captain Strong sailed Richard Simson, who suggested the colonization of the islands, referred to as "Hawkins' Maiden Land." [527]

1691 – June 14th, Capt. John Strong arrives back in England.

1695 – June 3rd, a French naval officer, de Gennes, leaves La Rochelle with a squadron of six ships. Bound for the Pacific Ocean via the Strait of Magellan. [528]

1696 – in Amsterdam, cartographer Nicolas Sanson publishes his *Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l'Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens* (detail right).

Off the coast of Patagonia he identifies three islands as *Iſles decouv. par Davis Anglois* (islands discovered by Englishman Davis).

522 Simson c.1692. Transcription by Graham Pascoe. Was continental drift even a theory in 1690?
523 *British Library Sloane MS 3295*
524 *Ibid.*
525 *A clear and concise relation of what has passed concerning the Falkland Islands* by *A Friend to this kingdom* December 6, 1770 in *The Scots Magazine* January 1771 vol.33 p.27
526 *Memorandum Respecting the Falkland Islands* Gaston de Bernhardt 1911
527 Foreign Office *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
528 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.26. De Gennes met unfavourable winds on his arrival at the Strait in February, 1696. After six weeks, he abandoned the voyage and returned to France. Further evidence that Spanish pretensions were ignored by other European rulers.

Another island group placed closer to the Patagonian coastline is identified as *I. de Sebald de Weert* while unnamed islands are shown to the south of Port Desire (Puerto Deseado). [529]

William Dampier returns to the South Atlantic; circumnavigating the Falklands archipelago.

"Dampier, and some others of our navigators also touched at them; who not considering them of much importance; were not accurate in their accounts of them. ... It does not appear that the Spaniards, in all this long course of years, had either by chance or otherwise, ever touched at them; and they seem to have known so little about them, as not even to have given them a name." [530]

1697 – in Paris, a proposal by French merchants to seize Buenos Aires is presented to the Crown; to obtain direct access to Spain's Potosi silver mines. [531]

1698 – January 4th, in London, Whitehall Palace burns down. Francis Drake's charts, which are stored there, are destroyed. [532]

French privateers, and merchantmen from the port of St. Malo, are increasingly active around Cape Horn and the South Atlantic. [533]

"Some ships belonging to St. Maloes are also said to have visited them, to whom the French would willingly attribute the honour of a discovery, though they cannot deny the prior title of Hawkins and de Wert: from hence, how ever, they have given them the name of the Malouines, which has also been adopted by the Spaniards." [534]

"The French, unlike their competitors, made numerous voyages from 1698 to 1725 during which they recognized and touched these islands. The Danycan shipowner and the Paris financier, Jourdan de Groussay, obtained in 1698 the privilege of founding the South Sea Company for the exploitation of the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean in the southern hemisphere" [535]

"The road to the South Sea was, day by day, more frequented. Of course, its extraordinary importance was increasingly stressed. Hence the desire to monopolize this compulsory gateway. ... Such calls were not to fall and did not fall into the void. A shipowner from Saint-Maló, Noël Danycan, sieur de Lepine, joined his lot to that of Jourdan De Grouée (March 1698). United, (they) addressed a letter to the Earl of Pontchartrin, in which... They offered to arm and equip ships to direct them to the South Sea and coasts of Chile." [536]

"A second period of discoveries is attributed with greater unanimity to sailors from the French port of Saint-Malo, who since 1698 made a hundred trips to the Magellanic region and identified the two largest islands as "the new discovered islands" and then as "Malouines"..." [537]

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529 This is the first acknowledgement of Davis's sighting that I have been able to find, to-date. *cf.* 1592 & 1594

530 Dodsley 1772

531 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.25.

532 See 1578

533 On average, 10 ships left St. Malo every year between 1703 and 1713 for the South Seas; the Chilean port of Concepcion being the principle destination. France's South Sea Company estimated that the import of precious metals had exceeded 300 million livres by 1711; and all in defiance of Spain's proclaimed monopoly. *cf. In Search of Empire: the French in the Americas, 1670 – 1730* J. S. Pritchard 2004

534 Dodsley 1772

535 *Bougainville navigateur et les decouvertes de son temps* Jean Etienne Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124

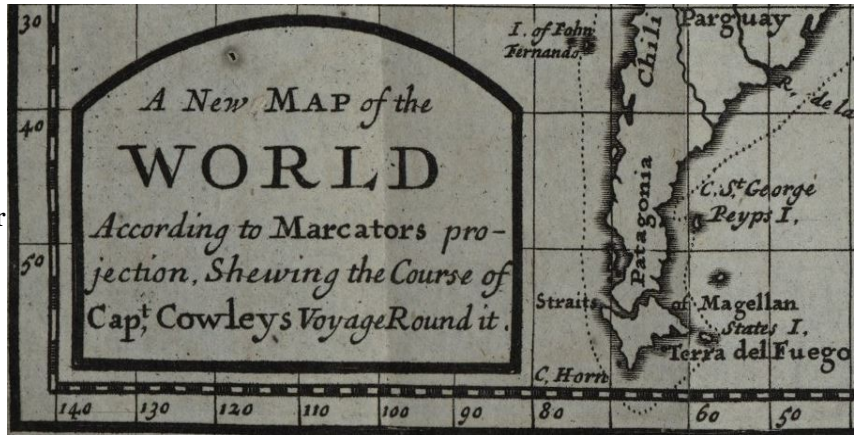
536 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.27

537 *La recuperación de la frontera perdida. La dimensión mítica en los derechos argentinos a las Islas Malvinas.* Rosana Guber 2000 in *Revista de Investigaciones Folclóricas* 2000 vol.15 pp.77-87

In France, a business is founded to exploit the unoccupied lands of the Magellan Strait, and the American Pacific coast – the *Compañia Real del Mar Pacifico*. [538]

December 17th, from La Rochelle, France, four ships – *Phélypeaux*, *Maurepas, Bonne Nouvelle* and *Nécessaire* – sail for Magellan's Strait.

"... together with M. De Gennes, head of the company, M. De Beauchesne Gouin, M. Jouan, etc. the flotilla sailed from the port of La Rochelle ... The loss of one of the ships and the desertion of another did not prevent the realization of the project." [539]



1699 – a *New Map of the World* by William Hacke of London, depicts a large island to the north-east of the Strait, below 50° S (detail right).

June 24th, the La Rochelle ships enter the Strait of Magellan; *"The coast was scrutinized step by step, in search of the place where a first base or colony was to be founded."* [540]

1700 – in England, Edmond Halley publishes a map of the Atlantic Ocean revealing magnetic variations. The chart identifies the *'Seebold de Waerds Isles'* off the coast of South America.[541]

November 1st, in Spain, King Charles II dies. The 16-year old Philip of Anjou is anointed as heir.[542]

1701 – January 19th, one of the La Rochelle ships, *Phélypeaux* (Jacques Gouin de Beauchêne), after returning around Cape Horn from the Pacific, sails directly north-east towards France.

> *"... perceived to the NW at eight leagues distance, an unknown Island not marked in any chart. It is in latitude about 52° 50' S, and about 60 leagues to the East of the Tierra del Fuego. We named it Isle Beauchesne. It is in circuit five or six leagues; it is moderately high, and at three leagues to the East of it, appeared level... The Sebald isles were seen the next day, ..."* [543]

"It lies then eighty Miles distant from the Continent of South America,.. having been seen and visited by several ships of St. Malo in the first Year of the current Century, who, by touching on several Sides, and entering several Ports, believed it to be a Cluster of Islands, to which they gave the Name of Isles Malouines, or the Islands of St. Malo, in Honour of that Haven from which they were fitted out." [544]

538 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.27. Authorised to trade for 30 years on the unoccupied coasts of the Magellan Strait, the La Maire Strait and the South Seas.
539 *Ibid.*
540 *Ibid*. p.28
541 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1700-halley.jpg
542 The choice of heir was controversial, resulting in the War of Spanish Succession from 1701 to 1714. Relevant, because the end of Charles II's reign was used as a marker in the Anglo-Spanish Peace *Treaty of Utrecht* 1713. See below.
543 *De Villefort's Journal* quoted in Burney 1816 vol.4. See also Fitzroy 1839. In his work, mentioning the history of discoveries in the South Atlantic and South Seas, Capt. Robert Fitzroy translated the vessel's name as *Prudent*.
544 *Extract of a Letter from Paris, July 9 (1764)* published in the *Daily Mercury Friday July 20, 1764*

"The Falkland Islands became well known to the French mariners of St. Malo during the first decade of the 18th century; hence the French name given to the group, Les iles Malouines. Ile Beauchêne was discovered in 1701,.." [545]

"*One of the captains of (the South Sea) company, Gouin de Beauchêne, commanding the Phélypeaux, sighted (on), January 19, 1701, "an unknown island which is not marked in any map. It is about 52 ° 5 ', 60 leagues east of the Terre de Fue: we named it Beauchêne Island; its circuit can be from 5 to 6 leagues. She is mediocre high and quite united. The Sebaldes Islands were seen the next day. We anchored at 51 32 "to the eastern band, where we found several creeks and freshwater ponds, celery, geese, bustards and teals in quantity, and finally a good enough ground, but no wood. and that was what we missed the most."..."* [546]

French trade in the south seas is estimated to value 500,000 livres per annum.

"... Between the years 1700 and 1708 many French ships from St. Maloes, sailed into the South Seas, by some of them these Islands were discovered and the French name of Malouines was attached to them, which name the Spaniards have adopted." [547]

In **July**, the War of Spanish Succession embroils England, France, Austria, Savoy, the Spanish Netherlands, Prussia and other Germanic principalities. Spain itself is divided. Sea routes are diverted to avoid privateers.

In London, Daniel Defoe publishes *Reasons Against a War,* arguing for a profitable maritime war against Spain rather than an expensive continental conflict. Defoe advises the English monarch, King William III, to establish a colony in Chile with supporting settlements both at the Rio de la Plata, and near the Strait of Magellan. [548]

August 7th, the La Rochelle ships return home to France. [549]

1702 — February 8th, a French expedition led by Noël Danycan, traverses Magellan's Strait into the Pacific Ocean. [550] The purpose is to trade with the Spanish in Chile and Peru; despite Madrid's ban on such activities.

In London, George Willdey publishes a world map by cartographer William Godson (detail below).[551] The *Falkland Is.* are shown to the east of the *Sebald de Weert Is* and to the south of *Pepys I.* Reflecting how little is known, the depiction of the Falkland Isles is incomplete. Just the suggestion of land either side of a sound -] [. [552]

545 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
546 *Bougainville navigateur et les decouvertes de son temps* J. E. Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124
547 *Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza July 10, 1832*
548 Williams 1973 p.33. Defoe later claimed to have had the King's approval, but that the monarch's death in 1702 had prevented the plan proceeding.
549 Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.28) suggests that the expedition had not been a financial success.
550 *Ibid.* p.29
551 *A new and correct map of the world: laid down according to the newest observations & discoveries in several different projections including the trade winds, monsoons, variation of the compass, and illustrated with a coelestial planisphere, the various systems of Ptolomy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe together with ye apearances of the planets &c*
552 Edward Weller has been identified as the cartographer, by the Huntington Library.

In London, Edmond Halley publishes a revision of his 1700 map. With *Falklands Sound* and the name *Falkland Is* sited to the east of the *'Seebold de Waerds Isles'* (detail right). Situated below latitude 50º S. [553]

> # Researcher's Comment: Two charts, both dated 1702.
>
> Todate, these are the earliest maps that I have found to employ the name – Falkland Isles.

1703 – in Paris, cartographer Guillaume de L'isle produces a map of South America identifying three islands as the *Isles de Sebald de Weert* with a single island – *Isle de Beauchesne* – below them. [554]

August 25th, four frigates sail from the French port of St. Malo for the South Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean. Ostensibly a voyage of discovery, the ships carry trade goods to the value of 1.6 million livres. [555]

December 23rd, William Funnell sails close to the Jason Islands.[556]

December 26th, *Saint-Charles-Borromée* (Noël Danycan) sails from France with trade goods to the value of 1.3 million livres; bound for Chile. [557]

553 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1702-halley.jpg
554 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1703-detail.png
555 The ships from St. Malo continued to smuggle goods into South America in the face of opposition from Spain, and some French Ministers, who saw the trade as a breach of their treaties with Madrid. The French King, however, was rather more inclined to turn a blind eye as long as a portion of profits, in the form of taxes, came his way.
556 *A voyage around the world...* W. Funnell 1707 in Gallagher 1964 p.163 & 168
557 St. Malo ships returned to France in 1705, carrying silver to the value of 7 million livres.

1704 – August 3rd, in southern Spain, English and Dutch marines capture the fort of Gibraltar. [558]

1705 – Dutch cartographer Nicolas Sanson publishes a chart of Magellan's Strait (left). Three inshore islands to the north of the strait are identified as *I. de Sebaldo*. A large island near Port Desire is identified as *I. de los Leones*. [559]

October 14th, from the Pacific, the St. Malo traders round Cape Horn, bound for France. Julien Éon de Carmen on *Saint-Pierre* sails near a small group of islands to the south-east of East Falkland Island. He names them the *Danycan Islands* after the squadron's leader, Noël Danycan. [560]

"I. d'Anycan découvertes en 1705." [561]

"(Captain Perrée)... commanding the Saint Charles, armed by Noel Danycan, Sieur de l'Epine, discovered by 52 25 'of latitude, between the island of Beauchene and East Malouine, a large island flanked by several islets which he named after his owner." [562]

"... an expedition organized by the French outfitter Danycan sighted a group of new islands, also a part of the archipelago and named them the Isles Danycan." [563]

1706 – July 14th, three ships sail from Penmarch in Brittany, France.

".... composed of three ships: the Maurepas (captain De La Verunne), the Toison-d'or (captain De Boisloré) and the Saint-Louis (captain De La marre de Caen). The voyage began on 14 July 1706, setting sail from the port of Penmarch. The Toison-d'or observed the Patagonian coast at 46°40', sailed the Straits of Le Maire, landed on the America coasts... and shortly afterwards proceeded to pass Cape Horn. The remaining ships sailed further east and found the Malvinas Islands, which they considered a new discovery." [564]

In **December**, two of the Penmarch ships, *Maurepas*, and *St. Louis*, arrive off the Falklands archipelago. [565]

"If I have in this chart suppressed imaginary Lands, I have also added some real, in 51 Degrees Latitude, which I have called New Islands, because discover'd since the Year 1700, most of them by ships of S. Malo. I have laid them down according to the memoirs or Observations of the Maurepas and the S. Louis, Ships belonging to the India Company, which saw them near at hand and even the latter was watered there in a Pool, which I have set down, near Port St. Louis. The water was somewhat ruddy and unsavoury; in other respects good for the Sea. Both of them ran along several Parts of them, but non... so close as the S. John Baptist, commanded by

558 The Rock of Gibraltar has remained in British hands ever since. See 1713
559 The same name is also given to a large island south of Cabo Blanco, suggesting some confusion. *cf.* 1520
560 Now known as the *Sea Lion Islands*.
561 *L'Amerique meridionale, dressée sur les observations de Mrs. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences & quelques autres, & sur les memoires les plus recens by Guillame de L'isle (Paris)*1708
562 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124. This author gives the date as October 14, 1704.
563 *The Falklands/Malvinas Case: Breaking the Deadlock in the Anglo-Argentine Sovereignty Dispute* Roberto C. Laver 2001 p.242
564 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.31
565 A Guillaume de L'isle chart of 1720, erroneously gives the date of the *St. Louis* voyage as 1708.

Doublet of Havre, who endeavorour'd to pass into an Opening he saw about the Middle; but having spy'd some low islands, almost level with the Water, he thought fit to tack about." [566]

"In 1706, the French ships Maurepas and Saint Louis sailed homeward from the South Sea. The Saint Louis put into a harbour in the SE part of John Davis's Land, where they found fresh water of a reddish colour and soft, but in other respects good. This harbour they named Port Saint Louis..." [567]

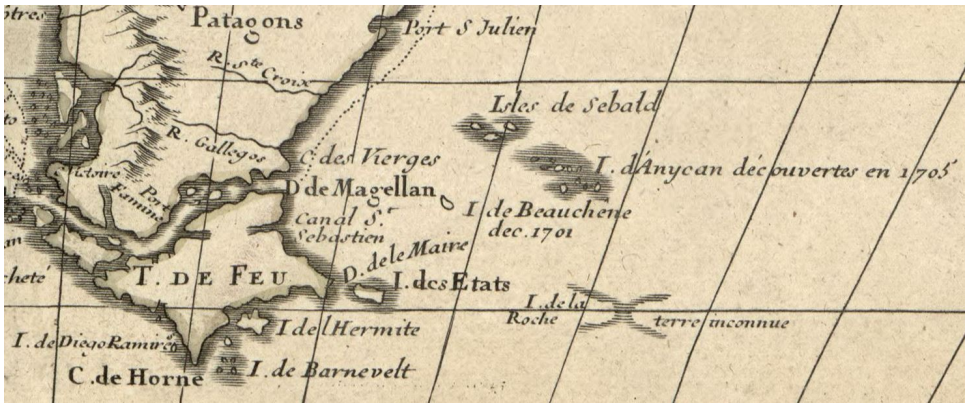
"The French ships surveyed the northwest, east and southeast coast of the archipelago. Saint-Louis landed at a point on the southeast coast where it was supplied with drinking water. The place was baptized with the name of Puerto San Luis." [568]

1707 – August 30th, from the French port of Brest, *Aimable* and *Oriflamme* sail for the Pacific Ocean.

1708 – January 27th, *Marre de Caen*, a French ship, sails past the archipelago. [569]

March 25th, *Oriflamme* sails past the Falklands archipelago. [570]

In Paris, Guillaume Delisle (de L'Isle) publishes a chart of South America – *L'Amerique meridionale, dressée sur les observations de Mrs. de l'Academie Royale des Sciences & quelques autres, & sur les memoires les plus recens* (detail right).



Off the Patagonian coast, and a little below 50° S, he identifies three islands as the *Isles de Sebald*, a single island as *I de Beauchene* and a group named *I d'Anycan*.

July 16th, a French vessel out of St. Malo, *Assumption*, sails along the northern coasts of the archipelago.[571]

"... Captain Alain Porée, of St-Malo, going to the South Sea, met on 16 July "an unknown land" which he named the Assumption Coast, the name of his ship. It was (the) eastern Malouine." [572]

"Perée believed that the land in question was unknown, which is why he named it Costa de l'assomption. In reality, it was only the northern coast of the Malvinas Islands,.." [573]

566 Comment in *A Voyage to the South-Sea, And along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, In the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714, particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffick with Europe, &c*. Amédée-François Frézier 1716 (English Translation 1717). It was also printed in Dutch. The routes taken by the *Maurepas* and the *St.Louis* are marked on the accompanying map. Frezier was not aboard either of these vessels.

567 *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* James Burney vol. 4 1816 p.454. The landing place was named Saint Louis after the ship, but there is little likelihood that this was the same place founded by Bougainville in 1764.

568 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.31

569 *Ibid*. p.32

570 *Ibid*. p.33

571 Frézier 1716. Full name of the vessel was probably *Notre Dame de l'Assumption*.

572 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124

573 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.33

"... other French navigators such as Chabert, in 1707, and Poiree and John Doublet, in 1708, travelled through the archipelago giving names to new islands that were sighted." [574]

November 30th, en-route back to France, *Aimable* sights the Falklands archipelago.

"Mons de Courbon, commander of the King's vessel, the Oriflamme, of M. de Chabert's squadron, saw them 1708, on his return from Peru." [575]

December 23rd, privateers Woodes Rogers and Edward Cooke, with William Dampier as pilot, spend time near "*Falkland's Land"* en-route to the Pacific in *Duke* and *Duchess*. [576]

"Woods (sic) Rogers, who ran along the N.E.. coast of these isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill..." [577]

"Captain Rodgers... named the Islands 'Falkland's Land' in 1708." [578]

In Paris, French map-maker, Jean Baptiste Nolin, publishes a world map – *Le globe terrestre représenté en deux plans-hémisphères* (detail left). To the east of Magellan's Strait he depicts three islands, named as the *I. Sybold*. A little further east he shows another group of three named *Islas Angloisas* (English Islands).[579]

1709 – January 3rd, still at the Falkland Islands, Woodes Rogers gives chase to two French ships; one named *La Notre-Dame-de-l'Assumption*. [580]

"Captain Alain Porée, of St-Malo, ... returned to his discovery, but was driven out by Woods Rogers' squadron on January 3, 1709." [581]

"At the latitude of the Malvinas Islands, on January 3, 1709, he (Alain Porée) could hardly avoid a second and serious danger: two English vessels – under the orders of the English privateer Wodes Rogers – hunted him, although in vain." [582]

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574 Laver 2001

575 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124

576 *The History of the Falkland Islands* Mary Cawkell 2001. Also Gallagher 1964. Both Cooke and Rogers published accounts in 1712. Rogers went on to become Governor of the Bahamas. Twice.

577 *The History of a Voyage to the Maloine (or Falkland) Islands), made in 1763 and 1764, Under the Command of M. de Bougainville, in order to form a settlement there* A. J. Pernetty 1771. Also the Brookes 1771

578 Tatham (ed.) 2008. Also Pasco 2022. However, see 1702 above.

579 A reference to Davis and/or Hawkins? See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1708-le-globe-terrestre-reprc3a9sentc3a9-en-deux-plans-hc3a9misphc3a8res-by-jean-baptiste-nolin-paris-note-the-isles-angloisas.jpg

580 *Voyages Francais a destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville (1693-1749)* M. E. W. Dahlgren 1907. The two French ships recorded the chase as starting on January 3rd, 1709. The British ships as December 23rd, 1708. Two calendars. The Julian (Old Style) used by Britain until 1752, and the Gregorian (New Style) adopted by France in 1582. An 11 day difference.

581 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124

582 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.33

1710 — April 22nd, at Port Louis in the Falkland Isles, *Saint-Jean Baptiste* (Captain Juan Doublet) takes on water.[583]

December 5th, in London, Parliament approves *An Act for the Encouragement of the trade to America* (*9. Ann c.22*) to legislate Britain's trade with America.

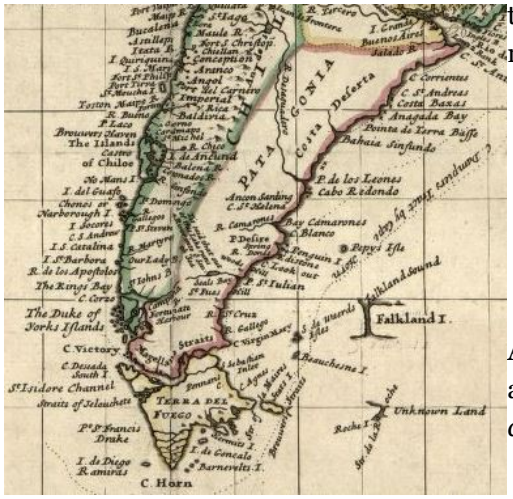
> *"WH E R E A S by an Act of Parliament made in the sixth Year of her Majesty's Reign, entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of the Trade to America; it is, among other Things, enacted, That the Flag-Officers, Commanders, and other Officers and Seamen of any Ship or Vessel of War in her Majesty's Pay or Service, and the Owner or Owners of any Private Ship of War, authorized and appointed by Commission or Commissions according to the said Act, during the present War, to attack, suprize, seize, and take any Ship, or other Private Ship or Ships of War, or Vessels, Goods, Ammunition, Arms, Stores of War, or Merchandize, belonging to, or possessed by any of her Majesty's Enemies, in any Sea, Creek, Haven, or River in America, (except as therein is excepted) shall have the sole Interest and Property of and in all and every such Ship, Vessel, Goods and Merchandizes, being first adjudged lawful Prize, in any of her Majesty's Courts of Admiralty, and subject to the Customs and Duties payable to her Majesty, as if the same had been first imported to any Part of Great Britain, and from thence exported, for and in respect of all such Goods and Merchandizes, to be divided and disposed of as in the said Act is directed; in pursuance of which Act several Bonds and other Securities have been given for the Payment of such Customs and Duties for Prize Goods and Merchandizes taken in America, and adjudged to be lawful Prize; but by Experience it is found that the subjecting such Prize Goods and Merchandizes taken in America , to such Customs and Duties, as if the same had been imported into any Part of Great Britain, and from thence exported, hath been very prejudicial to Her Majesty's Plantations and Colonies, and hath, in a great Measure, prevented the Importation thereof into those Plantations and Colonies. Be it therefore enacted, &c."*

"There the right of navigation is given in the most comprehensive terms. That act trembles at no papal bulls: it (brinks before no nonsensical decretals: it admits no insulting usurpations: it braves the Spanish monarch and his arrogating claims in every line of it. It says, to the South-Sea company, and to all who may be licensed by it. Go: go, freely, and in defiance of all foreign pretensions. Go, navigate the Southern Ocean; discover what you can; settle where you like; range from one extremity of the globe to the other; the Parliament of Great-Britain gives you this privilege, and it will suffer no power upon earth to control you. Your limits commence at Rio del Plata, extend to Cape Horn, and continue on the North-West side of the continent to the extremity of the North pole. You are empowered to carry merchandise into, unto, and from, all or any the kingdoms, lands, territories, islands, cities, towns, forts, havens, creeks, and places, of America, within the limits aforesaid. You are to hold, for your own use and benefit, all settlements you may make; and you are to enjoy the benefit of all mines of gold, silver, or other ore, which you may open, upon terms of soceage to the crown. We conceive it derogatory to our dignity and independence (said the ministers of that day) to consult the Spanish court in granting you a free charter. We make no humiliating stipulations for the prevention of an illicit trade; neither do we submit to a hovering-act, to make you liable to seizure and confiscation. The Southern and Pacific Oceans are as free as the Atlantic; as free as air; common to the ships of all countries. No state has or can have an exclusive right to the navigation of those seas. And, therefore, if the Spaniard dares to assert such right, we will shew him that we dare deny it." [584]

583 *Ibid.*
584 *Comments on the Convention with Spain* Anon. London 1790

1711 — in **January**, French Captain Jean Doublet; *"... commanding Jean-Baptiste, debouched from the strait of Le Maire and came to recognize the southern coast of the Malouines Islands. He did not dare to enter the strait that separates the two principal islands, stopped by the sight of the reefs. However, these islands seem to have exerted a certain attraction on him since he added to his diary a "Relation of the Cebaldes (sic) Islands and to which they could be useful", in which the idea of a colonization is sketched."* [585]

In **June**, the British *South Seas Company* is established. Granted a monopoly by the British Government to trade with Spanish colonies in anticipation that the ongoing peace negotiations will allow for such.



".. the sole trade and traffick into, unto, and from all of the kingdoms, lands, countries, territories, islands, cities, towns, ports, havens, creeks, and places of America, on the east side thereof from the river of Aranoca, to the southernmost part of the Terra del Fuego; and on the west side thereof, through the South Seas, to the northernmost part of America..."

A company chart is published (detail left), depicting Falkland Islands and Falkland's Sound as] [. This feature is positioned to the east of *S de Waerds Isles* and north-east of *Beauchesne I.* [586]

St. Jean Baptiste, a French ship, visits the Falklands archipelago, while the Jasons are seen from *Incarnation*; *"... commanded by Sicur Brignon of S. Malo. ... they are at least seven or eight Leagues from the New Islands"*[587]

In **September**, a London merchant, Thomas Bowrey, proposes that British bases be established on the Atlantic coast of South America for the protection of trade with America. [588]

During **October**, French ship *Nôtre-Dame-De-l'incarnation*, commanded by Capt. Brignon of St. Malo, distinguishes the Sebaldes; "*... from the 'New Islands' or 'Malouines.'..*" [589]

1712 — January 7th, Amédée-François Frézier, a Lieut. Colonel in the French intelligence service, is sent to South America with orders to survey Spanish defences in Chile and Peru. Also to; "*.. chart the coast while the French could still enter the Pacific, and before the expected ban on such voyages became operative. Thus, if war should break out between France and Spain, the French would have a sound knowledge of the coast for possible military operations against the poorly defended Spanish Pacific..*" [590]

January 18th, the French Government bans its own shipping from trading in South America. [591]

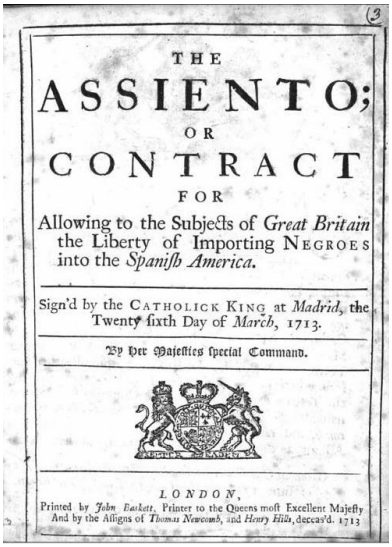
"The long war of (Spanish) succession already showed signs of ending in a day more or less near, the triumph of England was consolidated. This is evidenced, among other things, by the measures adopted by the Government of His Christian Majesty, which, towards that date, emphasized the precautions designed to prevent the ships of its own subjects from accessing the South Sea (Ordinance of January 18, 1712). Meanwhile,

585 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.124-125
586 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1711-south-sea-company-2.png
587 Frézier 1716
588 Williams 1973
589 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.125. Also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.33
590 Frézier 1717 (English ed.)
591 Part of the new relationship with Spain; the death penalty was applied to offenders after January 25th, 1712.

neither England nor Holland forbade their respective vassals the rampant smuggling that, with all advantage, they made on the coasts of Hispanic America." [592]

In **November**, French ship *Sinte-Barbe* (Captain Marcand), sails for the Magellan Strait. [593]

1713 – March 26th, as part of the on-going peace negotiations, Spain and Britain sign *Articles of Asiento*; an agreement for the supply of Negro slaves into Spanish America from May 1, 1713. [594]


THE
ASSIENTO;
OR
CONTRACT
FOR
Allowing to the Subjects of *Great Britain* the Liberty of Importing NEGROES into the *Spanish America*.
Sign'd by the CATHOLICK KING at *Madrid*, the Twenty fifth Day of *March*, 1713.
By Her Majesties special Command.
LONDON,
Printed by *John Baskett*, Printer to the Queens most Excellent Majesty And by the Assigns of *Thomas Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, deceas'd. 1713

"... Britain gained an important concession from Spain in the Treaties which brought an end to the War of the Spanish Succession. By Article 8 of the ***Asiento Treaty****, the negro-slave trade contract which had previously been leased to France for a period of ten years, was granted to Britain for thirty years, that is, until 1743. This, together with the cession of territory on La Plata and elsewhere for a similar period, in order to establish British warehouses, became a veritable entering wedge for British commerce into Spanish colonies. But the very limit set on the life of this concession to Britain was considered by Spain to perpetuate her sole privilege of making settlements in that region."* [595]

"For 185 years prior to 1713 Spain had granted licenses to numerous individuals and companies to supply her colonies with negro, slaves. The first license was given in 1528; from then until 1601 all contracts were with Spanish subjects. After 1601 foreigners were allowed to participate in the trade. Several Portuguese merchants held asiento contracts prior to 1640, traders of various nationalities until 1685, and the Dutch from 1685 to 1687. The Portuguese Guinea Company had a monopoly on the trade between 1687 and 1701., as did the French Guinea Company from 1701 until 1713. ... Spain's reliance on contracts with private entrepreneurs and foreign companies to supply slaves to her American colonies was a serious flaw in her trading monopoly, yet the need for labour was so great that slaves were the only commodity a1lowed to pass through the Casa de Contrataci6n without registration or taxation." [596]

March 27th, at Madrid, *Preliminary Articles* of peace between Spain and Britain are signed.

> *"14. Her Britannic Majesty has agreed to publish immediately the strongest prohibitions to all her subjects, under the most rigorous penalties, that no ship of the English nation shall venture to pass to the* ***South Sea****,* ***or to trade in any other region of the Spanish Indies****, except only the members of the Company of the Assiento, who must confine their operations solely to the negro trade, only in the ports of the North and in Buenos Aires, conforming to the conditions of the said assiento, without being permitted to carry on any other illicit commerce, under the same penalties, and her Britannic Majesty promises that this prohibition of his Catholic Majesty, and that which shall be made by the other nations, shall be stipulated in the treaties of peace by a separate and special article."* [597]

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592 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.34

593 *Ibid.*

594 This contract allowed for the importation of 48,000 slaves over a ten year period and was assigned to the South Seas Company set up in 1711 in anticipation of obtaining the asiento. Revised in 1716. *cf. The Scots Magazine* vol.10 1748

595 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490.* My emphasis. *cf.* 1750

596 *British Trade With Spanish America Under The Asiento 1713 - 1740* Victoria Gardner Sorsby 1975

597 *European Treaties bearing upon the History of the United States and its Dependencies* Frances Gardiner Davenport (ed.) 1934 vol.3 p.192. Despite this promise, no article restricting British access to the southern Atlantic, or indeed elsewhere, made it into the definitive treaty signed on July 13th. Britain's monarch at this time was Anne.

"Article 14 prohibited British navigation in the South Seas and, in a more general manner, "trade in any other region of the Spanish Indies." Thus a difference was made between the South Sea, with the American west coast, and other areas. The former was recognised as a monopoly sphere of the Spaniards. … Article 14 indirectly shows that there was ***no similar general prohibition of navigation for the South Atlantic*** *and hence for the Falkland Islands – otherwise the separate arrangements for the South Sea would make no sense."* [598]

"By virtue of the Treaty of Madrid (sic) signed on March 27th, 1713, Spain conceded to great Britain the slave trade within Spanish America. What matters here is navigation. The slave trade implied a derogation of the prohibition on trading with the Spanish colonies and navigating the adjacent seas. As provided in Article 14 of the treaty:.. The Treaty of Madrid of 1713 confirms our understanding of the Treaty signed in 1670 and... There appears an express and unequivocal recognition of the prohibition to navigate the South seas, except for the British slave trading company." [599]

July 13th, definitive treaties at Utrecht are signed; formally ending the War of Spanish Succession. Among many, two concern Anglo-Spanish relations. The first is a peace agreement in which Britain gains Gibraltar and Minorca; ceded by Spain in perpetuity.

"... what is certain is that the aforementioned treaty is the deed of transfer of the territory (Gibraltar) subsequently confirmed by the Treaties of Seville (1729), Aachen (1748), Paris (1763), and Versailles (1783)." [600]

The second concerns commercial matters.

Article 8 of the peace treaty states;

> *"That there be a free use of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each kingdom, as it was heretofore, in time of peace, and before the declaration of this late war, in the reign of Charles the Second, of glorious memory, Catholic King of Spain, according to the treaties of friendship, confederation, and commerce, which were formerly made between both nations, according to ancient customs, letters patents, cedulas, and other particular acts; and also according to the treaty or treaties of commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at Madrid.*
>
> *And whereas, among other conditions of the general peace, it is by common consent established as a chief and fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce to the Spanish* ***West Indies*** *should remain in the same state it was in the time of the aforesaid King Charles the Second; that therefore this rule may hereafter be observed with inviolable faith, and in a manner never to be broken, and thereby all causes of distrust and suspicion concerning that matter may be prevented and removed, it is especially agreed and concluded, that no licence; nor any permission at all; shall at any time be given, either to the French, or to any nation whatever, in any name, or under any pretence, directly or indirectly, to sail, to traffic in, or introduce negroes, goods, merchandizes, or any things whatsoever, into the dominions subject to the crown of Spain in America, except what may be agreed by the treaty or treaties of commerce above-said, and the rights and privileges granted in a certain convention, commonly called El Assiento de Negros, whereof mention is made in the twelfth article; except also whatsoever the said Catholic King, or his heirs or successors, shall promise by any contract or*

598 Fisch 1983 p.116. My emphasis. Fisch asserts (p.117) that the final peace treaty confirmed the provisions of the Preliminary Articles. His reasoning was not made out, and it is notable that the description 'South Sea' was not used in the final agreement.

599 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.23. My emphasis. These were only preliminary articles, not the definitive treaty. South Seas are the South Pacific, not the South Atlantic.

600 *La Aguas de Gibraltar, el Tratadi de Utrecht y el Derecho Intenacional del Mar* Jesus Verdú Baeza 2015 p.99

contracts for the introduction of negroes into the Spanish West Indies, to be made after that the convention or the Assiento de Negros above-mentioned shall be determined.

And, that more strong and full precautions may be taken on all sides, as above-said, concerning the navigation and commerce to the West Indies, it is hereby further agreed and concluded, that ***neither*** *the Catholic King, nor any of his heirs and successors whatsoever, shall sell, yield, pawn, transfer, or by any means, or under any name, alienate from them and the crown of Spain, to the French, or to any other nations whatever, any lands, dominions, or territories, or any part thereof, belonging to Spain in America. On the contrary, that the Spanish dominions in the* ***West Indies*** *may be preserved whole and entire, the Queen of Great Britain engages, that she will endeavour, and give assistance to the Spaniards, that the ancient limits of their dominions in the West Indies be restored, and settled as they flood in the time of the above-said* ***Catholic King Charles the Second****, if it shall appear that they have in any manner, or under any pretence, been broken into, and lessened in any part, since the death of the aforesaid Catholic King Charles the Second"* [601]

"... they thought it wise at that time to insist, that Spain shall not permit any European Nation to trade to her Colonies; and they at the same time promised to assist Spain against any Country who should endeavour to trade there. This stipulation was expressly inserted in the Treaty of Utrecht to take from the Crown of Spain the power of granting Licences or privilege (under pretence of what is stipulated by the before mentioned 9th Article of the Treaty of 1667) to any other Nation to sail to or trade in any of her Colonies or Settlements in America, and particularly to constrain the Branch of the House of Bourbon, then seated on the throne of Spain, from conferring a privilege and favour of that Importance on the Subjects of the other Branch of that Family."[602]

"The terms of these conventions were however so vague, that they seemed rather to increase than lessen the causes of dispute. The meaning of the expression 'Spanish West Indies' never could be fixed or defined to the satisfaction of both parties..." [603]

"The British became seriously interested in Buenos Aires after the Peace of Utrecht. They had already visited South America during the war, with ships' papers forged by one Don Fernando Guzmán in London. By the

601 My emphasis. West Indies, not The Indies (see 1670 above), and note that the time of Charles II ended in 1700. The source of many later Anglo-Spanish arguments; in the main due to mistranslations, misinterpretations and a failure to define the terms used. Both nations believed that they understood what had been agreed, but each perceived the outcome very differently. Whilst West Indies meant the Caribbean to the English, Spain saw The Indies as covering all her claimed territories in the Americas. In 1715, a chart of the West Indies was published in England (next page). *cf.* 1765 & 1766

602 Privy Council Trade & Plantations Committee inquiry, 1789 in *TNA BT 5/5* at *420*. *cf*. 1667 & 1789

603 Greenhow 1842

peace they gained a two-fold advantage: Colonia was restored to their friends the Portuguese, and the English were granted a legitimate position in the Spanish colonies by the Asiento. They were permitted to send a limited number of slaves to Buenos Aires, where not over six Englishmen might live to supervise the sale. Royal decrees ceding rights to build houses, till the soil, etc., for the maintenance of the slaves until sold, gave them a foothold." [604]

"By virtue of this they had the right to form an establishment with not over six men to supervise it, to till the soil for the maintenance of the slaves until sold, and to send to Buenos Aires four ships annually with 1200 Negroes, the value of which they were permitted to export in produce of the country. They were strictly forbidden to introduce any goods other than those necessary for their own establishment. The temptation to evade the regulations was irresistible, particularly among a people who were in absolute want of clothing and willing to pay almost any price for it." [605]

"Utrecht was the tombstone with which the Pacific route was sealed to the ships of Louis XIV and his successors. Thus closed a very interesting and important chapter, no doubt, of international politics and American colonial history. Apparently, as Dahlgren sums it up, Spain had obtained some important assurances. Such were the acceptance of principles vital to her, such as: Prohibition of all foreign navigation on the coasts of America; access to the West Indies prohibited to all nations; and the gold of the New World reserved only for Spain. Time would say to what extent these principles would be respected by rival nations of Castilian might. With regard to the Malvinas Islands, this process has also been important. The successive expeditions set sail from French ports made it possible to update this distant and little less than lost portion of land again; they also highlighted its true contours and stressed its importance as a strategically located base for long navigations. In a word, from now on the archipelago, which has been baptized with the name it retains, until today, was already included in World cartography and in the projects of the great powers." [606]

"The crucial and unresolved question was still whether the whole of the South American continent (apart from the Portuguese possessions), with the adjacent islands, belonged to Spain, or whether the unoccupied areas (which certainly existed) were to be considered as terrae nullius, that could be acquired by any state by means of effective occupation. ... Even if there had been uncertainties about the legal position of the mainland – the status of unoccupied islands far off the coast was beyond doubt." [607]

"For the Spaniards, the stakes were clear. In exchange for the asiento – the British supply of slaves for the Spanish colonies – the Spaniards regained control over their possessions in the Americas and, by extension, their surrounding seas. But important questions remained: How far did this claim extend?" [608]

"Discrepancy arose when it became necessary to define what should be understood by 'West Indies under Spanish dominion.' Spain understood that the term included both mainlands and islands, discovered or not, inhabited or vacant, as long as they were located to the west of the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI and extended by Tordesillas. Other European powers such as England, France and Holland, maintained that the term 'dominion' implied control, jurisdiction and government, and consequently Spain was only entitled to the territories it had actually settled or were under its effective influence at the time of the death of King Charles II of Spain on November 2, 1700." [609]

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604 *The Establishment of British Commerce with Argentina* J. B. Williams 1935 citing *Piraterias y Agresiones de los Inglesas* Don de Alcedo y Herrera 1883 ed. By J. Zaragoza p.208
605 *The United States and the Independence of Buenos Aires* Eugene R. Craine 1961 p.6
606 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.35-36
607 Fisch 1983 p.117
608 *Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507-1899* Rainer F. Buschman 2014 pp.56-57
609 Peña & Peña 2018

In France, cartographer Nicolas de Fer produces a map of the Pacific Ocean including the Americas. He identifies the islands discovered by de Weerdt and Beaucherne. [610]

December 9th, at Utrecht, a *Treaty of Navigation and Commerce* is signed between Great Britain and Spain. [611]

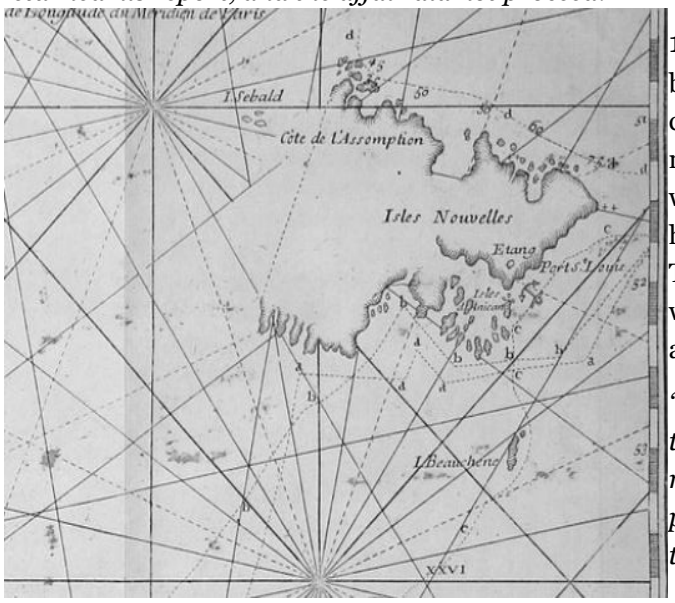
"Spain, under the leadership of a new royal dynasty, turned from the peace conference of 1713 to face a century in which, in her relations with England, the longest period of peace was to be one of thirteen years." [612]

1714 – a French ship, *Count de Lamoignon* (Capt. La Fond de Bayonne), stops off at the Falkland Islands.

"Olivier Laurens, of Marseilles, lieutenant-chef-de-quart aboard this vessel, proposed to .. go to reconnoiter these islands, in (the) company of his brother, pilot vice-admiral. He made a rather exact description of them ... "If this island is such that it seemed to us," he (noted), "it would be a great help in loosening the ships going to the South and East Indies, besides the other advantages that might be derived from them. It is very certain that the grains can grow there in abundance, being at the same latitude as London, on the south side, its green ground does not sign of drought, nor sterility and the greenish sea 15 leagues offshore infallibly denotes that it is full of fish. Thus, an island on which can come grain and have fish, can be inhabited,"..." [613]

May 5th, in France, a Monsieur Duquesnel, of Le Havre, submits a proposal for the formation of a "*business establishment*" in the "*Cabales (Sebaldes) Islands*."

"The establishment, if it is feasible, would cost the king little, and it is believed that, except for wine, everything would come in abundance. "However, before taking any measures to do so, it would be necessary to send two frigates to know perfectly the ground and to seek the most suitable place to form it. The minister had the project examined by M. Boschard de Champigny, lieutenant-general of the naval armies. ... M. de Champigny returned his report, and the affair did not proceed. [614]



1716 – in Paris, Amédée-François Frézier publishes a book which includes a map of the South American coastline, as known. He shows a small group of islands named, *I. Sebald*, sitting to the west of a larger island, which has further islets positioned around it. This group he refers to as '*Les Isles Nouvelles'* (New islands). [615] The large island has a pond, small lake or watering hole which is marked (*Étang*), with the name, *'Port St. Louis* at the coast.*'* [616]

"Frézier drew up a map of the Strait of Magellan and the surrounding islands which he entitled: "Reduced map of the extremity of South America in the southern part, where are included the new islands discovered by the vessels of Saint-Malo since 1700, of which the part

610 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1713-de-fer-france-detail.png
611 Davenport (ed.) 1934 p.104. The treaty of 1767 was "*ratified and confirmed*."
612 Brown 1925
613 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.125
614 *Ibid.* p.126 citing *A.N. Mar f° 2 IV, 20.*
615 English translation published 1717. The western coast consisted of a dotted line named *Cote de l'Assumption* (assumed coast). The first time that the Falklands appear on a chart with an indication of their actual size (4,700 square miles) and at their correct latitude.
616 Frézier 1716.

of the west is still unknown". Frézier indicates in the center of the islands, the name of "New Islands". He marks their northern contour which he calls "Côte de l'Assomption". In the east, he mentions Port St. Louis and a pond; to the south, the "Islands of Arica" and "Beauchene Island". The western coast is mentioned only by means of a dotted line, the course of most of the bays, and that of Falkland Sound. In the northwest, the three Sebald Islands are drawn, in short, an honest decay for which all the certain knowledge was used at that time, without indulging in the invention. The author himself had said: "If I have deleted imaginary lands from my map, I have added effective ones by the 51° of latitude, to which I gave the name of Illes Nouvelles, for having been discoveries since the year 1700, most by the vessels of Saint-Malo". [617]

1720 – also in France, a new world map by cartographer Guillaume Delisle.[618] Islands identified as *Isles d'Anican,* are depicted off the Patagonian coast. [619]

In London, a map of South America by Herman Moll, shows a *Falklands Sound* alongside the name *Falkland I*. The sound is depicted as] [. [620]

1721 – an Anglo-Spanish-French treaty is signed in Madrid.

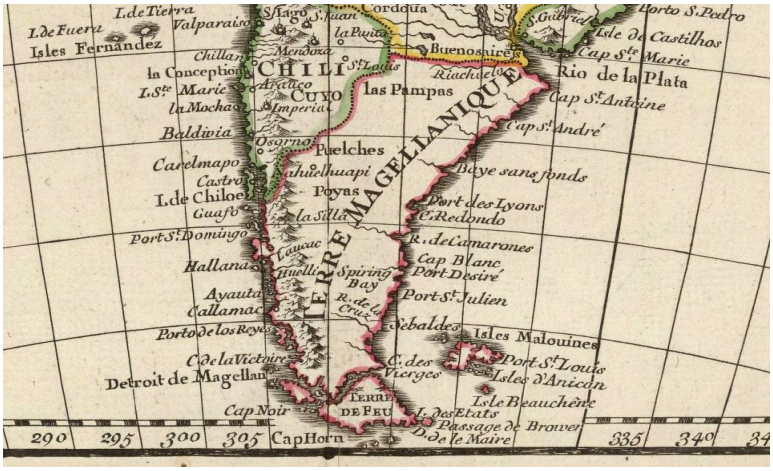
"In the Treaty of Madrid, ... when circumstances were somewhat more favourable to Spain, all formed treaties were renewed... and Spain secured the inclusion of a section specifically providing that His Britannic Majesty would give orders for the fulfillment of articles 8, 11 and 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which were stated not to have been executed..." [621]

December 30th, Dutch explorer Jacob Roggewein sights the Falklands.

> *"We looked for Hawkins' Maiden Land but could not find it; but we discovered an island 200 leagues in circuit, in latitude 52° South, about 200 leagues distant to east of coast.., which we named Belgia Austral."* [622]

1722 – in another new map of the world by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle (detail right), islands of a similar shape to that depicted by Frézier in 1716 now have the name – '*Les Iles Malouines*'.

> *"The land I call the Malouin archipelago, because it was discovered by the vessels of Saint-Malo, is not known in the western part."* [623]



617 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.127. Frézier's map revealed a single island; the standard depiction of the archipelago for 50 years. It also coloured the language, with the British long referring to '*Falkland's Island*' (singular).

618 Also recorded as de L'Isle. Delisle published maps of the world in 1720, 1722 and 1724.

619 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1720-mappemonde-a-lusage-du-roy-by-guillaume-de-lisle-paris-note-two-islands-identified-as-isles-de-anican.jpg

620 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1720-moll-detail.png

621 Brown 1925. This followed the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720) and is occasionally listed as the *Treaty of Madrid* 1721*,* although the records are inconsistent.

622 *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* Robert Kerr 1814. Roggewein, on leaving the coast of Brazil, had tried to find a group of islands he believed were called the Aukes Magdeland. Having failed, he then went in search of the New Islands. Aukes Magdeland appears to be a muddled Hawkins Maidenland – mistranslated or misheard.

623 Guillaume Delisle (de L'Isle) quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.127

Researcher's Comment: Todate, this is the first chart that I have found to use the name – Malouines.

"The French engineer, Frezier, who was mapping the discoveries of his compatriots in these regions, believed he could limit the name of the Sebald Islands to three small islets, located at the north-western end of the archipelago, and although he knew the discovery, real or supposed, of Hawkins, he thought it good to enrich the map with the name of Isles Nouvelles. It was probably this unfortunate name which led Guillaume Delisle to change it to that of Iles Malouines, which meant that the sailors of Saint-Malo were considered as having discovered this archipelago or at least as having contributed more than anyone else to establishing knowledge of it." [624]

"The name of the Iles Malouines is probably printed for the first time on Delisle's two maps: Hémisphère Occidental drawn in 1720 for the particular use of du Boy (printed in 1724) and Carte d'Amérique drawn for the use of du Boy, Paris, 1722." [625]

1725 – in Buenos Aires, Britain's South Sea Company is given the right to sell slaves in the interior.[626]

" English goods penetrated far into the country, being carried by Spaniards is small wagons into Parguay, and later in large covered ones as far as Chile." [627]

1726 – a port is founded on the east bank of the Rio de la Plata, under the name of San Felipe, Puerto de Montevideo;*"Some families were transported there from the Canaries, and others moved from Buenos Aires, in order to secure the privileges offered to first settlers. Large sums of money were sent by the viceroy to carry on the work; and, in time, with the labour of the Guarani Indians, a fort was constructed which the Spanish government hoped would block and overawe the Portuguese."* [628]

1729 – French map-maker Guillaume Danet's world map identifies islands off the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait as *Is de Anican ou Sebaldes de Werdt*. [629]

November 9th, in Spain, the *Treaty of Seville* is signed by Spain, France and Britain; formally ending the Anglo-Spanish War 1727 - 1729.

> *"Art. 1 – There shall be from this time and for ever a solid peace, a strict union, and a sincere and constant friendship, between the most Serene King of Great Britain, the most Serene most Christian King, and the most Serene King of Spain, their heirs and successors, as also between their kingdoms and subjects, for the mutual assistance and defence of their dominions and interests; there shall likewise be an oblivion of all that is past; and all the former treaties and conventions of peace, of friendship, and of commerce, concluded between the contracting Powers respectively, shall be, as they hereby are, effectually renewed and confirmed, in all those points which are not derogated from by the present treaty, in as full and ample a manner as if the said treaties were here inserted word for word, their said Majesties promising not to do any thing, nor suffer any thing to be done, that may be contrary thereto, directly or indirectly. …*

624 *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimas entre la France et les Côtes de L'Océan Pacifique* E. W. Dahlgren 1909 pp.382-383
625 *Ibid* p.383 fn.4
626 Williams 1935
627 *Ibid* citing *The Spanish Empire in America* by An English Merchant 1747 p.275
628 Craine 1961 p.13
629 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1729-carte-generale-de-la-terre...-by-guillaume-danet-paris-note-the.jpg

Art. 4 – It having been agreed by the preliminary articles, that the commerce of the English and French nations, as well in Europe as in the Indies, should be re-established on the foot of the treaties and conventions antecedent to the year one thousand seven hundred twenty-five, and particularly that the commerce of the English nation in America should be exercised as heretofore; it is agreed by the present article, that all necessary orders shall be dispatched on both fides, without any delay, if they have not been sent already, as well for the execution of the said treaties of commerce, as for supplying what may be wanting for the entire re-establishment of commerce on the foot of the said treaties, and conventions."

1732 – British settlers colonize the Mosquito Coast of South America with a town called Black River. [630]

In London. a new chart of South America by Herman Moll, depicts *Falklands Sound* alongside the name *Falkland I*. Once again the whole is depicted as] [. [631]

1735 – in Augsburg, a double-globe chart of the world by Matthias Seutter, reveals only the *Sebal I* and the *I d'Anycan* off the Patagonian coast. [632]

1739 – in Paris, Philippe Bauche produces a map of the southern oceans, employing a south pole projection. The Falklands are identified as the Isles Malouines. [633]

October 22, Britain and Spain enter into another war with each other (War of Jenkin's Ear). [634]

1740 – a new world map by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle (detail right) – *Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l'Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens* – identifies islands off the Magellan Strait as *Isles disdouvre por Davis Angloise* (Islands discovered by Davis English).

Spain and Britain find further reasons to argue (War of Austrian Succession).

From England, Commodore George Anson sails in *Centurion,* intending to attack Spanish possessions in South America. *Centurion* is accompanied by *Gloucester*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, *Tryal* and the store ships *Anna* and *Industry*. Anson has a copy of Frézier's book and map as part of his library. [635]

630 Central America, now the Caribbean coast of Honduras. Black River was only 80 miles east of the Spanish fort at Trujillo, and would become a major irritant for the Spanish colonial administrators in that region. *cf.* 1783 & 1786.
631 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1732-moll-detail.png
632 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1735-matthias-seutter-augsberg-detail.png
633 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1739-carte-des-terres-australes-by-philippe-buache.jpg
634 Or, in Spain, the *Asiento War*. The conflict was caused, in part, by Spanish restrictions on British ships attempting to trade in the Americas. An ongoing dispute over the profitable Asiento contract to sell slaves in Spanish America was a further element (see 1749 & 1750). Subsumed into the War of Austrian Succession after 1742. Ended 1748. Just in time to complicate a proposed expedition to the Falklands. See below.
635 *Masters of those Seas: Strategy and Space in George Anson's A Voyage Round the World in the years 1740-1744* James G. R. Cronin 2011

From Patagonia a mass raid by indigenous tribes strike Spanish settlements at Lujan, La Matanza, Arrecifes and Magdalena coming close to Buenos Aires. Led by an elderly cacique named Cacapol in retaliation for Spanish military incursions into northern Patagonia. [636]

"... an imaginary line was drawn across the continent, in about 35º, of south latitude, and which separated the possessions of the Spaniards from the territory of the Indians." [637]

1741 – in Paris, Lozier Bouvet publishes by order of the French East India Company, a map of the "Southern Lands" centred on the South Pole. In a style similar to Frézier's 1716 depiction, Bouvet includes the - Isles Malouines. [638]

February 18th, Commodore Anson's squadron anchors in Puerto Julian, on the Atlantic Coast of Patagonia.

February 27th, Anson sails for Cape Horn and the Pacific Ocean. Beset by storms, *Severn* and *Pearl* turn back for Rio de Janeiro.

In **April**, after rounding the Cape, *Centurion*, *Gloucester* and *Anna*, finally break into the Southern Pacific Ocean (South Sea). [639]

"..., Commodore George Anson led a naval expedition into the Pacific to attack Spain's settlements and shipping... The expedition proved a harrowing one." [640]

May 15th, attempting to follow Anson, *Wager* (Cheap) is wrecked on the rocks of an uninhabited Island. [641]

"Wager was driven on to rocks by hurricanes near an uninhabited island. There were 140 survivors, many of whom later died from starvation, drowning, hypothermia and violent ends. Only 36 people made it back home." [642]

June 20th, Anson, sailing off the Philippines, encounters a Spanish galleon - *Nuestra Senora de Covadonga.*

"There, in the Pacific, Anson, having recovered his strength and partially healed the wounds of his decimated crew, began his raids ... sowing desolation and death everywhere. Then, moving to the Philippine waters he captured the galleon that, once a year, made the route from those Acapulco island, in Mexico. The prey was this time, worthy of the insatiable greed of the adventurers: $1,314,000 in coin, 37,500 ounces of silver in bar and a cargo of merchandise. Such was the loot." [643]

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636 See 1742 below.

637 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* A. C. Black (pub.) 1842 p.14

638 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1739-map-of-the-southern-lands-between-the-tropic-of-capricorn-and-the-antarctic-pole-where-one-sees-the-new-discoveries-made-in-1739-south-of-cape-of-good-hope-by-orders-of-the-french-e.jpg

639 With the crews suffering from scurvy, these three ships were eventually reduced to one – *Centurion*.

640 *The Beginnings of Britain's Exploration of the Pacific Ocean in the Eighteenth Century* Alan Frost & Glyndwr Williams 1997 in *The Mariner's Mirror* vol.83 No.4 (November 1997) pp.410-418

641 Now known as Wager Island, part of the Guayaneco archipelago in western Patagonia. In *Horozco a Arriaga octubre 16, 1759* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 the location is given as Esteyro in Purgatory (?). See 1758.

642 *Previously unpublished letter casts new light on mutiny aboard HMS Wager* in *The Guardian* January 29, 2015. Following a mutiny, there were two groups of survivors with the main body of crew setting out through Magellan's Strait for Rio de Janeiro. Much reduced in numbers, some eventually returned to England in January, 1743. Capt. Cheap's group tried to find Anson but were forced to turn back. Encountering a party of Chonos Indians, they were eventually led to a Spanish garrison. Three, including one John Byron (see January, 1765), and Capt. David Cheap, found their way back to England in April, 1745. For the relevance of all this, see 1758.

643 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.42

1742 – in Buenos Aires, Spain reaches an agreement with the indigenous cacique tribal leader Cangapol, son of Cacapo. The Rio Salado is established as the southern limit of Spanish expansion. [644]

"It appears that the Spanish settled, in 1740, a Line of Limit with the Indians of Patagonia, whereby they renounced every pretension beyond that Limit, which was a little to the Southward of Buenos Ayres." [645]

"... an Account of Patagonia, published in England in 1774 of a Map is prefixed, in which a Line is marked near the River Salladillo (sic), a little to the Southward of the Rio de la Plata, and stated to have been fixed by Treaty with the Indians in 1740, as the Limit beyond which the Spaniards were not to settle to the Southward." [646]

"In the year 1740, a line was run across the continent, in latitude 35°, to the southward of which it was understood the various hordes of Indians were to confine themselves..." [647]

"... an imaginary line was drawn across the continent, in about 35°, of south latitude, and which separated the possessions of the Spaniards from the territory of the Indians." [648]

1744 – June 15th, in England, Commodore Anson returns.

"Sailing with six ships and 1,955 men, Anson returned home with one ship and only 145 of its original crew. More than 1,300 men had died, four of them in battle, most of the others from scurvy." [649]

1745 – in **September**, French explorer Jean-Baptiste Bénard de la Harpe, sets out a *memorandum* recommending that his government establishes a base in the "*southern lands...*". Perhaps Pepy's Island. [650]

London map-maker Richard William Seale produces a chart of the south cone (detail right) of South America identifying *Falkland Sound/Falkland I.*, the *S. de Waerds Isls* and *Beauchesne*. Also *Roche I.* [651] To the north there is shown the elusive, *Pepys I.* [652]

644 Despite the quotes below, more modern scholars suggest that the treaty was not concluded until 1742. Some detail is included in *A description of Patagonia and the adjoining parts of South America: containing an account of the soil, produce, animals, vales, mountains, rivers, lakes, &c.; of those countries; the religion, government, policy, customs, dress, arms, and language of the Indian inhabitants; and some particulars relating to Falkland Islands* Thomas Falkner 1774 pp.104-108. Falkner was a Jesuit missionary in Patagonia from around 1730 until about 1770. Available here - https://iiif.wellcomecollection.org/pdf/b30408684

645 Dalrymple 1790 p.12

646 *Leeds to Fitzherbert August 17, 1790* quoted in *A narrative of the negotiations occasioned by the dispute between England and Spain in the year 1790* J. B. Burges 1791.The map referred to is here - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/1774-map-by-thomas-falkner.jpg *cf.* 1790

647 *The London Encyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Science, Art Literature and Practical Mechanics…* T. Tegg (pub.) 1829

648 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* A. C. Black (pub.) 1842 p.14

649 Frost & Williams 1997

650 Pronounced '*peeps*.' *cf.* 1684

651 South Georgia?

652 Also note Penguin Island near Cape Blanco. *cf.* 1520

From Madrid, the Spanish Crown orders the Governor of Buenos Aires to provide assistance to a Jesuit expedition, bound on exploring, and charting, the coasts of Patagonia.

"The configuration of the ports, the depth of the waters, the nature of the seabed, the features of the coast, the astronomical calculations, the variations of the magnetic needle, all entered into the plan of the explorers, who acted according to the instructions received from the Government of Buenos Aires." [653]

1746 – Joaquin de Olivares surveys the east coast of Patagonia, near San Julian. [654]

October 3rd, from Spain, the Marquis de Enseñada, writes to José de Andonaegu, Governor of Buenos Aires; *"recommending that he maintain close correspondence with the French authorities in America, to counteract the actions of the English."* [655]

> *"The serious damages that the English frequently cause on the coasts and seas of America to the vassals of the King, and of France, seizing a large number of vessels and consequently destroying trade, have given rise to various means of frustrating them, since their insults cannot be completely contained, ... His Majesty trusts that Your Excellency will conduct yourself with the vigor and consideration that this important (matter) requires, so that the end of the detriment may be achieved, without prejudice to the interests of His Majesty..."* [656]

1747 – in **April**, Joachim de Olivares, who has reconnoitred the area around the San Julian river for a possible Spanish settlement site there, sends his negative opinion to Madrid.

"Frigate Captain don Joachim de Olivares, who with a frigate, engineers, mathematicians, and geographic experts, went with the aim of establishing a settlement on the San Julian River along that coast, and after having made all possible efforts and discoveries, sounding, marking, and exploring, as he explains, in some places, up to 30 leagues, found the plantation that was desired to be made to be impossible; and Your Excellency will find more extensive information on this entire expedition in the journal and plans that this Officer sent to the Court in April of the year 47, and by now they should be in the Navy's Office." [657]

In London, Emanuel Bowen produces a chart of South America for publisher William Innys. Depicted is a replica of Frézier's 1716 chart, but with the archipelago named *New Isles*. A cartographer's note states – *"A Chart of the extreme Part of South America in which are contained the Islands discover'd by the Ships of St. Malo since 1700, the Western Part whereof is Still unknown:..."* [658]

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653 Angelis 1852 p.17. The expedition departed from Buenos Aires on December 5, 1745, returning on April 4, 1746, having sailed as far south as 52º 20' S latitude. There is no suggestion that this examination of the coasts involved any sighting of the Falklands archipelago.

654 Full account in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.28-32. Written from memory in 1759. Olivares did not see the Falkland Islands. *cf.* 1758 & 1759

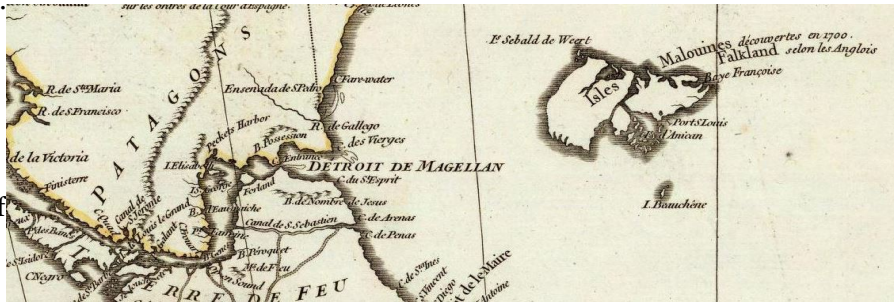
655 *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.15-16

656 *Ibid.*

657 *Orozco a Arriaga octubre 16, 1759* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.26-32. See October 16, 1759.

658 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1747-a-new-and-accurate-map-of-chili-terra-magellanica-terra-del-fuego-c-by-emanuel-bowen-london.jpg

1748 – in Paris, cartographer J. B. B. D'Anville publishes *Amerique Meridionale* (detail right). Both the French and the English names are used to identify the Islands.



In **May**, Admiral Anson's account of his circumnavigation 1740-1744 is published as *A Voyage round the World*.[659]

> *"... we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose: One of them is Pepys's Island, in the latitude of 47° South, and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the other is Falkland's Isles, in the latitude of 51° ½ lying nearly South of Pepys's Island.*
>
> *The first of these was discovered by Captain Cowley, in his Voyage round the World in the year 1686 [sic]; who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety; that it abounds with fowls, and that as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish.*
>
> *The second place, or Falkland's Isles, have been seen by many ships both French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his Chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the New Islands. Woods Rogers, who run along the N. E. coast of these Isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, interspersed with woods and not destitute of harbours.* [660]
>
> *Either of these places, as they are Islands at a considerable distance from the Continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended as the most eligible places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward: But if the Admiralty should think it advisable to order them to be surveyed, which may be done at a very small expense, by a vessel fitted out on purpose; and if, on this examination, one or both of these places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived, of what prodigious import a convenient station might prove, situated so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn."* [661]

Anson argues that, as Portugal informs Spain of all English ships visiting its Brazilian ports, a more private establishment would aid the security of British ships.

> *"... they may certainly depend on having their strength, conditions and designs betrayed to the Spaniards,.. And as this treacherous conduct is inspired by the view of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river Plate, rather than by any natural affection which the Portuguese bear*

659 *A Voyage Round the World in the years 1740-1-2-3-4, by George Anson Esq., Commander of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas. Compiled from Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable George Lord Anson, and published under his Direction* George Anson & Richard Walter 1748

660 John Davis's 1592 *Journal* was not published until 1803. Hawkins's account had been published in 1622, but Anson would seem to have been unaware of it. However, see 1765.

661 Anson & Walter 1748 pp.72 & 73

the Spaniards, the same perfidy may perhaps be expected from most of the governors of the Brazil coast,.. ” [662]

“In 1748, in consequence of the representations made by Commodore Anson, on his return from the Pacific, the British Government resolved to establish a colony and military post at some point near the Straits of Magellan, in order to afford the means of refuge, refreshment, and repairs to vessels on their way to and from the Pacific...” [663]

“In some sections the Voyage looked to the future as it recommended surveys of the Falkland Islands, Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Patagonia to make access into the South Sea easier for future expeditions. The Falklands in one ocean and Juan Fernandez in the other were seen as likely way-stations both for trading ventures in time of peace and for predatory expeditions in wartime.” [664]

“... it is evident that (Anson's) ideas about the Pacific's commercial and strategic value informed the ninth chapter of his first volume. In these pages, he devised a plan to organize an expedition to the Pacific Ocean in an effort to reconnoitre the Falkland and Juan Fernández Islands for future British settlement. Spanish officials... had this vital section translated.” [665]

A map of South America printed within Anson's book employs the style used by Frézier in 1717, while identifying the archipelago as *Falkland Isle* (detail left). [666]

May 12th, in England, George Anson is promoted to Admiral of the Blue.

September 12th, Spain despatches two warships, *Europa* and *Castile*, to the South Seas; under the overall command of Don Francisco de Orozco y Orozco. [667]

October 18th, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (*Treaty of Aachen*), ends the War of Austrian Succession. [668]

“The peace stipulated the renewal for the remaining four years of the irritating Treaty of the Asiento: the other points of contention between Spain and England "were too numerous and too complicated to be part of a general treaty, it was agreed between the two parties for the same reason that they would be the subject of a particular negotiation"...” [669]

In London, Admiral Anson persuades the Earl of Sandwich, and the Board of the Admiralty, to propose to King George II that two sloops, *Porcupine* and *Raven*, be sent into the Pacific Ocean by way of Cape Horn. Stopping off to survey the Falkland Islands, so that the archipelago’s utility can be assessed.

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662 *Ibid.*
663 Field 1928
664 *The Prize of all the Oceans: The Triumph and Tragedy of Anson's Voyage Round the World* G. Williams 1999 p.226
665 Buschman 2014 p.57
666 As Anson did not visit the Falklands, the depiction appears to be a straight lift from Frezier's 1716 map. Albeit with the name changed. *cf.* 1753 & 1766.
667 Orozco is variously spelt Orosco and Horozco. One Spanish source - *Consejo y Consejeros de Guerra en el siglo XVIII* Francisco Andújar Castillo 1996, gives the year as 1749. However, see 1760.
668 Preliminary Articles of Peace had been signed on April 20, 1748.
669 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.43 citing *España bajo reinado de la casa de Borbon, desde 1700, en que subió al trono Felipe V, hasta la muerte de Càrlos III, acaecida en 1788* William Coxe 1846 vol.3 p.300. Commerce had previously thrived between Spain and England, but when negotiating this treaty it was forgotten to renew the privileges granted to British merchants in Cadiz. Trading privileges promptly cancelled by Madrid. From the outset, a new commercial treaty was required. See 1750.

Following the publication of Anson's book in France, Spain instructs one of its spies in England, Jorge Juan, to be vigilant with regard to any attempt by the Admiralty to put Anson's plan into effect. [670]

"The Spanish had also read Anson's Voyage, and they immediately realised how vulnerable their position in the New World would be if the English gained a foothold outside both entrances of the Strait of Magellan;.." [671]

In **December**, from the Rio de la Plata, *Europa* and *Castile* sail for Concepción de Chile. [672]

1749 – in **January**, Britain's Admiralty receives Royal consent to proceed with Anson's plan.

> *"The Board of Admiralty having proposed to His Majesty some time ago the sending out two Frigates in order to make Discoveries in the American Seas, which might tend to the Improvement of Commerce and navigation in general, the King, ... was graciously pleased to approve of their Intention..."* [673]

"It was at this juncture that the British Government formed the plan to found an establishment in the Falkland Islands. It is evident that this establishment, by its geographical position at the entrance of the Strait of Magellan, and so immediate to the Spanish possessions, was destined to be the meeting point for all the companies that could be tempted in(to) the seas of South America, in the forecast of a more or less distant rupture,..." [674]

"In January 1749 (Anson) informed his colleagues of the Admiralty council that the King had agreed to send two schooners of discovery to southern latitudes. By the end of February they had chosen the schooners and appointed John Campbell (who had served with Anson in the Centurion) to command the expedition." [675]

In **April**, in England, Spain's spy, Jorge Juan, hearing that two ships are being prepared for a long voyage, informs Spain's Minister Plenipotentiary, Ricardo Wall; who asks questions of the Admiralty. [676]

"During his keen inspections, Juan noticed the presence of two frigates being readied for an impending departure for the South Seas. He promptly informed Spanish Ambassador (sic) Ricardo Wall, who in turn, investigated the matter and passed on the information to his superiors in Spain." [677]

With the Spanish Minister showing an interest, Lord Sandwich explains what is happening to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department. [678]

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670 Buscman 2014 p.57. Jorge Juan was far more than merely a spy. Also mathematician, scientist and naval officer. *cf.* August, 1764

671 Gallagher 1964 p.38

672 In 1760, a chart was produced showing the soundings taken by these vessels during their journey. No soundings were taken around the Falklands, which they clearly did not visit. *cf.* 1747, 1759 & 1760

673 *Bedford to Keene April 29, 1749*

674 *Ylas Falkland o Malvinas* Paul Grimblot 1843 in *Revistas de Ambos Mundos* Septiembre de 1843

675 *Anson, Wall y el Papel de "Lago Espanol" en el Enfrentamiento Colonial Hispano-Britanico (1740-1762)* Diego Tellez Alarcia 2004 in *Tiempos Modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna* 2004 vol.4 no.11

676 Ricardo Wall had been born in Nantes, France, in 1694 of Irish Jacobite stock. After serving with Spain's navy, he was posted to London by Madrid to facilitate a peace agreement in 1747. Wall remained as Spain's Minister Plenipotentiary from 1749 until 1752, when his position was upgraded to Ambassador. He remain in England until 1754. Chief Minister at Madrid from 1754 to 1763.

677 Buschman 2014 p.57 citing *José de Carvajal to Richardo Wall, May 10, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol.1*

678 The Northern Secretary dealt with domestic affairs and matters pertaining to Europe and Russia. The responsibility of the Southern Department extended to all matters south of Europe. Eventually, the Northern Department would become the Home Office, and the Southern Department its opposite number, the Foreign Office. What is apparent, however, was that Anson's proposals to the Admiralty and the King, had not been previously aired with other Ministers.

"The Spanish government had heard of the expedition and its ambassador in London asked for more details. Sandwich, explained to the Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, that in the South Atlantic the ships were to map Isla Pepys (allegedly discovered by Ambrose Cowley in 1684 but not seen again) and the Falklands, and then they would turn the Cape Horn and enter the South Sea. After being supplied with water in Juan Fernandez, they would follow a zigzag course along the Pacific between 10° S and 25° S, at least 3000 miles. Sandwich assured Bedford that they would not create any settlement, and that if necessary he would be willing to abandon the second part of the voyage, into the Pacific." [679]

April 24th, from London, the Duke of Bedford writes to Ambassador Keene in Madrid concerning the proposed expedition.

> *"Sir, The Board of Admiralty having proposed to his Majesty some time ago the sending out two frigates in order to make discoveries in the American seas, which might tend to the improvement of commerce and navigation in general, the King, always willing to promote the good and welfare of his subjects, was graciously pleased to approve of their intention, and accordingly the sloops designed for this service are now actually fitted out in the river Thames, in order to proceed upon the intended discovery at the proper time of the year for arriving in those seas during the good weather. But as this scheme has been represented by Major-General Wall, his Catholic Majesty's minister at this court, liable to many misrepresentations at the court where you now reside, and which might possibly tend towards creating an uneasiness and suspicion between his Majesty and the Catholic King, I am commanded to enclose to you for your information a copy of the Earl of Sandwich's letter to me, explaining the design of the Board of Admiralty in the equipment now intended.*
>
> *Upon the perusal of it you will find that the full discovery of Pepys's and Falkland islands, lying to the eastward of Cape Blanco, was the first object of his undertaking, which, when completed, the ships were to return to Brazil to refit, to proceed afterwards into the South Sea in order to make further discoveries there. As this latter part of the scheme cannot be carried into execution without wooding and watering at the island of Juan Fernandez, and possibly coming sometimes within sight of the Spanish coasts of Chili and Peru, it is apprehended here that an attempt of this nature may alarm the court of Madrid, and give them suspicions that his Majesty, though at present in peace with that crown, is preparing to be ready to attack them upon a future rupture, in a part where they are undoubtedly weak, and of which they must consequently be more than ordinarily jealous.*
>
> *This having been represented to the King in the light I have now stated it to you, he has been pleased to direct the Admiralty to proceed no further in the projected discoveries, than what is contained in the first part of the plan laid down, and to direct the sloops to return here, after they shall have searched sufficiently the seas about Pepys's and Falkland islands.*
>
> *As there is no intention of making any settlement in either of these islands, and as his Majesty's sloops will neither touch upon or even make any part of the Spanish coast, the king can in no shape apprehend that this design can give any umbrage at Madrid; but as it is his firm intention not only to adhere strictly to all that is stipulated in the last definitive treaty, but also to show all possible means of his desire to cement more and more the union and harmony so happily established between his crown and that of Spain, I am commanded to give you this full and circumstantial account of this affair to enable you to speak to the Spanish ministers about it, in the same manner as I have done to Major General Wall, who has promised me to write by this courier to his court in the very same language I now write to you; and I am glad to be able to inform you that I don't find him averse to our proceeding on the first*

679 Alarcia 2004 quoting Williams 1999.

part of the plan, provided we are willing to depart from the second. I have nothing further to trouble you with, but to assure you that his Majesty has been pleased, upon my laying the several despatches I have received from you, before him, to express his gracious approbation of your diligence and conduct." [680]

"... as it was the firm intention of the King of England not only to faithfully comply with the stipulations of the Treaty of Aachen, but to improve Hispanic-British relations, Keene was to discuss the matter with the ministers of Ferdinand VI. As Wall did not show opposition to the first part of the project as long as the second part was not fulfilled, Bedford seems to have conceived some hope of getting the Spanish go-ahead." [681]

May 7th, Madrid writes to inform its Viceroy in Peru, José Antonio Manso de Velasco y Sánchez de Samaniego, of the proposed British expedition.

"The king has received certain news that a frigate with fourteen guns was being prepared in England, although it was capable of mounting many more, and that it intended to go to that South Sea to make several reconnaissances of the islands (there)." [682]

A *Royal Order* accompanies the letter, confirming that the Viceroy of Peru should fortify the islands off Chile. [683]

May 10th, Minister José de Carvajal writes to Ricardo Wall in London, to express his concerns. [684]

"... neither He nor anyone else could be a Stranger to the Rise and Intent of such an Expedition, since it was so fully explained in the printed Relation of Anson's Voyage." [685]

"Since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been signed between Britain and Spain not many months previously, the Spanish Court did at once take umbrage." [686]

On receiving Carjaval's letter, Minister Wall protests to the British Court, claiming that any expedition will breach the treaties regarding navigation in the Pacific. [687]

"There had never been a general prohibition of British navigation to the South Atlantic, nor could it be inferred from the existing treaties that the Falkland Islands were recognised as Spanish possessions." [688]

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680 *Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford: selected from originals at Woburn Abbey* J. Bedford 1843 vol. 2 Confusingly, in this 1843 collection, the date for this letter is given as April 24, 1750. In *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 (pp.16-18) the date is given as April 24, 1749. A further copy in *Archivo General de Indias, Seilla Seccion V, Audiencia de Buenos Aires Correspondencia con los Gobernadores Anos 1732 – 1760* is dated April 29, 1749. A confusion made worse by Spanish Ministers in the 1760s constantly referring to these events as happening in 1750.

681 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.44-45

682 Quoted in *El frustrado fuerte de tenquehuen en el archipiélago de los chonos, 1750: dimensión chilota de un conflicto hispano-británico* María Ximena Urbina Carrasco 2014 in *Historia (Santiago)* vol.47 no.1 citing *Ensenada a virrey del Peru, Aranjuez, 7 de mayo de 1749 AGI Chile, 433.*

683 *Extracts from a Spanish MS, giving an Account of certain Expeditions undertaken by Order of the King of Spain, between the years 1749 and 1776 and of the Establishment of a Colony on the Island of Juan Fernandez* Woodbine Parish in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1834 vol.4. The Royal Order was not received in Peru until October 27, 1749. See below.

684 Buschman 2014 p.57 citing *José de Carvajal to Richardo Wall, May 10, 1749* in *AHN, Estado 4267, vol.1*

685 *Carvajal to Wall* quoted in Williams 1999 p.231

686 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490.* See 1946

687 *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire 1713-1763* Paul W. Mapp 2011

688 Fisch 1983 p.118

"Ambassador Wall accosted this proposal on two grounds. First, he negated the novelty of the British endeavour by arguing that the islands were well known to earlier Spanish explorers and needed no further exploration. Secondly, Wall reminded the diplomats that the British venture clearly conflicted with the provisions of Article Eight in the Treaty of Utrecht, a great offense given that Spain and Britain had just signed the Peace Treaty..." [689]

"Spain and to some extent Portugal defended the principle of closed or restricted seas, opposed by the rest of the European powers who ... sustained the principle, held by England since Elizabethan days, that was finally to prevail, that the seas were free and open to all, and consequently undiscovered, unexplored, vacant or derelict islands and terra firma territories remained liable to be taken..." [690]

May 21st, in Spain, Keene broaches the subject of Anson's proposed expedition with Minister Joseph de Carvajal.

"He was sorry that, so soon after the signature of a treaty for re-establishing the Antient (sic) Friendship between the Two Crowns, New Matter should be projected, which would probably throw us into the same, or worse, Disputes than those which had been the Causes of the last Rupture.

We knew, by experience, that our having Possessions lying in the Neighbourhood and in the Way of one another, and where Commerce and Communication were absolutely prohibited on both sides, had exposed Us to many disagreeable Accidents. That it must hurt Those who cordially desired a solid Union between the two Crowns, to see any new Attempts or Ideas that might keep alive our ancient Suspicions and Jealousies, and prevent what he on his part wished as sincerely as any one: That it was in this Light He must look upon the Preparations we were making at present, to send two Frigates into the American Seas; That neither He nor any one else could be a Stranger to the Rise and Intent of such an Expedition, since it was so fully explained in the printed Relation of Lord Anson's Voyage.

I told him 1 was both sorry and surprised to hear him express himself thus seriously upon a Project which was so far from being capable of carrying Hurt or Prejudice with it either to the Navigation, Trade, or Possessions of the Spanish Monarchy, that This Crown as being more than any other concerned in that Part of the World, must reap most Benefit from the Success of it.

That I did not doubt but General Wall had given a very fair Account of the Design itself, and of the manner it was to be put in Execution. But as Your Grace by His Majesty's Command, and out of the King's Desire to remove every Obstacle to a perfect Reconciliation between the two Nations, had thought proper to honour me with a distinct account of the whole, I should take this Opportunity to explain it to him. I accordingly did so, in the manner your Grace has been pleased to instruct me:

I showed him the two Parts of which the Original Project consisted, And laid great Stress upon His Majesty's Condescension and Attention to Mr Wall's Remonstrances

689 Buschman 2014 pp.57-58
690 Peña & Peña 2018

in setting aside that Part of it which alone could possibly be subject to any Suspicion or Misrepresentation.

But whatever I could say did not seem to render this Scheme more palatable. When he appeared to give Credit to our not having any Design to settle on the two islands in Question, he fell upon the Inutility of pretending to a farther (sic) Discovery of them and affirmed They had been long since ***first discovered*** *and* ***inhabited*** *by the Spaniards; who called them the* ***Islands de Leones*** *from the Quantities of sea lions on their Coasts, And that there were already in the Books in Offices very ample Descriptions of the Dimensions, Properties, &c of those Islands.* [691]

That if we did not intend to make any Establishment there, What service could this bare knowledge be to Us? We had no Possessions in that Part of the World, & consequently wanted no Passages, nor Places to refresh in. That he hoped we would consider what Air it would have in the World to see us planted directly against the Mouth of the Streights of Magellan, ready upon all Occasions to enter into the South Seas, where the next Step would be to endeavour to discover and settle in some other Islands, in order to remedy the Inconveniency of being obliged to make so long a Voyage as that to China, and to refit our Naval Forces upon any Disappointment we might meet with in our future Attacks upon the Spanish Coasts, as happened to My Lord Anson.

I told him it would be difficult to take any step for the Improvement of Navigation, and procuring a more perfect Knowledge of the World in general, that might not be subject to twisted Interpretations, and imaginary inconveniences. That if such Principles had always taken Place, Spain would not have been Mistress of those vast Possessions in America, nor have known either how to preserve them, or to make Use of them. But I desired him to reflect that in the present Case here was no Reason for Suspicions or Misrepresentations; One Part of a Project, merely formed for the Advancement of Knowledge, was laid aside upon the first Application against it, The other was openly communicated to them, to avoid giving any Motive of Jealousy and Complaint, or any Materials to those who might wish to keep us at a Distance from each other, to succeed in their Attempts. Our further Conversation was interrupted, as it frequently is, by his being called for by the King. ..." [692]

When Carvajal is called away to see the King, Keene speaks to Minister Ensenada. [693]

691 The 1621 Spanish charts (previous page and above) clearly depict the *Islas de los Leones* in a deep Patagonian bay, named as the Gulf of St. Georg. As for the suggestion of '*inhabited*', Simon de Alcazaba had had himself sworn in as Governor there in 1535. See above.

692 *Keene to Bedford mayo 21, 1748* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.18-21. Also *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon from the Accession of Philip the Fifth to the Death of Charles the Third* William Coxe 1813. In 1749, there were no Spanish settlements on the eastern shores of South America south of the Rio Negro.

693 Minister Carvajal had been, at best, confused. At worst, downright devious. He had no knowledge of the Falkland Islands. No Spanish ship had ever visited them. See 1758 and 1759.

"I then visited the Marquis de la Ensenada, who after acquainting me that Mr Wall had given the same Account I had laid before him, cut short by saying He hoped and believed the whole Project would be set aside; That the present time and Circumstances appeared not to be the most proper for such an Undertaking, from the Rumours it would give Occasion to; That the French who were very jealous and uneasy at present, would think, on Occasion of our Disputes upon the Island of Tobago, We were forming Schemes together to strip them of their Possessions in America, and repeated again his Hopes that it would be laid aside for the present. I answered this Minister as I had done the former, And pretty much with the same Effect. What was to be observed from both of them, was, that They were extremely moderate upon the most delicate Point that can come before Them, and notwithstanding ***Their whimsical Notions of exclusive Rights in those Seas****, where, Their own Subjects, if They are found, are treated as Pirates,* ***There was not a single objection started against His Majesty's Right to put in execution this Project****. Their arguments, or rather considerations were drawn from the Prospect of future Inconveniences, and the present circumstances of both Nations with relation to Themselves, & to some of their Neighbours.*

Upon the whole, My Lord, I have represented this Affair, in the most unexceptionable manner I was able, & set it as free from any Views of Private Interest as possible; But the Case is, that all Arguments from Publick & general Advantage, have just the same Effect upon this Court, as if they were for the particular Benefit of any /Potentate whatsoever, They would keep those possessions as mysterious as they can, and the Utility & Preservation of them depend upon their not being known nor having any other Possession or Competitor in their Neighbourhood. … Since writing what goes before I have been with M. de Carvajal, who still persists in the same Sentiments, and has offered to give me a sight of all the Discoveries made in the Pepys & Falklands Islands, but his Papers are at Madrid." [694]

"… in the year 1749, some Sloops were fitted out for obtaining a fuller knowledge of Pepys and Falkland Islands and for making further Discoveries in the South Seas… the Spanish Government took alarm at this measure and made Representations against it, In consequence of which Sir Benjamine Keene, His Majesty's Ambassador at that time at Madrid, was directed to declare, that nothing more than mere Discovery was intended and that no Settlement was to be established." [695]

"In view of the subsequent attitude of Great Britain on the subject of the Falklands, it is interesting to note that in this first diplomatic skirmish over these islands, the question of the right to settle there does not seem to have been raised. The British took the view that their expedition was purely scientific, although its real purpose was never unknown to the Spanish. The latter, for their part, declined to accept the project, based largely on reasons of self-convenience, but also on the principle that since the English had no possessions in that region, they had no business there. As the question of the right to settle there was not raised, this aspect of the matter was not discussed. The real question at issue was, instead, whether the British had any right to penetrate these regions. The very fact that the project was submitted to the Spanish crown tends to show that they were perfectly aware of the fact that, according to the existing treaties, they did not enjoy such a right, but they tried to procure it by using the pretext of sending a scientific expedition. This was a purpose not forbidden by the treaties, which contemplated only commercial navigation. And consequently the British request could be denied only on grounds of general expediency, or, as the Spanish did, by traversing the alleged scientific purpose." [696]

694 *Keene to Bedford mayo 21, 1748* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.20-21. My emphasis. There is no record of Carvajal producing any documents.

695 Board of Trade Committee inquiry of December, 1789 in *TNA BT 5/5* at *423. cf.* 1789

696 Goebel 1927 pp.201-202

"Faced with such a solid and penetrating argument about the future, the English representative tried to reply without success. Later he met with the Marquis of Ensenada, who after hearing him, told him "that the project should be completely set aside". ... In this way, the first attempt of the English government to occupy the Malvinas Islands was broken,..." [697]

"Spanish officials ... saw the proposed sally as an attempt by Anson and his supporters to execute the aggressive plans outlined in A Voyage round the World. This provided cause for worry. European ships had not thoroughly explored South Atlantic waters and coasts, and Spanish officials could not be sure of what might be found there ... Should British exploration lead to the establishment of bases on South Atlantic islands, Carvajal feared the British would then obstruct Spanish ships trying to reach the Pacific ... Both Wall and Carvajal warned that a British Pacific or South Atlantic expedition would jeopardize ongoing attempts to foster amicable Anglo-Spanish relations." [698]

May 29th, Ambassador Keene informs Britain's Consul-General in Lisbon, Abraham Castres, of his concerns.

> *"We are talking in England of making new discoveries in consequence of Mr. Anson's voyage. Wall has made representations against it. You who can judge of the tenderness of this subject, can judge it does not forward my affairs here at all. One coup of this nature sets aside or retards at least all my endeavours to make us as one people, to do good to our selves reciprocally, and to do good to the rest of the world by preserving peace and being of terror at the same time to those who break it."* [699]

In **June**, with negotiations for a new commercial treaty with Spain proving difficult, and with the future of the *Asiento* contract uncertain, the Duke of Bedford instructs the Admiralty to postpone the proposed mission.

"... although repeating that they (the British) had the right to execute it, ... the enterprise was dismissed and vanished." [700]

"... very much against the will of Admiral Anson." [701]

"... Lord Anson, who had such a settlement in contemplation, was induced to suspend the design by the remonstrances of Spain; for, although it does not appear that the Spaniards had even yet, even by chance, visited the Islands, the Spanish Government claimed them, on the ground of an exclusive right in the Crown of Spain to all the 'Magellan Islands.' ..." [702]

"... Bedford instructed the Admiralty to postpone the venture but with no alteration of the right of Great Britain to send her ships on later dates to discover and colonize unknown and uninhabited lands under the unmoved adage of freedom of the seas." [703]

June 5th, from London, Lord Bedford writes to Ambassador Keene.

> *"I was favoured with your Letter from Antigola of the 10/21st of last month by a Spanish Courier who arrived here the 20th of the said month, & immediately laid it before His Majesty who was pleased entirely to approve of the method you took in communicating to the Spanish Ministers the Orders the*

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697 *La Promesa Secreta y El Convenio Anglo-Español Sobre Las Malvinas de 1771* José Torre Revello 1952
698 Mapp 2011 p.322
699 *Keene to Castres, May 29, 1749,* quoted in Alarcia 2004
700 *Informe de Jorge Juan a Julián de Arriaga, Madrid, 11 de agosto de 1764* quoted in *Un aviso ilustrado: el Informe de Jorge Juan sobre conveniencias e inconveniencias de un urgente asentamiento en las Islas del Atlántico Sur (11 de agosto de 1764)* Dario G. Barriera 2020 citing *AGS Estado 6957*
701 Jorge Juan quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.48
702 *Dunglass to Jenner July 9, 1829* in *FO 83/2227* at *95*
703 Peña & Peña 2018

King had been pleased to direct me to send you in my Dispatch of the 24 April last. Tho' His Majesty cannot in any respect give into the reasonings of the Spanish Ministers, as his right to send out Ships for the discovery of unknown & unsettled Parts of the World, must indubitably be allowed by every body, Yet the King, desirous of shewing to the Catholick King the utmost complacency in every thing, in which the Rights & advantages of his own Subjects are not immediately & intimately concerned, doth consent to ***lay aside for the present*** *any Scheme that can possibly give the least Umbrage or jealousy to the Court of Madrid, and accordingly has given Orders to the Lords of the Admiralty to proceed no farther in this Plan for discovery of new Countries & Islands in the American Seas* ***for the present.***

I have no doubt of your being able to make a good use of this condescension of His Majesty's, to the representations made by the Spanish Ministers, in the very important Negotiations you are now charged with, & about which you are so fully instructed in my Dispatches of the 11th of May last. The Disposition the Court of Spain seems to be in, by the several Accounts I have of late received from you & by the language its Minister Major General Wall holds to me, seems to give good grounds to hope, that the mark of the King our Masters complacency to the Catholick King will enable you to obtain some Points which may be advantageous to the Nation in its Commerce, & at the same time tending to preserve that Peace which is undoubtedly so useful to both Countries.

I have only to recommend to you to make use of all the skill you are Master of to convince the Spaniards in general, that His Majesty has nothing more at Heart, than the cimenting (sic) and uniting the two Nations in the same Bands of harmony and Friendship, which so long subsisted between Them and Their mutual benefit & advantage; as the Orders I now send you, as well as the several Steps His Majesty has taken with regard to Spain, ever since the conclusion of the Peace is a full proof of this, I shall at present trouble you no farther, but leave you to make such use of it, as Your knowledge of that Country will certainly suggest to you." [704]

*"He (Lord Shelburne) confessed to me that he had found among those papers the case that occurred during the time of Don Ricardo Wall, of which he had told me the other day that he was not aware. ... He took a dispatch from the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Keene from the year 1750 (sic); and translated the following words to me: "****We will suspend the project, but we reserve the right to the Falkland Islands and to free navigation in the South and Atlantic Seas****". "* [705]

"The example of what happened in the year 1750 (sic) shows us that we should not expect (very much). Spain had just emerged from a glorious war; England did not want to upset her, but rather courted her, so to speak. But with all this she did nothing but ***suspend*** *the project of establishing herself in the Maluinas Islands without renouncing her dreamed right to them and to navigate in the South Sea. What she does today is nothing but continue that suspended idea, and it is very probable that she would not do so if she saw clearly that she did not have to wait to see an unfriendly Spain."* [706]

"After the peace of Aquis, the English wanted to establish a settlement there, but their close ties with the court of Madrid made them desist from the attempt due to the heartfelt claims of the minister of state, Don José Carvajal." [707]

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704 *Bedford to Keene June 5,* 1749 in Colección *De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.22-23. My emphasis.

705 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 21, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas (1766-1767)* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo II-III 1961 pp.158-167. My emphasis

706 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 26, 1766* in *Ibid.* pp.192-194. My emphasis

707 *Tratados, Convenios y Declaraciones de Paz y de Commercia que han hecho con las potencias estranjeras los monarcas españoles de la casa de borbon. desde el año de 1700 hasta el dia.* Don Alejandro del Cantillo 1843

"... the intended Anson expedition was countermanded. Spanish opinion naturally interpreted this reaction as a British acknowledgement of Spanish sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. From another point of view, the step in no way denied the British right to pursue the same line of action at some later and more convenient date." [708]

"The Spanish rulers got, in this way, a deferment of the danger, which, if far from being considered as a definitive solution, would allow her, at least, to take advantage of the years that followed..." [709]

"Since, at this time, England was anxious to establish harmonious relations with Spain, she yielded to the Spanish protests and called off the expedition, although she maintained that she had the right to carry out the explorations if she so wished." [710]

"... as the King of England was eager to show the Spanish monarch His great complacency in matters in which the rights and advantages of his own subjects were not immediately and intimately questioned, he had no objection to setting aside any plans which might provoke resentment in the Court of Madrid. ... Bedford suggested that this concession could be used to advance negotiations already initiated by Keene for the signing of a trade agreement, in which advantageous benefits could be obtained." [711]

"In the end Britain abandoned the plan. This incident cannot, however, be considered as implicit recognition of a Spanish right to the islands or of the prohibition of navigation by Britain. Nor did Spain on this occasion claim a title to the Falklands. The whole episode is of little importance from the point of view of international law, as neither side tried to interpret the existing treaties in its favour. Both acted according to political expediency and with political arguments." [712]

"By June British ministers, anxious not to upset delicate diplomatic negotiations with the Spanish government on the asiento and other issues, ordered the Admiralty to drop the expedition 'for the present.'.." [713]

"In 1749 Spain opposed British preparations to establish a base in the Falklands. England desisted temporarily." [714]

"Bedford ... maintained, nonetheless, that the British King's "right to send out Ships for the discovery of unknown and unsettled Parts of the World must indubitably be allowed by everybody." But Carvajal understood him to have conceded that treaties prohibited British Pacific navigation, and the Spanish minister was enthusiastic about the inference ..." [715]

"The project was shelved but hardly forgotten." [716]

June 27th, jubilant at Britain's decision to lay aside its plans, Minister Carvajal writes to Wall in London; *"We can take their desistance (sic) from this endeavour as a clear confession to our right of preventing their free navigation in the seas surrounding the Americas."* [717]

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708 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
709 Munilla 1948 p.9
710 Gallagher 1964 p.xxxviii
711 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.47
712 Fisch 1983 p.119
713 Williams 1999 p.231
714 Bullrich 2000 p.56
715 Mapp 2011 p.322
716 Buschman 2014 p.58
717 Quoted in Buschman 2014, citing *Carvajal to Wall, June 27, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol. I*. An outcome viewed very differently by the two sides. Spanish Ministers considered that they had won an acknowledgment of rights that they believed they had under the 1713 *Treaty of Utrecht*; while in Britain, the decision to postpone was merely viewed as expeditious due to treaty negotiations.

September 8th, from London, Wall writes to inform Minister Ensanada, that Britain had intended to establish a base in the South Atlantic.

> *"... it was widely known that two frigates were prepared in this river (Thames), which in my opinion had as their purpose to discover which of the two islands of Pepey (sic) or Falkland was more suited as to the quality of its ports or for land the most suitable to settle and to act from against us in case of rupture."* [718]

> *"(It is) indubitable also that they will send in times of war a squadron into the South Sea."* [719]

"In September 1749, four months after the original expedition to the Falklands and beyond was cancelled, the newspapers said that one of the participating schooners was preparing again for the South Sea ... Anson continued saying (to) the newspapers, (he) was very committed to the matter." [720]

Despite the cancellation, work on the Anson expedition ships, continues.

> *"The Porcupine Sloop of War has been greatly altered, and provided with Double Chain Pumps &c., peculiarly adapted to the South Seas; a Voyage being intended thither, for the further Discovery of an Island which Commodore Anson touched at; for which Purpose another Man of War is preparing, and two small Sloops, which are to be made Use of as Victuallers. They will sail next Season, and the chief Command, we hear, will be given to Capt. Campbell."* [721]

> *"The Porcupine Sloop of War, lying at Deptford, is put into Commission, and the Command given to Captain Campbell. She is going upon a Discovery to the South Sea, her Gunwail (sic) being cut away for that Purpose, and several other necessary Alterations made."* [722]

October 27, at Lima, the Royal Order of May 7th finally arrives. [723]

> *"By Communications from the Court dated May 1749 we were confidentially appraised that the British Government projected forming a settlement either on the island of Juan Fernandez, or in the archipelago of Chonos, in consequence of the reports made by Commodore Anson on his return from those seas of the great advantages which might be expected from such an establishment. The King, naturally alive to the consequences of such a project on the part of the English, and seeing how detrimental it might prove to the peace and quiet of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, desired that a ship-of-war should be immediately despatched to examine the said islands, as well as all the coasts to the southwards, with orders to expel any foreign ship whatever which might be met with in any of the ports or possessions of his Majesty in these seas. His Majesty commanded that the island of Juan Fernandez should be peopled, and a suitable garrison immediately established there for its protection ... and at the island of Inchin, described in Anson's voyage, a fort should be built..."* [724]

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718 *Wall to Ensenada September 8, 1749,* quoted in Alarcia 2004

719 *Wall to Ensenada September 8, 1749,* in Mapp 2011 p. 325

720 Alarcia 2004 quoting Williams 1999.

721 *Derby Mercury Friday September 8, 1749* p.3

722 *The Ipswich Journal Saturday 28 October 1749.*

723 Following its arrival, the Viceroy sent settlers and soldiers to fortify the island of Juan Fernandez, where they arrived in March, 1750. A town with chapel, hospital and warehouses was built to accommodate them, however, 14 months later, on May 24, 1751, it was destroyed by a tsunami.

724 Parish 1834. This Royal instruction was apparently found among the papers left by Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Peru, for his successor in 1776.

1750 – January 8th, France's Foreign Minister, Louis Philogène Brûlart de Sillery, informed that ships are still being fitted out for an expedition by England, sends a message to his Ambassador at Madrid.

"Following Bénard de La Harpe's warning, the French government on 8 January 1750 ordered the French ambassador in Madrid, the comte de Vaulgrenant, to warn Spain a third time of Britain's plan, ..." [725]

January 13th, at Madrid, a treaty is agreed between Spain and Portugal; whereby limitations placed upon Portuguese expansion, contained in the Tordesillas accord of 1494, are abandoned. The two nations agree, instead, to rely upon the old Roman maxim - *'uti possidetis, ita possideatis'* (Who owns by fact, owns by right).[726]

"... the two Crowns decided to renounce their ancient disputes, and agreed in consigning to oblivion the rival claims growing out of the (Tordesillas) demarcation line, and began all over again, declaring Alexander's Bull and the treaty of Tordesillas, and others based thereon all null and void." [727]

"Finally, in 1750, a treaty was drawn up between Spain and Portugal, and one of the articles dealt with the question of the Banda Oriental. This article stipulated that Portugal should cede to Spain all the establishments she had formed in the Banda Oriental, including Colonia, in exchange for the seven missionary towns upon the Uruguay. However, the settlement was not successful, for the Indians rose in revolt against an arrangement which delivered them to a nation known to them only for their cruelties. Spain and Portugal joined forces to enforce by arms the submission of the Indians to the treaty. When the fighting ceased, the missions were depopulated and ruined; and the Portuguese refused to take possession of them, using this as a pretext for refusing to release Colonia to Spain. Thus, the Portuguese question was not settled." [728]

"*... when Spain signed the Treaty of Madrid, it explicitly consented to never again invoke the Treaty of Tordesillas."* [729]

January 25th, following the warning from France, Spain's Minister Carvajal writes to Wall in London, urging continued vigilance with regard to England's encroachments in the Americas. [730]

"., in January 1750, on a warning from Saint-Malo, the Versailles Cabinet had again instructed the Duke de Vaulgrenant, our ambassador in Madrid, to inform the Spanish court of a new attempt by the English Admiralty. A protest in London stopped it immediately." [731]

"In 1750, however, new rumours arose of British preparations for an expedition to the Falklands. This led to another flurry of protests. There was no expedition,.." [732]

In Paris, Gilles and Didier Robert de Vaugondy publish a chart of the Americas. The archipelago is depicted as two islands named *I. Malouines peu conunes*. The larger western island is incomplete. [733]

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725 Pascoe 2020 p.26

726 Treaty of Madrid 1750. Recognition that effective occupations was necessary for sovereignty? It would be 1790, before Spain fully accepted that requirement.

727 *Memorandum on Uti Possidetis* John Bassett Moore 1913

728 Craine 1961 p.13

729 *Falklands Sovereignty: Falkland islands (Malvinas) sovereignty dispute in the perspective of international law* Gabriel Sobolewski Prola 2021

730 Alarcia 2004 citing *Carvajal a Wall, 25 de enero de 1750, A.H.N., Estado, 4.263.* Around the end of 1749, rumours circulated concerning an English expedition to the South Seas. None was planned.

731 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85. Stopped? Anson's expedition had been postponed in 1749 and no date set for its renewal. Journalistic speculation, nothing more.

732 Dunmore 2005 p.94. *cf.* 1751

733 This is the first chart I have found adding Falklands Sound to Frezier's 1715 outline. *Conunes* may be a misspelling of *connues,* which translates as '*little known'*. See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1750-detail.png

October 5th, after protracted negotiations, an Anglo-Spanish commercial treaty is agreed.[734] The treaty terms require Britain to renounce its claim to the *Asiento* contract in exchange for £100,000. Cancellation of all claims each side has made against the other, and a balancing of various duties for both sides. Britain is permitted to gather salt at the island of Tortuga in the Caribbean (Art.9); *"as they had in the time of Charles II, allowing them to resume fishing operations by using it to preserve fish exported to Britain."*

> *"The first News of a Treaty being concluded between Mr. Keene and the Spanish Ministry made the Stocks of the English South Sea Company rise pretty high; but that rise did not last long, and if we may credit the last Letters from London, they have since fallen as low as they were before, or pretty near the Mark: From whence we conclude that the said Company do not find that Treaty so advantageous to them as was at first given out. … Spain does not give up the Right she claims to visit the English Ships on the High Seas of America."* [735]

"When the question of the renewal of the Asiento treaty arose in 1750, the British Government agreed to the recession of the contract... The Spanish Government were thereafter fortified in their belief that Britain had now no legal grounds for entry into the South Atlantic Ocean, where she had no possessions." [736]

"It is worthy of note that while the 5th article records in particular, that the King of Spain allowed the English subjects "to take and pick up salt on the Island of Fortudos (sic) without any impediment", as they had done "at the time of the said king Charles II", but says not a single word of the Falkland Islands, for whose possession – as already seen – the British had shown a marked interest. That is to say, that also in 1750 the diplomacy of the Court of London had not succeeded... that such rights had not been recognized and that the negotiators representing S. M. B. were obliged to accept the views expressed by the Ministers of Ferdinand VI." [737]

The Governor of New France (Canada), the Marquis de La Galissoniere, positions lead plates (plaques) along the Ohio River. Etched on them is a message that the territory there, is French. [738]

"... taking possession was necessary, indicated by an external sign: a cross, a flag, a mark." [739]

December 8th, commenting on the recent exchanges, Benjamin Keen writes to Lord Bedford.

> *"The principle cause of this evil, on the part of Spain, consists in the very nature and spirit of the laws and original institutions, for the Government of the Spanish West Indies. They were framed at a time when Spain had extended a whimsical universal right to land, sea and the air itself of that vast country, and was resolved to do her utmost to prevent the approach of any stranger. The very act of appearing there was criminal, as long as she had force to enforce it. From this source all orders to governors, instructions to guarda costas, and ever public dispatch and determination in tribunals, were, and still are infected..."* [740]

734 Known variously as the Treaty of Madrid or the Treaty of Aquisgran.
735 *Derby Mercury November 9 – 16, 1750* citing the *Cologne Gazette November 13, 1750*
736 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
737 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.48. Britain had not forgotten its claim of 1594.
738 Dunmore 2005 p.94. Leaving marks and signs of sovereignty was entirely normal. Spain had erected iron crosses over large areas of the Americas to demonstrate its claimed ownership. France had erected poles. Britain, left statements – often written on lead. It was a practice the British would use in 1774 and, again, in the 20th century in Antarctica
739 *Manual de direito internacional publico direito internacional público* Hildebrando Accioly, G. E. do Nascimento e Silva and Paulo Borba Casella 2009
740 Quoted in Coxe 1813

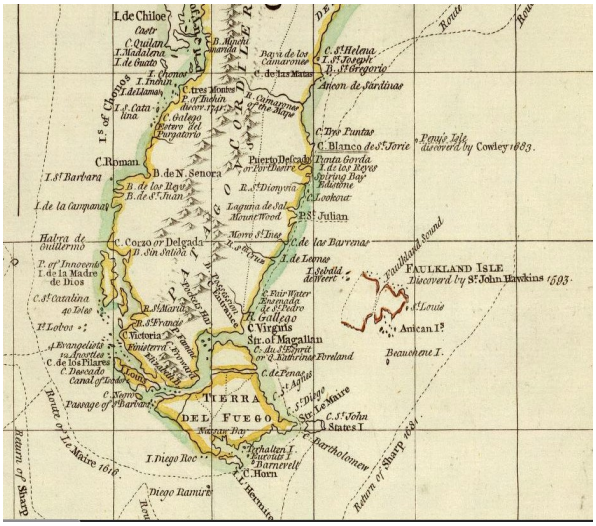
1751 – May 18th, in Britain's press, speculation remains rife.

> *"On Saturday Commodore Rodney hoisted his Pendant on board the Rainbow Man of War at Longreach, who will sail in a few Days, in Company with the Centaur of 20 Guns, and the Britannia Sloop of 16 Guns, in quest of a new Island in the South Seas."* [741]

> *"Saturday several of the Lords of the Admiralty, and other Persons of Distinction, went down the River in the Admiralty's Barge, and dined on board Capt. Rodney's Ship in Long-Reach. The Captain sails this Week for the South Seas, to make an Improvement of some Discoveries made by Lord Anson when in those Parts."* [742]

> *"... it has alarm'd the French, Spanish Portuguese and Danish Courts,... The Spanish Minister, as we are told, had lately a Conference with our Ministry, about the Destination of that Squadron, because he had heard that it was sent to make some Settlement in the South-Sea; upon which he observed, that such an Enterprize would be a Breach of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, &c., but he was soon made sensible that such Rumours were not only absolutely groundless, but that his Majesty was still firmly resolv'd to do nothing inconsistent with his Engagements with the King of Spain and other European Powers."* [743]

1753 – in England, a chart of North and South America is published, *"... according to Act of Parliament,"* by T. Jefferys, Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (right).[744] *Faulkland Isle* is shown as discovered by *'Sr. John Hawkins 1593.'*[745] Outline colours identify the discover's country. Red for Britain, yellow for Spain.[746]



"The Englishmen in a General map of America, which with the approval of the Parliament (was) put out (in) the year 1753; they indicate with red, as their belongings, different unpopulated places, in which, because one or the other English(men) has arrived, they claim to acquire rights; and the Malouinas are included in this ideal usurpation; So if now they were neglected, having talked about the importance of them; Englishmen would be established immediately, claiming previous possession, and proving it with said Map." [747]

"... a sea chart, published in 1753, with the official approval of the Admiralty, designate(d) the Falkland Islands as a British possession. The fact acted as a reminder to the Spanish court." [748]

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741 *Newcastle Courant Saturday 18 May 1751* p.2. Rodney had been appointed Governor of Newfoundland.

742 *Caledonian Mercury Monday 20 May 1751* p.2.

743 *Salisbury & Winchester Journal Monday 22 July 1751* p.3

744 Originally drawn up by John Green (aka Bradock Mead), who died in 1757. Updated and republished in 1775, by the Robert Sayer/John Bennett partnership.

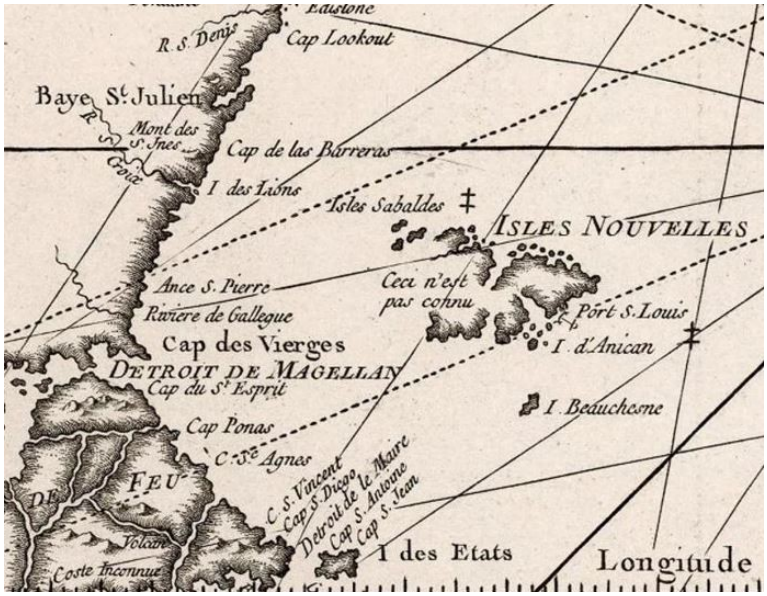
745 The outline of the eastern coast of the archipelago appears to be a copy of that found in Ansons 1748 book (itself lifted from Frezier's 1717 English publication), but with a dotted line marking *Faulkland Sound*.

746 There is a caption box on the chart identifying the colour code for discovery, but then refers to attached notes which I have been unable to locate. In the updated version of 1775, the caption box was not included.

747 *Grimaldi to Aranda August 2, 1764* in *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2*

748 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85

In Paris, cartographer Jacques Nicolas Bellin publishes a chart (detail below) – *Carte Reduite de l'Ocean Meridional*. The Islands are identified with the name given them by Amédée-François Frézier in his book of 1716 – *Isles Nouvelles*. Unusually, the depiction also reveals the sound discovered by John Strong in 1690, albeit incomplete.



1754 – in **April**, a seres of maps by Jean Javier and Sebastian G. Longchamps is announced. One of which reveals the Americas (detail right). [749]

In **July**, Don Julián De Arriaga is appointed Minister of the Spanish Navy and the Indies. Ricardo Wall becomes Spain's Chief Minister, replacing Carvajal.

October 12th, a young French officer, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, travels to England as a member of the French Ambassador's, staff. Whilst in London, Bougainville hears about Anson's voyage and the proposals for a base adjacent to Cape Horn. [750]

"... during his time in London he ... met a number of scientists and naval captains. The chief among these was George Anson." [751]

In Paris, cartographer Nicolas de Fer publishes a double globe world chart; naming the archipelago - *Isles Nouvelles*. [752] In Madrid, Pedro Gendron produces a map of South America showing an Island to the east of the Strait in the style of Frézier's 1715 depiction. The island is not named, although *Puerto de S. Luis* is identified. [753]

749 The Falklands are identified as the *Isles Malouines*; in the style of Frezier (1716) with a vague west coast.
750 Anson's book was a best seller with four editions before the end of 1848. Also published in French.
751 Dunmore 2005
752 https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1754-mappe-monde-ou-carte-gc3a9nc3a9rale-de-la-terre-...-by-ncolas-de-fer-paris.jpg
753 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1754-pedro-gendron-madrid-detail.png

1755 – in **July**, Mirepoix and his staff return to Paris. Bougainville is appointed aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm.

Parisian cartographer Jean Baptiste Nolin identifies the archipelago as the Malouines in his *Mappe-monde, carte universelle de la terre*. [754]

December 28th, Manuel de Amat y Junyent takes over as Royal Governor of the Captaincy General of Chile. [755]

"... Amat made a gargantuan effort to establish a defensive perimeter against primarily British incursions. Its radius stretched from the Falkland Islands in the southern Atlantic, over the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn, and ended on the shores of the many islands in the Pacific." [756]

1756 – May 12th, in Canada, the Marquis de Montcalm arrives to take charge of the French forces in Quebec.

May 17th, Britain goes to war with France. [757]

June 29th, near the Island of South Georgia, *León*, a Spanish treasure ship bound for Cadiz, passes by.

> *"... we were carried Eastward by currents, ... we discovered (the Island) on the 29th of June, and which we named the Isle de San Pedro, will give for the longitude of the most Eastern part of it seen by us 40° 30' W (from Paris.)"* [758]

"South Georgia - The Spanish claim to this island is based upon its undoubted discovery by the Spanish merchant ship "Leon" on June 29th, 1756. This claim is disputable, on account of possible prior discoveries made by Amerigo Vespucci, a Portuguese, in 1502 and Antonio de la Roche, an Englishman, in 1675." [759]

"(South Georgia) was undoubtedly sighted by the Spanish ship León in 1750 (sic) but Spain never advanced any claim at all to the island." [760]

"... during the Seven Years' War, navigators, merchants or privateers at the service from other crowns were willing to dispute those domains that the Spanish owned in the Southern confines of the American continent."[761]

Frenchman, Charles de Brosses, publishes a two-volume book – '*Histoire de navigations aux terres australes*.' Picking up on Anson's proposals, Brosses considers the advantages of a French base in the southern oceans. [762]

1757 – John Dyer's epic poem, *The Fleece*, is published. Addressing the reasons for England's prosperity, it refers to the question of where British sailors might find refuge on their long voyages. [763]

> *"... 'Tis a tedious course, By the Antarctic circle; nor beyond, Those sea-wrapt gardens of the dulcet reed, Bahama and Caribbee, may be found, Safe mole or harbour, till on Falkland's Isle, The standard of Britannia shall arise."*

754 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1755-mappe-monde-carte-universelle-de-la-terre-...-by-jean-baptiste-nolin-paris-note-islands-named-malouines..jpg

755 Royal Governor 1755 to 1761, after which de Amat was promoted to Viceroy of Peru from 1761 to 1776.

756 Buschman 2014 pp.117-118.

757 This would become known as the Seven Years War. France's Bourbon ally, Spain, however, took little part in the early years of this conflict. After 1758, Ferdinand was in mourning for his wife and could not be roused from his depression. He died the following year and was succeeded by Carlos III, who then declared against Britain in 1762

758 Journal of Ducloz Guyot quoted in *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* James Burney 1817 vol.5 p.140. *cf.* 1675

759 *Territorial Claims in the Antarctic Regions (Compiled in the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty) 1919* p.18

760 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands Dependencies* 1947 in *LCO 2/490.* See also 1675, 1775 & 1947

761 *Un Rumour Insistente. Saberes y Circuitos de Información para Gobernar un Archipiélago (Las Islas Malvinas entree la Corte y Territoria, 1756-1767)* Darío Gabriel Barriera 2019

762 Arguably, another source of Bougainville's subsequent motivation to settle the Malouines. See below.

763 The poem is primarily about sheep and the wool trade, but Anson and his voyage received a mention.

1758 – April 8th, from Santiago de Chile, Manuel de Amat y Junyent Planella Aymerich y Santa Pau, Royal Governor of the Captaincy General of Chile (see image left), writes to Indies Minister, Julian de Arriaga, in Madrid, with information regarding the little that is known of the Falkland Islands. [764]

"My obligation being no less burdened than my zealous application to the Royal Service and the common benefit of its subjects, I have attempted to summarise the geographical notes and other news contained in the enclosed paper, which I pass into the hands of Your Excellency, so that if I were to attribute negligence even in what is doubtful, I may take the measures that are more in accordance with the Royal Service, assured of my blind obedience in fulfilling the venerated precepts of Your Excellency.

Geographical Note:

In the year 1699, a Captain named Sebald de Weert of a certain Dutch fleet, which undertook to pass through these seas through the Strait of Magellan, discovered an island at a latitude of 51 degrees before the entrance to the northern part, almost opposite the Bay of Saint Julian, which is 48 km long.

From this time on, it began to be shown on later maps sometimes as one, and other times as three different islands placed in a triangular shape, to which others discovered in the years 1701 and 1705 were added: and with this variety they are recognized in the Maps of Peru, and in the most modern ones in the Historical Atlas in volumes 1 and 6, page 135.

Later, in 1744 (?), Nolin put them all as one large island with a diameter slightly smaller than Tierra del Fuego, but with the general title of New Islands, including that of Sebald. [765]

Lastly, in the maps that Long Champ (sic) has constructed, and Janvier in 1754, with respect to America, delineated it at the same latitude, but with greater extension, and under this title: Malouinas Islands.[766]

(Un?)[767]*Fortunately, there can be no doubt about the existence of this land, nor less than its location at a short distance, which can also be found in terms of its extension: as regards its watering holes, fishing, abundance of game, and its* ***wooded forests****, enough can be understood from what Theodore Bry wrote on his trip to America -* [768]

The Whisper (rumour), which is now in this country, is of an English colony having been populated and established in this place, of which there is a letter written in London informing an Englishman called ***Don David****, of those who remained prisoners in these parts due to the shipwreck suffered by one of George Anson's ships on this coast, and at that time* ***he*** *was incorporated into the Catholic Religion.*

764 Manuel de Amat would seem to have been asked to make some enquiries. Nine years after the Anson venture had been postponed, the question must be – why? A poem? Surely not? A proliferation of new charts? Possibly.

765 I have not, as yet, identified a relevant 1744 map by Jean Baptists Nolin, but see 1755 above.

766 Sebastian G. Longchamps and Jean Janvier published a map of the Americas in 1754. See above.

767 The word used was '*desuerte*' which can also be translated as "bad luck".

768 There were no trees on the Falkland Islands in the 18th century Commencing in 1590, Theodore de Bry, who never visited America, wrote a series of books on the New World, gleaned from numerous sources, including Sir Francis Drake, and his own imagination. He also produced engravings and charts. See 1596 above

There are subjects who saw said letter, and due to the little concept that this news gave them, they did not inform the Captaincy in time, so that on the occasion that the contents were there, they would have carried out some judicial proceedings worthy of greater credit - [769]

The advantages that this Nation, or any other, will achieve if this relationship is true (God forbid), are as visible as the disastrous results of these dominions are imponderable -

The climate, due to its latitude corresponding to that experienced by its natives, would be very convenient for them; the proximity to the mainland was suitable for larger enterprises. The Port of San Julián was suitable for entry through the Magellanic Continent: and if the news found on the Historical Atlas Map on the aforementioned folio 135 of volume 6 is true, in which a river is depicted that, leaving the same lake and giving rise to the San Julián River, is found in this South Sea; communication with small vessels will be very feasible, avoiding the immense seas, storms, reefs, and currents that are experienced when sailing up and down Cape Horn.

The communication that appears on this Map is confirmed by other well-verified news from the residents of Chiloe, who assure that almost at the corresponding latitude opposite to where they have been led by the desire to extract iron from foreign ships that will sail to the Coast, there is an estuary heading eastwards as if dividing the land towards the North Sea, where they have gone a few leagues, being driven back by fear of the waters that apparently increase, the further they go without appearing to find anything very close by: and this is undoubtedly the bottomless river, which geographers mistakenly place at 44 degrees.[770] *I will not stop to ponder the dominant position of the island because I am demonstrating its simple aspect, that with a ship armed for war, crossing from it to the mainland, and another making the same diligence to the Island of the States or to the Strait of Roca further east of that of Mayre, it would be impossible for any vessel to pass without being subject to the visit of the islanders, with the great difference in forces, provisions, and refreshments, that there would be between them.*

The only thing that can be added is a reflection that is consistent with the genius of the Nation, that once that enterprise was financed and the fortifications were completed, it is not likely that it would have kept its Sailors and Officers in inactivity, which makes us believe that, taking advantage of the beautiful season, they would have searched and recognized the many Ports, Inlets, and Coves that surround that end of the land: the great Island that with the name of Fuego can be seen in that part, cannot but have been examined and searched in great detail, to which its visitors will have cooperated, whether they were born there as many believe or whether they are shipwrecked sailors who have escaped from ships that have been lost at that latitude, or whether it is one or another: the truth is that the Passengers who have recently passed the Cape, assure uniforms, especially, and individually, those of the Ship El León, which they have seen with their own eyes people at the seashore, they have made repeated signs to them to arrive at those ports that they have been so close to, that they have distinguished the people, their movements, and posture: but the fate of their route, and the needs with which they regularly arrive at that latitude do not allow them to interrupt their journey even in the very probable concept that those miserable ones could be remnants of those who were lost in the Ship Santa Rosa, whose fate is unknown until now.

769 My emphasis. This appears to refer to the loss of the *Wager* (Capt. David Cheap) in May, 1741 (see above). One of the survivors, Alexander Campbell, had voluntarily converted to Catholicism in Chile. See also Munilla 1948 p.277 citing *Amat to Arriaga, April 8, 1758 A. G. I. Buenos Aires 552, 1, f. 8v*

770 Chiloe is situated off the western coast of Chile, in the Pacific Ocean/South Sea.

Since the news of this new Colony does not have all the proof of its certainty, its approval is not formalized in a report: and is only reduced to this note, because in matters of this importance, even suspicions must be included so that they at least serve as a precaution, and because nothing will be lost if reality is examined with this information. If a small vessel of those in excess in Spain were to be assigned to the Kingdom of Chile, which was at the orders of this Government for the purposes and effects that Law 28 = Title 10 = Lib. 3 of the Indies provides, which was ordered to be reinforced by the new Zedula of the Population of Juan Fernandez, this Scrutiny would be very easy, and this concern would be overcome in a short time. Which will be more feasible, if it is sent from some port of those of Spain to refresh itself in Montevideo, and to provide itself in such a way that, setting sail at an opportune time, it can without capsizing reconnoitre that latitude, and going up the Cape, arrive at Chiloe, where it can return to refresh itself, and even repair some damage, if it has suffered, due to the supply of wood that is on hand in said port with a vast number of people inclined to the construction of vessels, from whom any lack of equipment that has been experienced can easily be replaced. From this latitude it is very easy to go around the whole island of Tierra del Fuego, entering through the Straits of Magellan or San Vicente, leaving at a short distance from the coast, and with less diligence, a care that, in all respects, is worthy of the greatest attention now, whether it is ancient people who are helping them, or whether it is some of our people whom fortune has brought to a state of not being able to help themselves -" [771]

"The first document of the Indias Archives, in which mention is made of the Malouines, dates from the 8th of April, 1758; it is a letter from D. Manuel Amat, President of Chile .., addressed to Minister Arriaga and accompanied by notes on the islands, taken from the stories of navigators as we know them." [772]

"Amat had alerted his superiors in Spain as early as (the) 1750's, .. about the strategic importance of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands." [773]

"On April 8, 1758, Don Manuel Amat y Junient – in his capacity as President of the Royal Audience of Santiago de Chile – sent the Secretary of the Navy and the Indies, the Bailío Fray Julián de Arriaga, some "Geographical notes" ... Regarding the archipelago that interests us, in the document there are two statements by Manuel Amat that shine with their own light. The first is the one that ensures that "... its existence cannot be doubted ..." (which allows us to assume that, until then, it could). The second is the one that refers to the rumor about the settlement of an English colony on those islands. On this point, he wrote, its source was "... a letter written from London to an Englishman named Don David, one of those who were imprisoned in those parts, due to the shipwreck of the Anson's ship" [774]

"... at that time Spain was ignorant of the islands; ... the first reference to them in the Spanish archive of the Indies is of 8 April 1758; ..." [775]

771 *Amat a Arriaga abril 8, 1758* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires vol.1 1957 pp.23-26. What appears clear, is that no Spanish ship had visited the Falkland Islands before 1758. None would do so until 1767. No suggestion of a Spanish discovery.

772 *Les Iles Malouines: Nouvel Exposé d'un Vieux Litige* Paul Groussac 1910 p.144

773 Buschman 2014 pp.117-118.

774 *Malvinas: de periferia del mundo conocido a centro de una disputa global (1758-1767)* Darío Gabriel Barriera 2020 (2) citing AGI 552,1

775 Pasco 2022 p.183 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 and Groussac 1910

At Puerto Deseado, a Spanish ship *Aquila* (Don Manuel Joaquin de Zapiola) takes readings.

"By the year (1)758 was on that coast for reconnaissance, ... Pilot called Don Manuel Zapiola, and (he) made a Map of Puerto Deseado, which was passed to the Secretary of the Navy." [776]

In England, London map-maker Thomas Kitchen identifies the Falklands archipelago as the *New Is*. [777]

In Paris, French jurist Emerich de Vattel publishes *The Law of Nations*.

> *"Mariners, going on a discovery with a commission from their sovereign and meeting deserted islands and other lands, took possession of them in the name of their nation, and commonly this title was respected, provided that a real possession has followed it closely … But the law of nations will recognize the property and sovereignty of a nation only over the empty countries which it has actually occupied, and in fact, in which it has formed an establishment and from which it will draw current use.In fact, when navigators met deserted countries, in which those of the other nations had, in the meantime, drawn up some monument to mark their taking possession, they did not trouble themselves more with this vain ceremony than with the disposition of the popes, who shared a large part of the world between the crowns of Castile and Portugal."* [778]

1759 – August 10th, Charles, King of Naples, succeeds to the Spanish throne as Carlos III. [779]

September 13th, Quebec falls to British forces.

October 3rd, in Madrid, reacting to Governor Amat's letter, Minister Arriaga writes to the naval commander at Ferrol, Francisco Orozco y Orozco, seeking further information regarding a possible reconnaissance of the Falkland Islands by a Spanish ship.

October 16th, Francisco de Orozco responds to Julian de Arriaga. [780]

> *"Dear Sir, On the 3rd of this month, I received your Excellency's letter and the accompanying news and updates from the President of Santiago de Chile, Your Excellency advising me that, once informed of them, I should express my opinion on the subject of whether or not the Colony that you presume the English may have founded can or cannot occur or be established, and in the presence of all that has been set forth by him, and in compliance with your Excellency's order, with the same paper that is being sent, I am enclosing to your Excellency the positive and experienced news from the Frigate Captain, Mr. Joachim de Olivares, who with a frigate, engineers, mathematicians, and geographic experts, went with the aim of establishing a settlement on the San Julian River along that coast, and after having made all possible efforts and discoveries, sounding, marking, and exploring, as he explains, in some places, up to 30 leagues, found the plantation that was desired to be made to be impossible; and Your Excellency will find more extensive information on this entire expedition in the journal and plans that this Officer sent to the Court in April of the year 47, and by then they should be in the Navy's Office. …*
>
> *The Islands, which the Paper mentions, I comprehend are those of* ***Sibalde****, which are in the latitude of 51 degrees 20 minutes; It is easy, if Your Excellency so decides, to reconnoitre it with any ship or*

776 *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2.* See also *Coleccion de obras impresas y manuscritas que tratan principalmente del Rio de la Plata*
777 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/1758-kitchin.png
778 *Les Droit de Gens* Emerich de Vattel published 1758 (France) & 1760 (London). In Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85
779 Fifth son of Philip V, Carlos (Charles III) succeeded on the death of his half-brother Ferdinand VI.
780 See September 12, 1749, and December, 1749, above. Also, 1760.

frigate bound for Buenos Aires. It is easy to navigate, as the storms are not so severe in that part, and the whole coast is deep; and if there is such a plantation, I find it difficult, because I judge that there are the same impediments to maintaining and subsisting there as on the coast; and lastly, there have been several times when foreigners have tried to make plantations, both to the N. and to the S. of the Mayre Passage and the Strait of Magellan, and they have been forced to abandon it, either because they had all died, or because they could not survive, as happened at York, which is marked near Cape Corso, on the W. side of the Mayre Strait; which is all I have to say to Your Excellency on the subject."[781]

"... there is a letter of 16 October 1759 from Captain Francisco Horozco, who had explored the coast of Patagonia in 1746 and knew nothing of the Falklands." [782]

Attached to Orozco's letter, is another from Joaquin de Olivares. Regarding his 1746 coastal reconnaissance.

"In compliance with the order that Your Excellency was pleased to give me, to inform you of the information I had acquired in the Reconnaissance that I carried out by Royal Order in the year 1746, from the Cape of San Antonio, which is south of the River Plata, to the Rio Gallegos, which is 14 leagues north of the Strait of Magellan, and finding myself at present without the journal of said voyage due to the hasty march to this Department, I can only inform Your Excellency of what I can most realistically bring to mind, with the imperfection of not being able to cite the longitude and latitude in which the ports are located, I can only say that there is a great variety in those indicated by the charts, to those that were observed, all the pilots who have observed this coast agreeing on this variety. ....

I directed my voyage and reconnoitred the Port of San Julián, which has before its entrance a large inlet, where an infinite number of ships can anchor with great comfort, which having been reconnoitred, I sent the boat with the Pilot, to whom gave the instruction, steered for said Port, going with the Frigate with little sail, following it, with which I managed to enter it, being at high tide, and after having anchored I sent parties to reconnoitre the land, and I went out with the boat to sound the Port, which seemed very spacious but having the tide gone out I found myself on dry land, distant in all parts, more than a league from the Beach, having been forced to wait for the flood, in which Port there is nothing left but a narrow channel, it being by chance that the Ship had anchored in it, ... in this Port a cross was erected engraving on it the year in which it had been recognized, during the reign of Philip V;... I must say that the entire coast that I have recognized is barren and without water, for which reason the Jesuits did not establish themselves,..." [783]

"... he does not know the Malouinas." [784]

Researcher's Comment: From the information provided to Madrid in 1758 and 1759, it appears very clear that Spain's knowledge of the Falkland Islands was based solely on charts and stories from the cartographers and mariners of other nations. No Spanish sources.

781 O*rozco a Arriaga octubre 16, 1759* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.26-28. My emphasis. For Sebald de Weerdt's sighting, see 1600.

782 Pascoe 2022 p.183 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 and Groussac 1910

783 *Orozco a Arriaga octubre 16, 1759* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp.26-28.

784 *Les Droit de Gens* Emerich de Vattel published 1758 in France & 1760 in London. Cited in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85

1760 – a Spanish map of the southern cone of South America is produced in Madrid at the *Real Escuela de Navegación*. Named the *Derrota que hicieron los dos navios de SM. Castilla y Europa devajo del mando del Gefe de Esquadra, el Señor Dn. Franco. de Orosco, desde la Ensenada de Maldonado asta el puerto de la Consepción de Chile el año de 1748.* Employing the soundings taken by Francisco de Orozco in 1748 (detail right). [785]

September 8th, in Montreal, Canada, Captain of Dragoons Louise Antoine de Bougainville assists in the negotiation of surrender terms for the French forces in the city.

October 25th, George William Frederick ascends the British throne as George III.

1761 – in **January**, Carlos III appoints the Marquis Grimaldi as Ambassador to Paris. Grimaldi is to negotiate an alliance with the French King, that can counter the perceived threat of English imperialism.

A map drawn up in Manila by Vicente de Memije – *Aspecto geographico del mundo hispanico que a su glorioso catholico rey D. Carlos Tercero el Magnanimo dedica, y consagra* names the island to the east of Magellan's Strait *I di Padron*. [786]

August 15th, a Franco-Spanish Family Compact is agreed. [787]

> *"... the two Crowns will hereafter consider every Power as their common enemy who shall become such to either of them. II. The two contacting Kings reciprocally guarantee, ... all the estates, lands, islands, and places, which they possess in any part of the world whatever, without any reserve or exception..."*

"The result of continued British success overseas and rising Spanish alarm was the third renewal of the Family Compact between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles on 15 August 1761. This was much more than a pact of friendship; it was a full defensive alliance which pledged France and Spain to mutual assistance in the event of attack by any other maritime power. In addition to the stipulated naval and military succours, the Family Compact gave important commercial concessions to France, chiefly 'the relaxation of' export and import restraints and equal treatment in matters of taxation, navigation and commerce. French subjects in Spain were no longer to be treated as foreigners in the disposition of their property, while Spanish and Neapolitan subjects were to enjoy the same privilege in France. In addition to the main treaty, a secret convention was signed at the same time which committed Spain to join the war against England on 1 May 1762 if peace had not been concluded before then. France promised to make no separate settlement, and undertook to champion Spanish grievances against Britain in any negotiations for peace." [788]

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785 The depiction of the Falklands once again clearly employs the style of Frézier's 1716 map. Identified as *Tierra yncognita* (Land unknown), *Pto. De Sn. Luis* and the *Ys. Anican* are shown. Beauchene Island is named *Ya. De Robles* (Island of Oak Trees). Orozco's soundings, and route, can be seen running between the Falklands and the coast.

786 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1761-aspecto-geographico-del-mundo-hispanico-que-a-su-glorioso-catholico-rey-d.-carlos-tercero-el-magnanimo-dedica-y-consagra-by-vicente-de-memije-manila-e1552964911589.jpg

787 Carlos III of Spain and Louis XV of France were related. This was the third compact, following those of 1733 and 1743. Although made in secret, the British government became aware of it in September, 1761.

788 *An Aspect of European Diplomacy in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: The Diplomatic Career of the Fourth Earl of Rochford at Turin, Madrid, and Paris* Geoffrey W. Rice 1973

"Charles III and Louis XV, Choiseul and Grimaldi expressed their satisfaction with the step taken…they granted each other "in the most authentic and absolute form the guarantee of all states, lands, Islands and squares" possessing once the peace that would end the war was signed (Article 2). The fourth stated that whoever attacked one crown attacked the other, and the fifth stated that, once the request for help had been made, the required power must supply twelve ships of the line and six armed frigates within the following three months. The French military contribution would be as follows: 18,000 infantry men, 6,000 Cavalry; the Spanish would consist of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry." [789]

In **September**, in Canada, France loses the fight with Britain for dominance. [790] Its military officers, including Louis Antoine de Bougainville, are shipped back to France. Once there, Bougainville, forbidden under the terms of the surrender to take up arms against Britain, formulates a plan with Nicolas Duclos-Guyot to place a settlement on the Falkland Islands – as originally suggested by Lord Anson.

> *"… it must be feared that the English, excited by the advice of Admiral Anson, will soon secure this key to the South Sea. It is indispensable, in the interest of Spain as well as of France, to anticipate them. In addition, perhaps the Malouines would replace Newfoundland, both for the fishing that would be done there, and the advantage they would give us in the training of our crews."* [791]

"A perusal of Admiral Anson's voyage around the world fixed his ideas for finding the Malouine Islands, and determined him to make them the first object of his expedition, and to form a settlement there." [792]

December 8th, in Spain, Britain's Ambassador requests a copy of the treaty signed by Spain and France.

"In December, the English ambassador in Madrid reiterated the request already made for a copy of the treaty. He expected a categorical response, since a refusal would be considered by his country "as an aggression on the part of Spain and a declaration of War"…" [793]

December 15th, Spain joins its ally, and declares war against Britain. [794]

1762 – January 4th, Britain declares war against Spain.

"As the Seven Years War battered the nations of Europe and their overseas empires, the nearest British approach to the Pacific came with a scheme for the capture of Manila, approved by Anson as First Lord of the Admiralty shortly before his death. Sitting through three days of meetings in January 1862, Anson would have heard echoes of the discussions of the autumn of 1739, as he listened to the advantages that would follow the seizure of Manila and the establishment of a British base on Mindanao, from which 'the Spanish provinces in the South Seas, both South and North America may with great success be insulted and plundered on the part of Great Britain.'…" [795]

In **May**, Spain declares war against Portugal, and invades its neighbour.

June 6th, Lord Anson dies; *"… regretting that he had not made a settlement at the Falkland Islands."* [796]

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789 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.51

790 On September 7, 1761, the articles of the French army's capitulation were carried to the British commander by one Louise Antoine de Bougainville. He would never forget the humiliation. *cf.* 1754, 1759 & 1764

791 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.72

792 Pernetty 1771. Also *A Short Biography of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1729 – 1811* John Robson 2005

793 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.51

794 Seven Years War 1756-1763. Before the agreement of the new Family Compact, Spain had maintained its neutrality.

795 Williams 1999 p.234

796 *Carteret's Voyage Round the World* Helen Wallis (ed.) 1965 published by the Hakluyt Society.

"*Was it not said that Lord Anson had died of sorrow for not having established the English in the Falkland Islands? And when he left this world on June 6, 1762, was he not waiting for the next peace, which would leave Spain conquered, defeated, weakened, to resume the project he had established in 1749, as the executive officer of the Admiralty?*" [797]

A company of British merchants and nobles fund the purchase of two ships, *Kingston* and *Ambuscade*, for a venture in South America. *Kingston* is renamed *Lord Clive* before both vessels sail for Lisbon, to be joined by two Portuguese ships, and 500 troops. Moving on to Rio de Janeiro, they are met by the Portuguese frigate, *Nossa Senhora da Gloria*, with 8 transports and 600 more soldiers. [798]

In **July**, British forces land on Cuba and besiege Havana; which falls within six weeks.

In **September**, far away to the east, a British fleet arrives off Manila and lays siege to the Spanish City.

October 6th, Manila's walls are breached and the defenders sue for terms. British commanders agree not to sack the city, in exchange for 4 million dollars. [799] Once an initial payment is made, and the proceeds of looting are taken into account, a sum of $2,000,000 remains outstanding. Acting-Governor, Archbishop Rojo, promises that Spain will pay. [800]

"When the English conquered, in 1762, the capital of the Philippines, the archbishop, wishing to avoid the horrors of looting at his metropolitan headquarters, promised to pay Brigadier Draper a sum if he avoided it. And, indeed, he handed him a certain part, stating that the rest it would be satisfied by the Catholic King." [801]

"... not satisfied with the victory, (they) subjected the city to the horrors of pillage (that) lasted for three days and (then) the imposition of having to pay a ransom of four million pesos, of which two were paid in cash." [802]

With its main bases under British control, Spain sues for peace.

"After a few months of fighting, during which Spanish losses were out of all proportion to the time that the nation was engaged in the struggle, Spain found herself, through the exigencies of her ally's position, forced to make peace." [803]

"Not until after the close of the Seven Years War did (England) have the opportunity of putting her plans into operation, and when she did, there began the series of voyages which commenced with that of Byron and which culminated in the magnificent achievement of Cook." [804]

November 3rd, with Spain's army in Portugal failing to make ground, Madrid sues for peace there too.

November 20th, unaware that Spain is negotiating, the Anglo-Portuguese fleet sails from Rio de Janeiro to attack Buenos Aires.

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797 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.382

798 British participation had been organised via the East India Company, but it is not clear whether this venture had the approval of the British government. Newspapers referred to the *Lord Clive* as a privateer, suggesting the ship carried *Letters of Marque*. Despite this, officers later captured by the Spanish were treated as pirates and hanged on the spot. Included to add some context to the events that followed two years later, and to demonstrate that subsequent attacks against Buenos Aires in 1806/07 had their own history.

799 Afterwards known as the Manilla Ransom.

800 *Great Britain, the Manila Ransom and the First Falkland Islands Dispute with Spain* Geoffrey Rice 1980. The non-payment of the outstanding amount would become one of the grievances tied to the Falkland Islands dispute after 1764.

801 Munilla 1948 pp.46-47 citing *Choiseul a Grimaldi: October 2, 1766 (Aff. Étrang. Espagne, 547).* Also *Les rapports de la France et de l'Espagne après le Pacte de Familie* Louis Blart 1915 p.88

802 Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) p.54

803 Brown 1925.

804 Gallagher 1964 p.38

1763 – January 3rd, at Montevideo, the Anglo-Portuguese fleet is ordered to attack Colonia de Sacramento.

January 6th, during the engagement, *Lord Clive* is lost. The Anglo-Portuguese fleet returns to Brazil; *"It was deemed expedient to encourage some private adventurers to add to the other operations against so extensive a sphere of commerce, an attack upon the colony of Buenos Ayres in South America. The conquest of this place was doubly desirable, as it would afford great security to the Portuguese settlements, and prove, at the same time, an excellent station for farther enterprises against the dominions of Spain upon the South-Seas."* [805]

In Paris, ex-Captain of Dragoons, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, submits a project to the French Minister of the Navy, Étienne-François, comte de Stainville, duc de Choiseul.

Bougainville's proposal argues for settlement of the Malouine Islands by France.

> *"... in the report of his trip, Milord Anson ... recommends to the English, on different occasions, to form an establishment in the south of Brazil, maintaining that the Nation that does so, will be the owner of the trade of the South Sea... Consequently, that is the object and the project that M. de Bougainville requests to realize. They [refers to Bougainville and his relatives] will seek... the Malouin Islands located 150 leagues or less south East of the Río de la Plata. They will spend two months acquiring the most accurate information on them. Then they will go in search of the southern lands that they conceive the hope of finding them to the 300 or 400 leagues towards the South East of the Malouin Islands… The advantages of an Establishment, whether in the Malouin islands or in the part of the southern land that you think you are sure to find, would be immense for France:*
>
> *1 She would have a port of call, of her property, safe, abundantly provided, healthy for the navigation towards the Indies, navigation that would be shortened in a month…*
> *2 There is an incredible abundance of sea lions and whales in these areas. The oil is absolutely necessary for the sugar mills and no longer possessing Canada, it will have to be bought from the English. There is also cod fishing.*
> *3 The climate is healthy like that of Canada. The soil will provide all the necessities; it is covered with forests.*
> *4 Finally it will be a great goal for navigation and an excellent school to train sailors."... "* [806]

"After the ceſſion of all Canada to Britain at the concluſion of the laſt war, M. de Bougainville conceived the deſign of indemnifying France for that loſs, if poſſible, by a diſcovery of the ſouthern continent, and thoſe large iſlands which lie contiguous to it. A peruſal of Lord Anſon's Voyage round the world, it ſeems, ſuggeſted to him the propriety of attempting to explore the Malouine iſlands, and form a ſettlement there." [807]

"On the establishment of peace between Great Britain and France in 1762, after what has been called the Seven Years War, M. de Bougainville, a Chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis and Colonel of Infantry, formed the project of a settlement on the Malouines, in the hope that it would be an inducement to the French East India Company to direct their China bound ships to navigate by the South Sea, making the Malouine Settlement serve them for a place of refreshment. [808]

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805 *The History of Great Britain from the Death of George II to the Coronation...* J. R. Miller 1831

806 Bougainville, writing in the third person, quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.80-81. No source identified. Bougainville clearly knew very little about his objective. The distance from the Rio de la Plata, to the archipelago, is over 1,800 km.

807 *The Scots Magazine* October 1771 vol. xxxiii p.541

808 Burney 1817 vol.5 p.143

"M. de Bougainville (... had, in the words of one of his contemporaries, a boldness and vivacity extraordinary, capable of the most difficult and daring, as well as a deadly hatred to the English) proposed to compensate their country from the terrible loss that had just experienced." [809]

Bougainville's plan is passed on to the Minister for the Colonies, Jean Augustin Accaron, who asks for details.[810]

> *"We would arm two frigates of thirty guns each, with eighty men of crew, half of them carpenters, caulkers and port workers. To this we add forty Canadian soldiers and twenty Acadian families on each; these frigates will be given six months food, and a transport ship will be added to them for another six months, with two large boats in tow, so that they can be assembled and armed on the spot, so that they can be used for fishing (whales) and go to the coast to find the supplies needed for the new colony."* [811]

Minister Accaron grants provisional approval to Bougainville's proposal, albeit with a proviso that, as the treasury is short of money, Bougainville should not call upon the Crown to fund the expedition.

In early **February**, as a means of financing the undertaking and attracting investment, Bougainville forms the *Compagnie de St*. Malo with his uncle, Jean d'Arboulin, and a cousin, Michel-Francois Bougainville de Nerville.[812]

"Louis-Antoine de Bougainville brings 95,000 livres, Bougainville de Nerville, 70,000, the uncle of Arboulin, 31,000, and M. de Marville, 4,000, making a total of 200,000 livres." [813]

"After his idea had been approved by the Ministry (which had apparently studied the problem independently of Bougainville), he set to work and ordered the construction of a frigate and a corvette with which he would make his project a reality." [814]

Bougainville prepares further arguments for a settlement; for presentation to the French Government. [815]

> *"North America now belongs to the British, and there is no doubt that having sought before the war, on several occasions, a passage to the Pacific Sea, by Northern Hudson Bay, they (will) try to discover it by the West of Canada's lakes... They will also seek to open a crossing to the South Sea, and Anson, on his journey around the world, insists on the importance of settling in the Falkland Islands or on the Patagonian coast. Once this enterprising nation had discovered a port north of the Pacific Sea, it would become much more important for it to follow Anson's advice, and so it is of the last consequence, and for the safety and the extent of the French navigation, to warn (off) the English by settling, if possible, in the Southern Lands."* [816]

February 10th, the Seven Years/French & Indian War ends with the *Treaty of Paris* – signed by France and Great Britain and their respective allies. [817]

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809 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.80
810 Dunmore 2005
811 Bougainville, quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.82-83 citing *Arch. Col., C7, 509-510.*
812 *A Short Biography of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1729 – 1811* J. Robson 2005. Also *Voyage autour du Monde 1766-69* Luis-Antonine Bougainville 1772 vol.1 p.66-69
813 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.88
814 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.81
815 *Memoire sur la découverte des Terres australes* quoted in Dunmore 2005
816 Quoted in Martin-Allanic (1964 pp.78-81) citing *Memoire sur la découverte des Terres australes Arch Min Col, C7 511*
817 Initially (1754) a war between France and Britain in North America. Spain became embroiled in 1761.

"Foiled and humbled in his hostile designs against England, the restless and vindictive minister of France (Choiseul) only meditated a more effectual and deeper vengeance. Even in signing the treaty, he looked forward to future retaliation, when England ... should be unprepared for the renewal of the contest." [818]

"... the essential objectives for France consisted, in the opinion of their minister (Choiseul), in the reconquest of Canada; the return of Louisiana to French control; cession of the Spanish part of Santo Domingo, in exchange for French help to incorporate Jamaica etc into the dominions of the Catholic King (Spain). These three clauses, constituted only a part of the project, whose main intention seemed to reside in obtaining in South America compensation for losses suffered in the north; .., and what was much more serious, the explicit claim to occupy the Falkland Islands and Juan Fernández." [819]

"While France lost the larger part of her former colonial empire, Spain was fortunate to recover most of her recent losses. With the exception of two small islands as refuges for her fishermen, France ceded to Britain all of her possessions in Canada (Articles 4, 5, 6.) ... and Spain relinquished all claim to a share in the Newfoundland fisheries (Article 18). Perhaps most importantly for Britain, the Treaty of Paris renewed without exception all existing commercial agreements between Britain and Spain, especially Keene's advantageous 1750 treaty (Article 2),... Charles III's plans to put an end to Britain's trade privileges with Old Spain suffered total defeat." [820]

During **March** and **April**, answering requests for more detail, Bougainville submits a succession of plans together with strategic and legal arguments. While Minister Choiseul approves in principle, he recognises that there may be political difficulties with Spain, which still claims huge swathes of the Americas based upon a vague Papal grant of 1493.

> *"Does not Spain base its colonial property rights on the famous "Inter caetera" Bull which Pope Alexander VI published in 1493 and which "liberally" grants him all the lands discovered or to be discovered beyond a meridian passing a hundred leagues to the west of any of the islands called Azores or Cape Verde, ..."* [821]

Presented with Choiseul's concerns about a possible adverse reaction by the Spanish Crown, Bougainville contends that Madrid's claims to unoccupied land has long been considered "*obsolete*"; challenged by the French Court in 1541 and Queen Elizabeth I of England in 1580. Bougainville cites *Vattel's Law of Nations* (1758) regarding uninhabited territory.

> *"... Spain can not claim the Malouines Islands. This land is deserted,.."* [822]

Choiseul raises the events of 1749 and 1750, to suggest that Spain has not abandoned its pretensions, but accepts that England has not been convinced by such arguments. Finally, the French Minister is persuaded that Spain can have no legitimate complaint.

"... the Spain of Carlos III was completely different from that of Fernando VI; ... If Choiseul had understood, he would have realized the effect that his project would produce in the Madrid Court." [823]

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818 Coxe 1813 vol.3
819 Munilla 1948 p.279
820 Rice 1973 p.203
821 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.84. The meridian line passed through Brazil, but never accurately charted. *cf.* 1493
822 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85
823 Munilla 1948 p.280

"Choiseul did not feel that the Spanish king would raise any strong objections to their colonization by their French cousins." [824]

May 10th, with the provisional approval of both the Minister for the Navy and that for the Colonies, Bougainville's proposal is submitted for Royal confirmation; *"Approved. Let M de Bougainville receive by way of loan, against his receipt, all that he requires in the way of military equipment."* [825]

"... Bougainville is authorized to undertake an expedition intended first to occupy the Malouines Islands. Later, if this first establishment succeeds, it will be able to go to the discovery of the Southern Lands. The expedition will be made at his expense, but the minister will help him, underhand, as much as he can. The preparations must remain absolutely secret, and the results will remain so for as long as the Minister deems it necessary, so much to surprise the English as to spare the susceptibility of the Spaniards." [826]

June 18th, in London, William Henry Nassau, 4th Earl of Rochford, is named as Ambassador to Spain.

At the Port of St. Malo in northern France, Bougainville oversees the preparation of two ships.

"The vessels were built and equipped at St. Malo in the summer of 1763; the largest was a Ship mounting 24 guns, and having a crew of 100 men; she was named the Aigle, and commanded by le Sieur Ducloz Guyot of St. Malo. The other was a Sloop named the Sphinx, carrying eight guns and 40 men, and commanded by M. Chénart de la Gyraudais." [827]

August 1st, in Paris, Choiseul instructs Bougainville to search for the long-lost Pepys Island. If found, he is to take possession of it in the name of Louis XV. [828] Bougainville is also to avoid all Spanish settlements during the journey, but once at the 'Malouines' he is to formally take the islands into French possession; before sending news directly back to Paris. [829] Accepting these requirements, Bougainville asks that he receive a grant of all the lands that he may discover. Choiseul agrees.

August 4th, King Louis XV of France formalises the expedition's arrangements.

> *"Monsieur de Bougainville. — This serves to tell you that my intention is that you cross to Saint Malo, to take command of the frigate Aguila, in which you will embark, and of the corvette Sphinx, in order to go with them to the places indicated in your instruction, and to make the observations that I have requested of you; and since this present does not have any other purpose, I pray God to have you, Lord of Bougainville, in his Holy Guard, written in Compiégne on August 4, 1763 = Louis = The Duke of Choiseul — To Monsieur de Bougainville Colonel of Infantry."* [830]

August 23rd, at St. Malo, Bougainville returns to oversee final arrangements. On the King's instructions, passengers are to include Lhuillier de la Serre and Dom Antoine Joseph Pernetty. The first as engineer-geographer, and the latter as an observer.

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824 Dunmore 2005 p.94
825 Quoted in Dunmore 2005 p.94
826 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.85-86
827 Burney vol.5 1817 p.143
828 *cf.* 1684 & 1699 above
829 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.99
830 *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.42. Worded carefully, these Royal instruction could act as an authorisation for Bougainville should he be challenged by any other nation, while also providing some deniability for the French State.

Travelling as settlers, there are *"... 114 Bretons, almost all of Saint-Malo, Saint-Servan or surrounding parishes; 39 Acadians or Canadians, 6 Parisians, 3 Normans and 6 people of various origins."* [831]

September 15th, Bougainville sails from St. Malo in the frigate, *Aigle,* accompanied by the corvette *Sphinx.* [832]

"... the Eagle, of twenty Guns, commanded by Capt. Duclos Guyot; and the Sphinx of ten Guns, commanded by Capt. Giraudais Chenard; both under the Direction of Monsieur de Bougainville. These vessels sailed last September; and it was at that Time given out that they were ***gone to the East-Indies****."* [833]

"It was the first expedition in history that set out specifically to go to the Falkland islands – all previous ones had merely encountered them on the way to somewhere else." [834]

October 9th, in Spain, the Marquis Pablo Jerónimo de Grimaldi, is appointed Chief Minister. [835]

December 6th, in Madrid, Lord Rochford presents his credentials. Attending the Spanish Court, Britain's new Ambassador undiplomatically presents Britain's demand for payment of the outstanding Manila Ransom. [836]

Unprepared, Spanish officials are aghast. Rochford's demand is rejected.

> *"The Archbishop might as well have drawn on the King for the province of Grenada, or agreed to deliver up the city of Madrid. My master will wage eternal war, rather than submit to pay a single pistole of so degrading a demand; and I myself will rather be cut to pieces, than make so dishonourable a proposal."* [837]

"It was an absolute refusal. Grimaldi told Rochford at his house that Charles III had given positive orders not to countenance the draft of the Archbishop of Manila." [838]

December 23rd, in the Atlantic Ocean, separated from *Sphinx, Aigle* arrives at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata.

"Lord, Bougainville, .., after having waited three weeks for his corvette at the Island of St. Catherine, set sail for the mouth of the River Plate and he anchored on December 23, 1763 outside the Meldonades (sic), determined to wait there for the corvette without going any higher. There was a gale which lasted three days, made him lose an anchor, made him drift three quarters of a league ... , and put him in the greatest danger of perishing on the coast. He then decided to reach the Fort of Montevideo in order to secure the King's ship, which also needed food and refreshment that all nations grant each other." [839]

December 28th, at Montevideo, Bougainville sails *Aigle* into the Spanish port.

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831 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.107-108. See also *Des Acadiens aux Malouines* Gerard Scavennec in *Racines & Rameaux Francais d'Acadaie: Recherche Genealogique et Histoire de l'Acadie* April, July & December 2004 and April 2005. More than 10,000 people of French origin were deported from the Canadian territories of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island – an area known as Acadia – between 1755 and 1762. Many ended up in France, dependent upon the Crown for support. Relocation to the Falklands would relieve the French Crown of a financial burden.

832 Bougainville 1772. Encountering bad weather, and one Acadian family which had experienced a change of heart, the two ships finally left the French coast behind on September 22, 1763. *cf.* Martin-Allanic 1964 p.132

833 *Extract of a Letter from Paris, July 9 (1864)* published in the *Daily Mercury Friday July 20, 1764*. My emphasis.

834 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.143. Pascoe notes that Bougainville's journal has never been published. With the title, *Journal de mes Campagnes de Mer des Années 1763, 1764 et 1765*, it ran to 187 pages. Sold as lot 25 at Sotheby's in London on June 24, 1957. Current whereabouts unknown.

835 Grimaldi had been born in the Republic of Genoa. Employed by Spain as a diplomat, Grimaldi had many abilities. His grasp of the Spanish language, was not one of them.

836 Two million dollars remained outstanding. *cf.* 1762.

837 Minister Grimaldi quoted in Coxe 1813

838 Rice 1973 p.292

839 *Fuentes to Grimaldi July 6, 1764 (memoire)* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.62

"I sent to the city, (to) inform the governor of my arrival... He sent me the captain of the Sainte-Barbe, a 50-gun Spanish ship, anchored in the harbor, to pilot us there. I went to see Don Joseph Joaquim de Viana, infantry brigadier, governor of Montevideo and asked him permission to make water and take refreshments." [840]

Bougainville is requested to provide details of his voyage and his purpose in the South Atlantic.

"The King's Frigate the Eagle, with twenty guns and a hundred men of crew, left San Malo on the twenty-second of September with the Corvette the Sphinx, with ten guns and fifty men of crew, these two ships destined for India, under the orders of Cavalier Bougainville, Colonel of Infantry, and Captain of the Ship.

The Frigate the Eagle, having separated from the Corvette the Sphinx, arrived at the Island of Santa Cathalina on the thirtieth of November, where it was the first place designated to join the Corvette, which waited fifteen days in said Port, and not appearing came to look for it in the River Plate, where it had been given the second destination of joining it.

And having suffered a gust of wind on the beach of Maldonado which made him lose an anchor and put the Cavallero de Bougainville in danger, he decided to go up to Montevideo, which is a safe port to repair his shipwreck, take on supplies, and wait for his corvette: He plans not to delay in this port more than eight to ten days. The aforesaid Commander of the Frigates the Eagle and the Sphinx certifies the present true declaration made in the port of Montevideo, on board the Eagle on December 29, 1763 = From the Cavallero de Bougainville." [841]

1764 – January 1st, *Sphinx* also anchors at Montevideo.

January 2nd, questioned by Spain's Governor, Brigadier José Joaquín de Viana, Bougainville informs him of an intention to sail south, but provides no details. The Frenchman, however, submits a request for supplies: 10 oxen, 10 rams, 12 turkeys and 6 goats. Also eight bushels of wheat, salt, sugar and chocolate. Separately, Bougainville acquires four horses and a foal.

Suspicious as to Bougainville's purpose, de Viana asks to see a copy of the orders; which Bougainville provides. [842]

"... the quantity of water, flour and animals M. de Bougainville asked for, excited the curiosity of the Governor with regard to the design of our voyage. ... The Governor afterwards desired M. de Bougainville to permit him to take a copy of the orders he had received from the King of France ... because he was obliged to send it to the court of Spain, ... M. De Bougainville readily complied with his request." [843]

January 5th, Bougainville is requested to provide a written account of the reasons for his appearance in the port of Montevideo.

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840 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.141

841 Bougainville's statement in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.39-40

842 See August 4, 1863, above.

843 *The History of a Voyage to the Maloine (or Falkland) Islands), made in 1763 and 1764, Under the Command of M. de Bougainville, in order to form a settlement there* Dom Pernety 1771. This was the English language version which was taken from Pernety's first edition published in Berlin in 1769, when he was working as librarian to Frederick the Great. Antoine-Joseph (Dom) Pernety had published another, extended, edition in Paris during 1770. Dom is an honorific title used within the Catholic Church. There is some inconsistency with Pernety's name occasionally appearing with two ts. See Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.142 fn.1. See also - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/pernetty.pdf

"The King's Frigate named the Eagle, commanded by Cavallero de Bovgainville, Colonel of Infantry and Captain of the Highboard, which separated from the Corvette the Sphinx, which went to wait in Santa Cathalina, where it waited for it for fifteen days, as it was the first Port designated in the instruction to join in case of separating at sea; that from said Port it has come to wait for it in the Rio de la Plata, where it was the second destination to meet: Said Commander formed the intention of waiting for the aforementioned Corvette in Maldonado, but that having entered a strong wind, which forced him to leave an anchor in said Port, he has been forced to go to Montevideo, which port is of greater security, and shelter to compose himself, as to buy some refreshments that he needs, and he reduces himself to Rump, Sheep, and Birds; that I do not believe that it will take more than eight days to be in this port to compose itself and to wait for the corvette that is at your orders. Cavalier Bougainville brings with him Cavalier de Belcourt, Captain of Infantry, and the Gentlemen de Bougainville, Lhuillier, and Nervilles, his Assistants." [844]

January 7th, from Montevideo, Governor José Joaquín de Viana writes to Madrid; enclosing a copy of Bougainville's order and account.

"... the Cavallero Bougainville, commander of two vessels of His Most Christian Majesty that have arrived at this Port, has just asked me for a whole Horse, two Mares, a foal and two Geldings, and seeing his request, as well as the objections he makes to any difficulty that may occur in what he asks, exposing to me at every moment the treaty of alliance and family pact, I have condescended to give them to him, so that he may completely leave this Port without any cause for complaint; but it has been with the reserved precaution that the Mares be infertile so that they do not breed, which I have executed, notwithstanding, in order not to create distrust out of prudent precaution." [845]

January 16th, after taking on cattle, sheep, pigs and horses, *Aigle* and *Sphinx* depart Montevideo.

January 30th, the crew of the *Sphinx* sight the Malouines.

"... on Tuesday January 30 at six o'clock in the morning we had acquaintance of land to the east of us distant six leagues in latitude fifty degrees the fifty eight minutes and longitude, Meridien Paris..." [846]

February 2nd, *Aigle* and *Sphinx* sail slowly along the northern coast of the Falklands, in an easterly direction.

"... they neither stopped nor investigated any harbours on the way. Despite what some later writers have stated, they neither saw nor named Port Egmont..." [847]

February 3rd, the French expedition enters a bay on the eastern side of the archipelago.[848]

"The entrance to the bay is admirable, we penetrate it at full sail as in the most beautiful port in Europe." [849]

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844 Bougainville's statement in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.39-40

845 *Viana a de Arriaga enero 7, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.32. When any problems arose, Bougainville was, seemingly, inclined to remind the Governor that France and Spain were allies.

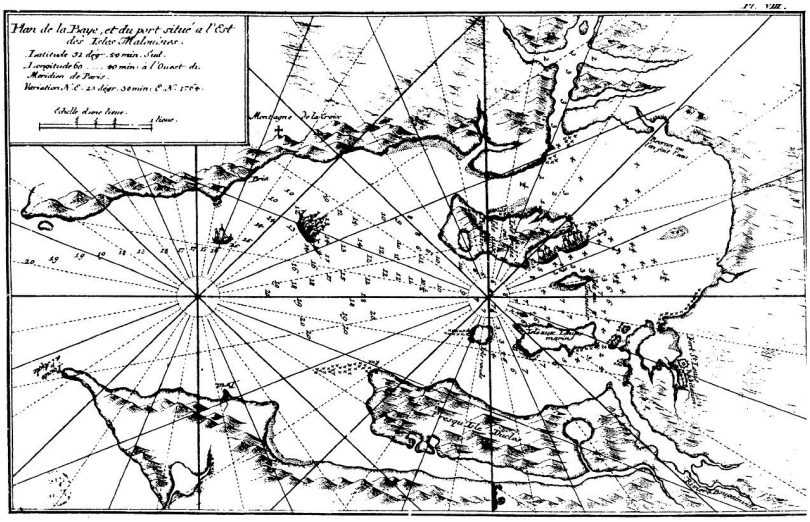
846 Bougainville 1772. Also Pernety 1771.

847 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.144

848 *The Gentleman's Magazine* vol.42 1772. French visits to the islands in the first years of the 18th century had concentrated on the eastern side, where there was known to be a supply of fresh water. *cf.* 1701, 1705, 1706 & 1708

849 Pernety 1771 quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.83. Named by the British – Berkeley Sound. The image, published by Dom Pernety in 1769, has a south-up orientation.

"Bougainville named the bay as a whole "Baie de Luxembourg" after one of Louis XIV's Marshalls ... he named part of it (apparently what is now Johnson's Harbour) "Port Mirepoix" after the French Ambassador whom he had served in London, and gave its closed western end the name "Baie Accaron after Jean-Augustin Accaron of the colonial office."[850]



Bougainville dispatches a boat party to reconnoitre, under the command of Donat de la Garde.

> *"... coming to the eastern extremity of these isles, I entered a great bay on the third of February, which seemed very convenient to me, for forming the first settlement. The same illusion which made Hawkins, Woods Rogers, and others, believe that these isles were covered with wood, acted likewise upon my fellow voyagers. We were surprised, when we landed, to see that what we took for woods as we sailed along the coast was nothing but bushes of a tall rush, standing very close together. The bottom of the stalks being dried, got the colour of a dead leaf to the height of about five feet; and from thence springs a tuft of rushes, which crown this stalk; so that at a distance these stalks together have the appearance of a wood of middling height.*[851] *...*
>
> *In the various excursions, which I immediately ordered, and partly made in the island myself, we did not find any kind of wood; nor could we discover that these parts had been frequented by any nation. I only found, and in great quantity too, an exceeding good turf, which might supply the defect of wood, both for fuel, and for the forge; and I passed through immense plains, every where intersected by little rivulets, with very good water. Nature offered no other subsistence for men than fish and several sorts of land and water fowl. It was very singular, on our arrival, to see all the animals, which had hitherto been the only inhabitants of the island, come near us without fear, and shew no other emotions than those which curiosity inspires at the sight of an unknown object."* [852]

"The Sound went six leagues deep into the land; the entrance was above a league wide, and the anchorage and depth of water as good and convenient as could be desired. It was named Accaron Bay." [853]

"On 3 February 1764 they sailed into what is now Berkeley Sound in north-eastern East Falkland, and during the next few weeks, at a place Bougainville named «Port Louis», beside a rounded inlet later known in English as the "basin" off the north shore of the Sound, ..." [854]

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850 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.146

851 Tussac Grass, native to the Islands of the South Atlantic can exceed two meters in height. From a distance, it fooled many early visitors into believing that the Islands were wooded. See *Tussac Grass Survey* Ian Strange in *Tussac Grass in the Falklands* Strange, Parry, Parry & Woods (eds) 1988

852 Bougainville 1772

853 Burney vol.5 1817 p.145

854 Pascoe 2020

February 4th, the French expedition reconnoitres the surrounding territory.

> *"On the 4th, he sent Saint-Simon, with the two Donats of the Sphinx, to visit the north of the country. The same day Duclos-Guyot and La Giraudais climbed one of the mountains on the southern shore of the bay they had noticed when entering. They planted at its summit a cross three feet high, which they sunk into a hollow of a rock. It is a (sign) that will guide them to find their way inside the bay during future trips. This height is called the Mountain of the Cross."* [855]

"Bougainville and his principal officers also visited the southern part, while hunting." [856]

"... some of the expeditionaries explored the bottom of the bay, while others raised a cross standing high on top of a mountain located in the southern part (Montagne de la Croix)." [857]

February 9th, Louise de Bougainville, exploring deeper into the bay, finds a potential anchorage.

> *"... an anchorage with a superb entrance, sheltered from the open winds, the SE winds, which are the worst ... two leagues long by a mile wide. The mouth is perhaps a heavy musket-shot wide..."* [858]

"That place is now Stanley Harbour. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and his boat party were the first discoverers of it... Bougainville named it "Port Stainville" after Choiseul's original title of comte de Stainville... Pernetty calls it "Beau Port" – Beautiful Harbour..." [859]

February 17th, sitting out a storm, Bougainville decides to locate the new settlement in the bay before him. The Acadian settlers are run ashore, and the livestock off-loaded. [860]

> *"The season already advanced does not allow me to undertake further research.... I established the camp on a stream, with the inclination of a hill sheltered by the prevailing winds."* [861]

> *"On Friday, 17th I landed with tents, the families and part of the crew... I ordered M. Lhuiller, the engineer, to draw up plans for a building that would take 30 people as well as the material needed to set up a colony... on the 19th we began to break the ground"* [862]

The first European settlement was, however, effected under the direction of Bougainville, with the sanction of Louis XV, in 1764, ..." [863]

"The place they had chosen is now called Port Louis, lying on the western shore of a snugly enclosed bay now called the "basin" or "Careenage", opening northwards off the "Baie Accaron"..." [864]

February 19th, Bougainville orders the construction of a large building for accommodation, and storage.

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855 Duclos-Guyot quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.150
856 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.150
857 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.83
858 Donat's journal quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.151.
859 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.148
860 Some of the livestock had not survived and those that did, were set ashore in such a poor state that nobody bothered to secure them. As a result, the next day, the horses were gone. Rarely to be seen again. Most of the cattle were recovered.
861 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.154
862 Bougainville quoted in Dunmore 2005
863 *Observations on the Forcible Occupation of the Malvinas, or Falkland Islands, by the British Government in 1833* Manuel Moreno 1834
864 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.149

> *"The house.., will be 25 toises long by 6 wide and 11 to 12 feet high; it is therefore leaning against the hill, the wall of the bottom projecting above the ground. The roof has only one slope. It is made of glary, this grass 4 to 5 feet long that is found everywhere in the island, and supported by a framework of 39 rafters 15 feet long and 10 of 12 feet for which one sacrificed oars, staves and woods that had been embarked on St. Catherine's Island, and even a dismounted carriage that had been taken away. It is this vast building which shelters the entire colony. It includes from the left: a shop, an accommodation for officers, a dining room, a kitchen with baker's oven, a house for servants, one for sailors, one for families and a stable."* [865]

"M. de Lhuiller, royal engineer-geographer, drew the plan of the future colony, plans that, after rectification, served as the basis for the constructions that began without loss of time. The establishment was located a league from the bottom of the bay, on the north coast, on a small interior port that communicates with it by a narrow passage." [866]

"There wasn't enough wood, so even the oars were sacrificed to use as building tools." [867]

"... they constructed the first buildings in the islands, including a cross-shaped stone house for the governor with an octagonal central room..." [868]

"Bougainville gave the length of the building as 132 feet, and said he had constructed a vaulted powder-magazine underneath the fort, in which he had left four hundredweight of powder." [869]

February 25th, Bougainville suggests that defences be added.

> *"... M. de Bougainville proposed at breakfast to both land and sea officers, to undertake the erecting of a fort upon the rising ground forming the hill, on which the habitation or place of residence was built for the colonists, who were to remain on the islands."* [870]

"The fort itself was of turf, surrounded by a ditch 15 feet wide and armed with 16 cannons." [871]

March 7th, in England, Secretary of the Admiralty, Philip Stephens, writes to the Navy Board directing that they find a ship; *"... of twenty-four guns to be sheathed with Copper, & fitted for a voyage to the West Indies."*

"When the Earl of Egmont was at the head of the Board of Admiralty in 1764, he took up this idea of Lord Anson's; and.., he laid a plan for forming a settlement in the South Seas, before his Majesty in Council. The King and Council approved of it." [872]

"Taking advantage of the favourable situation brought about by England's successes against Spain in the last months of the War, 1762-3, Egmont proceeded to put Anson's plan into action,.." [873]

March 8th, the Navy Board propose that the *Dolphin* would be suitable for the proposed voyage.

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865 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.154-155. A *toise* was equivalent to 2 metres
866 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.83
867 Scavennec 2004/2005
868 *Falklands Facts and Fallacies: The Falkland Islands in History and International Law* Graham Pascoe 2020
869 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.158
870 Pernety 1771
871 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.158
872 *The Gentleman's and London Magazine: Or Monthy Chronologer* November, 1770 p.683
873 *Carterets Voyage Round the World 1766-1769* H. Wallis (ed.) 1965

March 21st, a pyramid is constructed in the centre of the fort.[874] Inside is placed a silver medallion with the bust of Louis XV (left) on the obverse and an inscription on the reverse (reproduction next page by Pernety 1771). Also a sealed glass bottle, containing names, ranks and nationalities of both ship's companies.

Inscriptions giving details of the expedition, its leaders and the latitude and longitude readings are set into one side of the pyramid. Two wooden medallions with the bust of the French King, and the Arms of France are set into the other faces.[875]

"When founding the colony on the islands, for example, both Bougainville and its onboard chaplain, Antoine-Joseph Pernety, narrate how an obelisk is built and decorates one of its faces with an effigy of the king. Under it are buried coins and a medal that clearly establishes French possession over them. The fact that the company has not been financially sponsored by the Crown but has had its political endorsement is also significant in this regard." [876]

"Découverte
Etablisement des Isles
Malouines, situées au 51d.30m.
de lat. Aus. et 60d.50m. de long.oc.Mér.
de Paris par la Frégate l'Aigle, Capit.
P. Duclos-Guyot, Cap. de Brûlot, et la Corvette
le Sphinx, Cap. F. Chenard-Gyraudais, Lieuterant
de frégate, armées par Louis de Bougainville
Col. d'Infanterie, Cap. de vaisseau, Chef de l'Expédition
G. de Bougainville de Nervile, volontaire, et P. D'Arboulin
Administrateur Général des Postes de France
Construction d'un fort et d'un obélisque
décoré d'un médaillon de S. M. LOUIS XV
sur les plans d'A. L'Huillier de la Serre
Ingénieur Géogr. des camps et armées
Servant dans l'Expédition; sous le
Ministère d'E. de Choiseul, Duc
de Stainville, En février
1764."

In England, John Byron is commissioned to command *Dolphin; "The Dolphin Man of War is come into Woolwich Dock, in order to be sheathed with Copper, being ordered to the East-Indies. It is said this Method will be practised in the Navy, especially in the smaller Ships, as in the End it will be cheaper than the former Method, and will preserve the Stationed Ships entirely from the Worms."* [877]

"... Byron was ordered to use dispatch in getting her ready for sea." [878]

March 28th, Byron takes command of *Dolphin*, while a second ship, *Tamar,* also begins to fit-out at Deptford.

> *"It is now said, that Capt. Byron will have the command of a small squadron for a secret service, supposed for the East-Indies."* [879]

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874 Twenty foot high, according to Caillet-Bois (1982 6th ed. p.84)

875 The silver medallion can now be found at the Museo Mitre in Buenos Aires, presumably having been removed by the Spanish in 1767. It must have been struck or cast in situ, as the details on the reverse could not have been known with any certainty before the expeditions' arrival in the Islands. Photograph in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.152. Pernetty (1770 edition) refers to a silver plaque with an etched picture of the settlement on one side and the list of names on the other, so perhaps there were two silver items installed in the obelisk.

876 *Revelaciones de un manuscrito francés sobre las islas Malvinas: Louis-Antoine de Bougainville en los contornos de la América hispana (1767)* Carolina Martínez 2017

877 *Derby Mercury* Friday March 23, 1764 p.2

878 Gallagher 1964. Byron had been a midshipman in Anson's fleet in 1740 (see above). See also *A Voyage Round the World In his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin Commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron.... By an Officer on Board the said ship* Anon. 1767 Printed for J. Newbery, London. Possibly by James Cummings, Byron's second-in-command. There were two unofficial versions published shortly after Byron's return, both most likely written by what was then termed *Grub Street Hacks* (journalists). A third version (in *Hawkesworth's Voyages* 1773) was commissioned by Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, but has been considered unreliable. In accordance with Admiralty policy at the time, the records of both officers and crew were required to be handed in when the ships returned to England. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/byrons-voyage-round-the-world.pdf

879 *Caledonian Mercury* April 4, 1764

April 5th, in the Malouines, a formal ceremony of possession takes place on behalf of France.

> *"All the company being assembled at the fort, the pyramid was opened; I then solemnly sang Te Deum, after that the psalm Exaudiat, then thrice Dominesahum sac regent. After this I rehearsed the verse Fiat manus tua, Domine, super virum dextera tuce … We cried Vive le Roy seven times and fire twenty-one cannon. We cried again Vive le Roy seven times. M. de Bougainville then produced the king's commission, appointing a governor in the new colony, which was delivered to M. De Nerville, who was immediately received and acknowledged..."* [880]

> *"... the refreshments of the ships being ready, the habitation and the fort completed, I solemnly took possession of this new land in the name of the king."* [881]

A document of possession is drawn up. Signed by both commissioned, and non-commissioned officers.

> *"Fort Saint Louis, April 5, 1764.*
> *We the majors and petty officers of the King's frigate L'Aigle and the Sphinx, certify that making our way to search for lands in Eastern South America, on Tuesday the thirty-first of January at six o'clock in the morning, we had knowledge of a land in the east of us six leagues distant, by the latitude of fifty degrees fifty eight minutes, and by longitude, Meridien de Paris, sixty three degrees thirty minutes; that since this moment, we have run the said land, until Friday the third February, that in midday we had knowledge of a bay in which we entered, and anchored the same day at three o'clock in the afternoon; that after having recognized the said land and that it was an island without any trace of inhabitants, we took possession of it in the name of His Very Christian Majesty, and we raised the King's flag on a fort built in the same Bay where we anchored on Friday, February 3, (and) we simultaneously took possession of a few other isles adjacent to the Main Island which seemed to us to have two hundred leagues around, and we understood these isles under the name of the Malouinas Islands; done at Fort San Louis on the 5th of April one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four."* [882]

"... we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, ... The second place, or Falkland's Isles, have been seen by many ships both French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his Chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the New Islands. Woods Rogers, who run along the N. E. coast of these Isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, interspersed with woods and not destitute of harbours." [883]

"There is... no doubt that in 1764 there were no valid restrictions in international law for navigation to and settlements on the Falkland Islands. Legally, the situation was completely open. Claims to the islands could not be based on general hemispherical or other monopolies, but only on occupation and settlement. Mere discovery was rarely recognized as conveying full title at that time, ... The French, therefore, undeniably acquired a good title to the archipelago, ***or at least to part of it*** *when Bougainville, in 1764, formally took possession and founded a settlement."* [884]

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880 Pernety 1771

881 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.157

882 *Archives des Affaires Etrangéres – Paris.– America Floor.– Memoirs and documents.– Volume 11 (Foreign Relations).* – Pages 134/134 reverse.– Original manuscript; autograph signatures of: Bougainville Bougainville de Nerville, L'Huicllier de la Serre, Duclos Guyot, P. Guyot, Etienne Le Breton, Jacques Bonsí, Alexander Guyot, etc., etc. The wording suggests that the expedition had fallen across the Island (singular) almost by accident despite the French being well aware of the archipelago's location. See August, 1764.

883 Anson & Walter 1748

884 Fisch 1983 p.119. My emphasis. Whether a single and small settlement on the extreme edge of an archipelago half the size of Wales is sufficient to acquire 'good title' to an archipelago, is moot. See 1790.

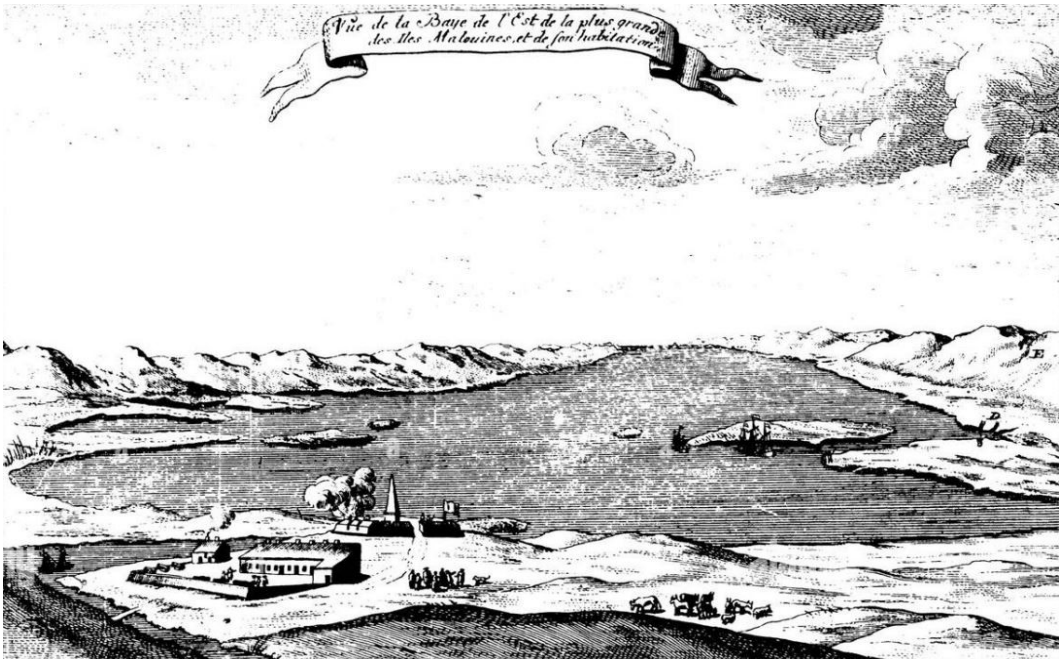
"They first decided to call it "Fort du Roi" or "Fort Royal", but on 5 April 1764 Bougainville named it "Fort Louis", thus naming it not only after the king but after himself too." [885]

Sphinx departs the French settlement site, sailing for Guadeloupe in the West Indies. [886]

"... Bougainville, calculating the financial results of the expedition, had decided to send the corvette the Sphinx to sell to Guadeloupe the food and articles which could be disposed of (wine, brandy, soap, etc.) as well as seal oil for sweets and, from there, to pick up a load for France. The Eagle, on the contrary, had to take its cargo on the spot (pelts, seal oil, etc.) and return directly to France." [887]

At Fort Louis, a boy, Francois, is born to Augustin Benoit and Francoise Terriot. [888]

April 8th, from the Malouines, Bougainville departs on *Aigle,* leaving his cousin – Bougainville de Nerville – in command. [889] Settlers remaining, total 29.



View of the East Bay of the largest of the Falklands, and its habitation by Dom Pernetty 1764

"Bougainville gives the list: "M. de Bougainville de Nerville, commandant, M. Martin, writer and storekeeper, and M. Basle, assistant surgeon," form the staff. They have under their orders: a carpenter, a master blacksmith, a master stonemason who is also a carpenter, a master gunner and a master baker, a second carpenter, two carpenters, a second gunner, a caulker and four sailors. The civilian population includes two Acadian families: the Boucher family of seven and the Benoit family of five. They were given cows, calves, sheep, swine. The horses that had been loaded at Montevideo had escaped and could not be taken back." [890]

885 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.151.
886 Burney 1813 vol.3
887 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.157
888 Exact date unknown. Francois had his marriage revalidated at St. Pierre on August 4, 1791 and his place of birth was noted in the record. Information on the Benoit family provided by David Ambrose Field of Newfoundland.
889 Robson 2005. Pernety 1771. Scavennec (2005/2005) gives Bougainville's departure date as April 9, 1764
890 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.158

"The Colony left in Accaron Bay consisted of the two Acadian families, in number, reckoning children, ten persons; and eighteen men who volunteered from the crews of the two vessels to remain." [891]

May 4th, in England, journals speculate about the true purpose of the proposed voyage of *Dolphin* and *Tamar*.

> *"His Majesty's Ship Dolphin, and Tamar Sloop, are sheathing with Copper, the former at Woolwich, which is said will be finished about Monday next; and the other, at Deptford, will not be finished quite so soon; the Hon. Capt. Byron, Brother to Lord Byron, Brother to Lord Byron, has the Command of the Dolphin, and Capt. Mount that of the Tamar; they are to proceed in company, but the Destination is not made publick (sic)."* [892]

> *"On the other hand, it is said, that they will proceed to North America, with proper artists on board, to take a general survey of the coasts, with the capes, head-lands, promontories, gulphs (sic), rivers, and every other thing that may relate to a perfect knowledge of that vast region, and its navigation,..."*[893]

May 10th, at Woolwich, with a new copper-sheathed hull, *Dolphin* is re-launched.

June 5th, Admiralty instructions raise the compliment of *Dolphin* to 150 men. That of *Tamar* to 100. Aware of press speculation, specific orders remind Woolwich dock's officer-in-charge of the need for security.

> *"... no Foreigner of any Rank or Character whatever be admitted, upon any pretence, to visit His Majesty's said Yards, Docks, or Magazines, as they will answer the Contrary at their Peril."* [894]

"The purpose of this voyage was kept secret." [895]

"The British government wanted to prevent news of the expedition from, leaking out and forcing its abandonment, as had happened in 1750 – they hoped to present Spain with a fait accompli which would enable Britain to retain a foothold in the South Atlantic. So the expedition was kept secret, ..." [896]

In Spain, on the same day, the *Gazeta de Madrid* reflects upon on the destination of Byron's upcoming voyage.

> *"... the English were working on to cover with plates of Copper the Dolfin warship and the Tamar chalupa [sic], that they had to leave together, hiding their true destiny, because some said it was the East Indies, and that Captain Byron, who was riding the Dolphin would take command of the ships of the King that they were in that part of the world ... and others were of opinion that these two casualties would go to North America."* [897]

"In Spain the purpose of the expedition was not known, but the appointment of Byron, one of the companions of Anson, the nature of the preparations and the secrecy, raised vehement suspicions of him heading towards the South Sea." [898]

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891 Burney vol.5 1817 p.146
892 *Derby Mercury* Friday May 4, 1764
893 *Aberdeen Press & Journal* May 14, 1764
894 *PRO ADM 2/234*
895 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.33.
896 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.156. The 1750 expedition was not abandoned. It was postponed – as was made clear to Spain at the time (see 1749 above). Byron's was the replacement expedition. All such voyages had commercial implications and were not publicised. Bougainville's purpose had been kept secret, and Spain certainly did not advertise its voyages to the Americas. Portugal's voyages were so secret that it was a capital offence to leak any information. Also, Byron's instructions were multifaceted, with the visit to the Falklands the first, and least, of the government's objectives.
897 *Gazeta de Madrid* June 5, 1764, quoted in Munilla 1948 p.21. See also Buschman 2014 p.59
898 Munilla 1948 p.21

June 9th, *Dolphin* sails to Long Reach for cannon and a rendezvous with *Tamar*; before moving to the Downs.

At Aranjuez in Spain, on the same day, from the Royal Court, Indies Minister Julian de Arriaga forwards the information from the Governor of Montevideo, to the Marqués de Grimaldi.

> *"The Governor of Montevideo has given an account of the arrival at that Port of the Frigate Aguila, and the Corvette Sphinx belonging to His Majesty. And despite the objection that this incident offered as not being adaptable to the opposite Navigation of the East Indies, which was their destination, nor compatible with that of the Cayenne which was so far away, on the fact, difficult for chance, of both Ships joining in the same place; it could at least hinder the Governor's assistance, they were completely facilitated, and the King has approved it. But wanting that on this case and its circumstances contained in the attached extract, the competent letters be passed to that Court, I inform Your Excellency of your Royal Highness so that you arrange its fulfillment."* [899]

"The King of Spain, for his part, upon receiving the report of the arrival of Bougainville, approved the action (of Governor de Viana) but not without stating that the Family Pact was only related to Europe." [900]

June 11th, from Madrid, Chief Minister Grimaldi writes to Spain's Ambassador at the French Court, Joaquín Atanasio Pignatelli de Aragón y Moncayo, Count of Fuentes. The Ambassador is instructed to find out more about Bougainville's expedition. [901]

> *"From the Secretary of the Office of the Indies I have been given the note taken from the Letter of the Governor of the Plaza de Montevideo. In view of it, the journey to that Port of the French Frigate and Corvette the Aguila and the Sphinx seems very strange, since that route is opposite to the navigation through the eastern Indies that they undertook from San Maló according to their Commander's statement, … I would like to know the purpose that has led them to that arrival, and if in it they have contravened (as is almost infallible) the orders and intentions of His Christian Majesty that the Commanders experience His Royal displeasure, and a general warning to the navigators of America so that they do not allege (there) the Family Pact, which (only) speaks of Europe. Please have it presented to that Ministry…"* [902]

"Upon being made aware of the arrival in Montevideo of two French frigates, Grimaldi, obeying Royal Orders, relayed to the Ambassador to Paris, Count Fuentes, a note from Arriaga inquiring about the purpose of the trip and ordering him (to) "warn French officers who go to America, do not claim (rights) under the Family Pact there."…" [903]

"However, the extreme touchiness of Spain was revealed by a despatch from the marqués de Grimaldi, … enquiring the purpose of the visit of the French ships Aigle and Sphinx to Montevideo…. and requested the king of France to express his royal discontent at the visit and also to instruct all those who navigated in American waters to refrain from taking advantage of the Family Compact, which only applied to Europe." [904]

June 15th, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* reports the imminent departure of an English expedition.

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899 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.54-55
900 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.82 footnote. The Family Compact of 1761 had involved Choiseul as negotiator; placing him in a potentially awkward position if Spain objected to Bougainville's settlement. *cf.* 1761
901 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.174 citing *Simancas, Estado Leg. 6.957*
902 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.55
903 Munilla 1948 p.13 citing *Grimaldi a Fuentes: June 11, 1764. A. H. N. State 2.858*
904 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.160

*"The government has given orders to equip a small squadron which it intends to sail around the world to make observations ... This squadron, it is said, will **first** direct its navigations in righteousness to the East Indies."* [905]

"La Gazette de Hollande announced that a small English exploratory fleet was preparing to leave for the Malouines Islands area." [906]

June 17th, in England, Commodore John Byron takes command of *Dolphin*.

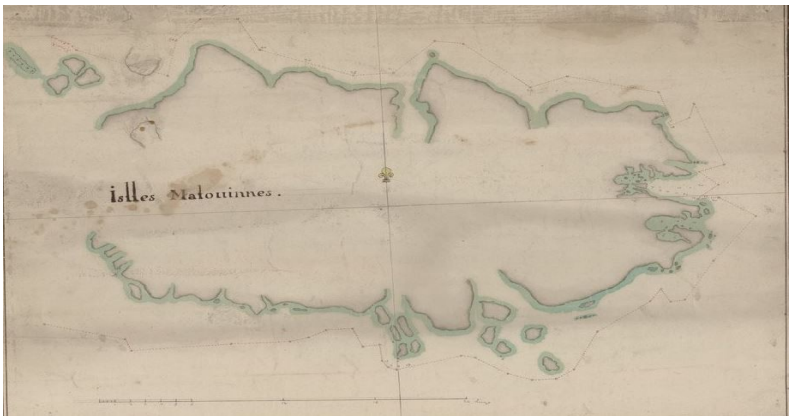
"On the 17th, Byron, who had rejoined the ship, was ordered to take the Dolphin from the Downs to Plymouth Sound, there to take under his command the Tamar, to pay the crew two months' wages in advance, then to sail at 'the first opportunity of wind and weather', then 'to open the inclosed sealed Packet and follow such Instructions as are therein contained for your further proceedings." [907]

June 18th, Byron is appointed *'Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed & to be employed in the East Indies.'* [908]

"To add to the secrecy, the earl of Egmont, Sandwich's successor, as First Lord of the Admiralty, indulged in a subterfuge: its destination was given as the East Indies, and so successful was the "cover story" the neither the East India Company nor even the Cabinet knew the truth until too late." [909]

June 25th, Bougainville returns to France, with some sketches and a basic chart of his claim (below).

*"Upon the 25th of the last Month, the Eagle having put Monsieur Bougainville on Shore at Morlaix, proceeded to St. Malo, while that Gentleman came Post to Court, where he was very well received and exceedingly caressed by the Ministers. All imaginable Precautions were used to prevent the Secret from transpiring. However, it is known that the Contents of his Report were, that in Pursuance of his Instructions, he had **discovered** a very fair and fruitful Island two hundred Leagues in Extent, very advantageously situated; and from which great commercial Benefits might be expected; that he had constructed a tolerable Fort, defended by fourteen Pieces of Cannon, a fair House, large Magazines, and had left a sufficient Garrison to maintain the Possession, with the News of which he had dispatched the Sphinx to Guadalupe. ... It appears, however, now to be a **single Island**, of the Extent before mentioned, very fair and fertile, abounding with large Woods, many fine Harbours, all the Necessaries of Life in great Plenty, ..."* [910]



905 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.384. My emphasis. However, see below.
906 Scavennec 2004/2005
907 Gallagher 1964
908 *PRO ADM 6/20*. Ships bound for India first sailed towards Brazil, where they could pick up the Trade Winds. Byron's arrival at Rio de Janeiro, therefore, would not raise any eyebrows. However, the deception was sufficient to convince the East India Company, which requested that its mail go with Byron. His misleading title was only removed after Byron's return to England in 1766. Despite the government's best efforts, newspapers remained suspicious.
909 Pascoe 2022 p.157. Nobody knew, except all those that read the journals.
910 *Extract of a Letter from Paris, July 9 (1764)* published in the *Daily Mercury* Friday July 20, 1764. My emphasis.

June 28th, arriving at the Palace of Versailles, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville presents himself; seeking an interview.

June 30th, welcomed by Minister Choiseul, Bougainville provides an enthusiastic description of his voyage before requesting that the new colony be formally adopted by King Louis, on behalf of France. [911]

"This island is abundant in mines, especially iron, and in charcoal, .., meadows, poultry, seals, whales, and other productions as useful to life as to to provide various branches of commerce,..." [912]

Choiseul is told that the fledgling colony is in need of reinforcement.

"M. de Bougainville proposes to send at present 50 Acadians or Canadians, men, women, children and workers of all kinds, with some food and tools and other effects necessary for this establishment; to dispatch for this purpose the frigate the Aigle which he has returned, and add two gulls, who will be engaged in fetching the timber in the Straits of Magellan,... The gullets will be used at the same time to go around the island Malouine to visit and probe the coast. The settlers who stayed in the island are extremely happy with this stay and the fertility of the land. If after this second sending, the colony succeeds it will be possible to increase the population there, to establish a small garrison there, and to grow crops of grain and cattle for the southern colonies, and even to build ships there by means of the forests of the Land of the States, which is only distant 150 leagues." [913]

Minister Choiseul directs Bougainville's attention to the *Gazette de Holland* of June 15th concerning the British squadron, before raising his renewed concerns regarding Spain.

"Despite the discrete form of this information it will be understood that it is the officers of the Anson squadron who are going to direct this expedition, and that it is the doctrines of this admiral which will serve them as law. There is every reason to believe that they will look for Pepys Island and the Falkland Islands, our Malouines: Bougainville can only be congratulated for having preceded them. There remains the question of informing the Spaniards of our new establishment. ... However, the thing is delicate,.." [914]

Bougainville argues that Spain has no rights to unoccupied land so far from its coasts in South America. Unsure, Choiseul consults an expert on the intricacies of Spanish politics, the clergyman Abbe Augustin de Béliardi.

Béliardi is sceptical. He does not believe that the Spanish truly see France as a friend, despite the Family Compact, which Madrid considers only as a diplomatic necessity.

"The Duke informs Father Béliardi of the facts. If the English are allowed to settle there, it is unlikely that Spain can drive them out. The best interest of the Bourbon policy demands that the Falklands belong to them, and the deficiency of Spain obliges the French to occupy them. Bougainville is convinced that Spain has no claim to the Falklands. The famous bull of Pope Alexander VI was not attributive, but merely optional. Moreover, can Spaniards claim islands they have never occupied and ***whose exact position they do not even know****?"* [915]

Béliardi is also sceptical of Choiseul's suggestions that the islands were discovered by France. [916]

"... the British and the Dutch could equally well make a similar assertion." [917]

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911 This appears to have raised a question as to whether adoption was necessary, and this was forwarded to the Department of Foreign Affairs for an opinion. See August, 1764.
912 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.166
913 *Ibid.*
914 *Ibid.* pp.166-167. Clearly any suggestion that Byron was headed for the East Indies had not fooled Choiseul.
915 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.167-168. No Spanish ship had ever visited the archipelago.
916 Based only upon sightings and visits by French ships from around 1700. *cf.* 1592, 1594, 1600 & 1690
917 Dunmore 2005

Despite his doubts, Béliardi agrees to assist in an attempt to persuade the Spanish Court that having French Islands near the Strait provides an advantage; to counter any threat of a British base in those regions. As a newly appointed French Ambassador is about to depart for Madrid, Choiseul proposes to employ him to introduce the subject. And to thank the Spanish King for Montevideo's assistance. Bougainville is tasked with the preparation of two documents. The first to announce to the Spanish court his new establishment in the Malouines. The second, to seek formal adoption of the new colony by King Louis XV. Both to be handed to Choiseul.

"Final negotiations proved difficult ... Bougainville felt France was within her right to colonize the Malouines as Spain did not move to do so." [918]

"Bougainville ran up against an insurmountable problem: Spain operated a policy of mare clausum ["closed sea"], attempting to completely exclude all other countries from trading with the Spanish South American empire. That policy lasted until the Nootka Sound Convention forced Spain to back down in 1790." [919]

July 1st, in Paris, Bougainville presents the first document; written with the help of the Abbe Béliardi – *Memoire for announcing at the Spanish Court our establishment in the Malouines Islands*.

> *"The English have, at all times, intentions on the South Sea Trade. They wished to have in the vicinity an establishment which put them in a position to take part in this commerce, that is, to invade it. The voyages of Wood, Narborough, Knight Raleigh, along the Patagonian coast and in the Straits of Magellan,.. (and) the recent expedition of Admiral Anson, the memoirs of this Admiral ... and of several others presented to the English Nation are the proof of their projects in this regard. The English never depart from a system which they have once thought advantageous to their commerce, and sooner or later they execute it. ... If England (executes) her project of an establishment within reach of the South Sea, with the preponderance which gives her today a huge navy, all formed, should not Spain fear for the treasures of Chile and Peru? The interest of Spain has become more than ever personal to France. ... These considerations – and the certainty that the English now wished to form an establishment within reach of the South Sea – have determined His Most Christian Majesty to prevent them and to establish, within reach of the Indian and Southern Seas, an observation post from which one can shed light and stop in this respect all the steps of these ambitious traders. His Majesty ha(s) made Malouine Island, which had at the beginning of this century, been seen by Malouin vessels going to the South Sea. ... Now that this island is recognized, that its first establishment is defended by a fort, it can no longer be abandoned. If we do not protect it from insult, it is to deliver it and, with it, the South Sea to the English."* [920]
>
> *"... it is absolutely necessary that one of the two nations be firmly established there."* [921]

"Choiseul examined this memorandum together with Beliardi and Bougainville, and added marginal remarks, the first noting – ominously – that France could not possibly abandon the island without being sure that Spain would set up a respectable establishment there, the second pointing out that the Spaniards had extremely few ships around the River Plate, the implication being that French assistance in shipping would be helpful to Spain. Bougainville himself added a note; "If Spain were to make too much objection or difficulties regarding our establishment in the Malouine island, there would be no inconvenience in ceding her a harbour and a certain adjacent territory in that island." [922]

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918 Scavennec 2004/2005
919 Pascoe 2020
920 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.168 citing *BN ms. fr. 10.766 pp.123-125.* In full in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.170-171
921 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.172. Also Dunmore 2005
922 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.160.

Bougainville's *memoire* goes on to request regular supplies from Montevideo, in exchange for free access to the ports of Malouine Island. [923]

A second *memoir*, for the French king, describes the advantages of the Malouines colony to France; *"... it would be a defensive post, an offensive post, a source of wheat or cattle to other French possessions in time of war, ... a commercial colony providing a centre of the whaling and fishing industry together with copper and iron mines, and finally it would be a centre for the training of seamen."* [924]

July 3rd, from Plymouth in England, Byron sails in *Dolphin*. Followed by the frigate *Tamar* (Mouat).

"The Wind being favorable, the two Ships are Unmooring." [925]

"Staffs and crews are trained. The Honorable John Byron, Chief of the Expedition, will at the same time command the Dolphin, on which he takes as second captain James Cumming, two other lieutenants, twelve midshipmen, eight petty officers, and one hundred and fifty crewmen. The command of Tamar is entrusted to Captain (Patrick) Mouat, who is assisted by Philippe Carteret, Esq. as a first lieutenant and a second lieutenant. They embarked, in addition six aspirants, six petty officers and ninety crewmen." [926]

Away from the coast, Byron opens his orders, signed by Lords Egmont, Carisfort and Howe. [927]

> *"Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this Nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and to attain a perfect Knowledge of the distant Parts of the British Empire and whereas his Majesty's islands called Pepy's island, and Falklands islands, lying within said tract; have never yet been sufficiently surveyed as that an accurate judgment may be formed of their coasts and product: His Majesty; conceiving no conjuncture so proper for an enterprise of this nature; as a time of profound peace, which his kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken. ..."* [928]

"The claim to the possession of the islands thus set forth, could only have rested on their supposed first discovery by Davis or Hawkins, and the visit made to them in 1690 by Strong..." [929]

"The task was entrusted to Commodore John Byron, and the preamble of his instructions drew attention to the fact that "His Majesty's islands, called Pepy's Island and Falkland's Island" had been "first discovered and visited by British navigators", and that a careful survey of their coasts and products was called for." [930]

"The task imposed on Commodore Byron was abundant, varied, glorious: 1 A search for southern lands in the South Atlantic...; 2 Researching the island of Pepys and the Falkland Islands to create an establishment that will be the key to the South Sea; 3 Recognition of Patagons...; 4 Searching in the South Sea for a place of

923 Dunmore 2005. Bougainville remained unaware that there were two main islands.
924 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.160.
925 *ADM 1/1494.* A narrative of the voyage, written in the first person (a literary device?), can be found in *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* John Hawkesworth, vol.1 1773. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.388) dates the departure to June 23, 1764
926 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.383
927 Quoted in full in Gallagher 1964 pp.3-9
928 Not immediately conveyed to the other officers. Byron's voyage was to be one of reconnaissance; to identify potential bases in both the South Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. He was also ordered to seek the fabled north-west passage from the far side. Coincidently, the British warship *Falkland* had been the first vessel on which Byron served.
929 Greenhow 1842
930 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

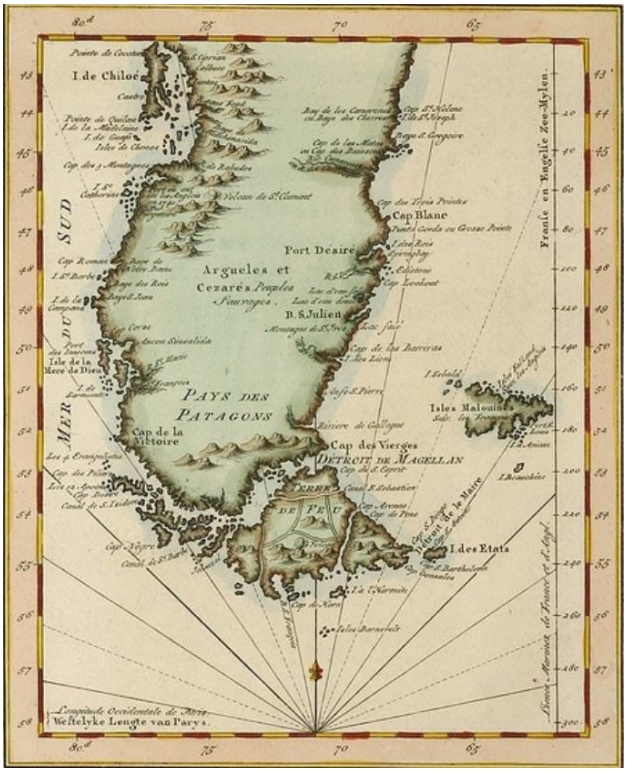
relaxation that is the counterpart of the island of Pepys or the Falkland Islands in the Atlantic; 5 Searching for a passage in northwestern America to get from one ocean to another…" [931]

"… it was the abortive 1749 expedition writ large." [932]

"The task of Byron's expedition was not to sail round the world nor to extend knowledge, but to promote British trade, especially in the Pacific; in particular to search for a 'north-west passage' from the Pacific to the North Atlantic. … Byron was given extra-large crews, portable ovens, large stocks of "portable soup" (sic) (a kind of dried broth), a machine for purifying water, a 26-foot cutter he had requested, and (a very unusual departure from Admiralty practice) permission to purchase extra rations and serve them to his men whenever he thought fit." [933]

July 6th, in Paris, just before Abbe Augustin de Beliardi is ready to leave for Madrid, Spain's Ambassador demands an urgent meeting with the French Ministry. When Count Fuentes comes before him, Choiseul pre-empts what he is likely to say by handing over a *memoire* outlining the reasons for Bougainville's arrival at Montevideo and thanking the Spanish Governor for the assistance provided. Evading further questioning, Choiseul persuades the Ambassador to approve of Beliardi's visit to Madrid; to explain French intentions. [934] Fuentes promptly sends a message to Minister Grimaldi by courier.

> *"The Duke gave me the attached Memorandum, in which the same is related, and also thanked me for the assistance and aid that the Governor of Montevideo gave them, whom he recommends in it in the name of the King his master; and he later told me that these ships went to the Southern Seas to see if they could discover any Island, which they would care to have to facilitate their passage through Cape Horn, and that they had in fact* ***discovered*** *an unpopulated island near Tristan de Acuña. Much has been said these days of that discovery, and it has even been said that they have established two forts on the Island."* [935]



July 7th, rumours of Bougainville's settlement circulate.

In Paris, Jacques Nicolas Bellin publishes a chart (right) of the southern cone of South America - *Carte Reduite de la Partie la plus Meridionale de L'Amerique.* [936]

July 13th, the rumours of a new French colony are published in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*.

931 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.385
932 Williams 1999 p.234
933 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.157
934 Struggling to speak, Fuentes did manage to complain that Spain had only heard of Bougainville's expedition from the *Journals* and not from their ally.
935 *Fuentes to Grimaldi Compiegne* July 6, 1764 quoted in Barriera 2020 (2) citing *AGN Estado 6957.* The *memoire* is in *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.62-63. My emphasis.
936 From Bellin's five volume *Le Petit Atlas Maritime*

> *"By letters from Montevideo on the river Plata, dated the 2d of January last, we learn that Mr. de Bougainville, brother to the late academician of that name, having set sail from St. Malo last Autumn, in order to fulfil a secret commission, was preparing to form a settlement in the Isles of Malouines in the Straits of Magellan, with so much the more justice, as the name of these isles, which are absolutely desert(ed), indicated that they belonged to France, and consequently that he could take possession of them, as well by this title as that of first occupant; and that he intended to land there some persons of both sexes, in order to form a colony."* [937]

"It was not in the mind of Spain to abandon a land so strategically situated to strange hands: if the islands were, as the English, French and Dutch maps seemed to identify, on the route to be followed to trade with the Philippines, it was (not) "sensible" for another to occupy them. It was also evident that they were not situated at such latitude as to serve the French for their traffic with the East Indies. Moreover, if the French occupied them, who could say that, in time, they would not serve as a deposit for the smuggling trade with the coasts of Chile and Peru?" [938]

"... the Gazette de Hollande of 13 July 1764 printed a report dated Paris, 7 July, which not only said that M. de Bougainville had formed an establishment in the Malouine Islands (sic) with people of both sexes, but pointed out that the name of the islands indicated that they belonged to France by discovery. The report was clearly aimed at asserting French rights (of discovery and first occupation) against both Spain and Britain. France was now committed to the Malouines." [939]

July 16th, news of Bougainville's voyage reaches London.

> *"... this being all that we have learned of the French intentions, and coming to us from no avowed authority."* [940]

"... It was many months after Captain Byron's expedition was planned and seven weeks after he had sailed that the first suspicion was entertained in England of any design on the part of France to attempt this island." [941]

"The Lords of the Admiralty rejoiced in advance of (Byron's) probable success when, on the 16th of July, the news published three days before by the Dutch Gazette fell in their midst, announcing that Bougainville,... having sailed from St. Malo last autumn to fulfill a secret mission, was preparing to form an establishment in the Malouines Islands, in the Strait of Magellan, with as much justice as the name of these islands, absolutely deserted, indicated that they belonged to France; that, consequently, he could take possession of it, both in this capacity and as the first occupant, and that he must land there persons of both sexes to compose a colony." [942]

July 20th, in Madrid, the Marquis de Grimaldi, not yet in receipt of a copy of the news from Amsterdam, receives a report from Ambassador Fuentes regarding his conversation of the 6th. Grimaldi passes the information on to his King, Carlos III, who receives it "*indifferently*." [943]

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937 *Extract of a Letter from Paris* July 7 (1764) published in the *Caledonian Mercury* July 21, 1764. Original in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam No. LVI* published July 13, 1764. Author not identified, this appears to have been a deliberate French leak.

938 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.94-95

939 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.161. Bougainville had reported a single island.

940 Egmont quoted in *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing *Confidential Memorandum 13336, para.11.* It appears likely that *Confidential Memorandum 13336* is also known as *Memorandum Respecting the Falkland Islands* by Gaston de Bernhardt. See 1911.

941 *Lord Egmont to the Duke of Grafton* July 20, 1765 quoted in Laver 2001

942 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.386. Despite an abundance of charts, the Admiralty remained unsure whether the Malouines and the Falklands were one and the same; and would remain so well into 1766.

943 *Ibid.* p.223

July 20th, in London, Northern Secretary, Lord Stanhope, refers a request by the East India Co, to the Admiralty.

"If one takes Stanhope's letter at its face value – and there is no reason for not doing so – it would seem that at this date, July 20, almost three weeks after Byron had sailed from Plymouth, the Secretary of State for the North was unacquainted with the ostensible details of the voyage, much less with the true objectives, the search for Pepys's Island and the Falkland Islands, the cruising of the South Atlantic, and finally the search for the north-west passage." [944]

July 26th, another report is published in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*.

"The Spanish found all their suspicions confirmed: France had been encroaching upon its South American possessions. Within a week, the First Secretary of the Spanish Foreign Affairs Ministry, Augustin de Llano, had received a full report from one of his officials, summarising the situation and its implications for Spain. Nothing would now stop the French from developing a contraband trade with Chile..." [945]

July 27th, an *Extract of a Letter from Paris*, appears on the front page of the *Derby Mercury*.

> *"It is reported, that three Ships of a considerable Force are to sail as soon as possible to this new Settlement, of which the most sanguine Expectations are formed."* [946]

July 30th, the *Aberdeen Journal* reports:

> *"A letter from Paris advises, that every body there is full of the late discovery of an extensive island in South America, made by Sieur Bougainville ..."* [947]

August 1st, at an audience of the French Court, Louis XV formally receives Louis Antonine de Bougainville. On hearing Bougainville's account of the events in the South Atlantic, the King approves a second expedition.

"The King thanks Bougainville, accepts the gift that is made to him and to prove it, names the same day a commander on his behalf in the Malouines Islands:... His Majesty grants at the same time to Bougainville de Nerville a commission giving him rank and prerogative as Captain of Foot ..."[948]

"L'Aigle was to leave with 5 officers, 40 crew, writer, surgeon, with intent to take on 100, the mission (to) be kept secret." [949]

"... and a statement of expenses, which ran to 242,000 livres, far more than the 200,000 put into the enterprise by the original partners. He requested reimbursement for each of those who had contributed, and sums for all the major participants (including 300 livres for Dom Pernetty) and hoped the King would accept the gift of the new possession. The king graciously acceded to his requests." [950]

August 2nd, in Spain, reports regarding the news in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* are sent to Minister Grimaldi.

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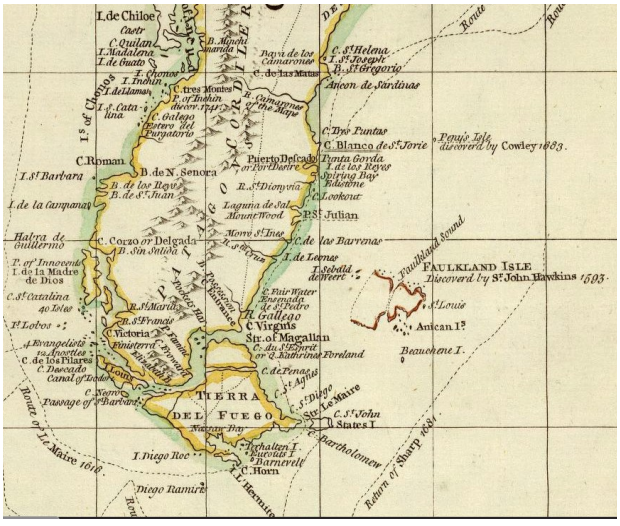
944 Gallagher 1964
945 Dunmore 2005 p.127
946 *Extract of a Letter from Paris, July 9 (1864)* published in the *Daily Mercury Friday July 20, 1764.* This was republished in a number of London and provincial journals during July, 1764.
947 *The Aberdeen Journal* Monday July 30, 1764
948 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.179
949 Greenhow 1842
950 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.161-162

"... they are so well known,... The English call them Faulkland Sound; the French, and by the Netherlands, Malouines." [951]

Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea y Ximenez de Urrea, Count of Aranda and President of the Council of Cadiz, submits a written complaint to Grimaldi, outlining his concern at the news coming from Amsterdam and Paris.

> *"It was already known from private news that M. de Bougainville had gone as far as the (south Atlantic). It was also known, by people recently coming from the river of La Plata, that the French ships were going to (a) discover(y). So that everything agrees to give credit to the Gazette of Amsterdam: it is indeed the Malouines Islands [that] the French are trying to take ownership by settling there. If, independently of this public news, France has said that, for the convenience of her trade with the East Indies, she has recognized a place of (refreshment), and that the discoverer is none other than Bougainville, it is more than probable that it is indeed the Malouines Islands and no other. In order for us to know the position of the said islands, we have copies, on the best French and English maps that circulate, of the part that shows them clearly. They are so well known that there is, so to speak, no modern maps that do not put them in. ...*
>
> *It is necessary that Spain create a convenient and solid establishment not only in the Malouines Islands, in order to take ownership of them and to prevent the enemies from doing so, but also in other posts such as the Bay of Saint-Julien, the Port-Desire, Port-des-Lions, the bottomless bay, etc., through the entrances of the Rio de la Plata and Buenos Ayres, in order to preserve the communications and facilitate the fishing that can probably be done there.*
>
> *In this way the Catholic King would be absolute master of the South Sea. ... if Spain tolerated the French settling in islands which, although deserted, belong to (the Catholic King) clearly because of their proximity to the continent, how could (we), then by reasoning or by force, prevent the English from going to other vacant places,..? Could they not feign ignorance and say that what is lawful for others is also for them? France must accept these observations in good faith. The Catholic King must undertake to occupy..."* [952]

Aranda attaches an English map of 1753, highlighting the Falklands as British territory (right).



> *"The Malouine Islands are between 50 and 55 degrees of southern latitude, about 100 leagues from the main coast and the Bay of St. Julian; the same from the mouth of the Strait of Magellan; and also from the Island called the States; where it begins and bends towards the nearby Cape Horn. Its height at the Pole corresponds to that of the British Islands, Holland, Poland; so its temperature can be graduated by the said European Kingdoms.*
> *Note. The English in a General Charter of America, which they issued with the approval of Parliament in the year 1753; indicate with red as their possessions*

951 *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2* under the title of *Reports and Correspondence of the Count of Aranda and other documents relating to the Malvinas Islands, with a geographical letter from Mr. D'Anville.* This particular letter is unsigned but dated *Madrid August 2, 1764*.

952 *Aranda to Grimaldi August 2, 1764* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.224

different uninhabited places, where, because one or another Englishman has arrived, they claim to have acquired rights, and the Malouines are included in said ideal usurpation; So if they were now neglected, having spoken of their importance, the English would establish themselves immediately, claiming previous possession, and proving it with the said Map." [953]

"... Aranda understood the danger..: if the British occupied the Falklands, it was necessary to renounce, of course, the regions of the South Sea, trade with the Philippines on the Hornos route, fishing ... and, worse, he was forced to think of the loss of Buenos Aires, because by the English getting the foundation of a powerful base military in the islands, it would be impossible to deal with a combined operation to be undertaken by land, from Brazil, and by sea, from Falklands." [954]

That same day, Minister Grimaldi responds. [955]

"... it is in the interest of Spain for several powerful reasons, to occupy it by itself. ... If the French were situated (there) who would deny that an illicit trade store would be created over time for the Kingdoms of Chile and Peru, who would prevent them from becoming users of the Magallanes Strait, and via it and introducing themselves into the South Seas, whose vast beaches would permit unrestrained contraband? The abundant fishing that is supposed in those seas with the comfort of the salt in the Bay of San Julian, would fall into foreign hands; ... If these inconveniences (were) brought about (by) the occupation of that Island by our greatest Friends; What would be the ones that resulted from our greatest enemies the English? ... But if on some islands so much ours because of their proximity as the coasts of that continent that are unpopulated, France were tolerated to settle; How could Spain, neither with reason, nor with force, prevent the English from going to other depopulated areas like the Bay of San Julian ...?Being so resolute, and active, with which their fortunes have exalted them, and being able to say that it was lawful for them what it was for others in being uninhabited." [956]

August 3rd, in Paris, Bougainvile's formal act of possession over Malouines Island, is made public. [957]

"Much confusion and uncertainty remained as to the precise location of the islands in question, and their proximity to south America. When Bougainville made his public announcement in Europe in August 1764 of the discovery and settlement of an island in the South Atlantic, it was assumed by the British Government to be an entirely different group from the Falklands, but the news stimulated the Admiralty to consolidate possession of the Falklands all the same." [958]

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953 *Aranda to Grimaldi August 2, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.68

954 Munilla 1948 p.15

955 *Marqués de Grimaldi to an unnamed recipient, Madrid, 2 August 1764.* This was undoubtedly sent to the Count of Aranda as a copy and appears among a collection of his correspondence in *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2.* There is no great sense of outrage by Grimaldi at France's occupation of Spanish territory. Rather a dispassionate analysis of the geopolitical implications of France being in control of the archipelago. This later led to accusations that Grimaldi, Genoese by birth, was not sufficiently protective of Spanish interests.

956 This quote is taken from three sources, all with slightly differing translations. The original was badly written with many words misspelled. Those sources are:
1) *Making Imperial Futures: Concepts of Empire in the Anglo-Spanish Sphere, 1762-71* David James Stiles (internet published thesis) 2012 p.254 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981 Marqués de Grimaldi to an unnamed recipient, Madrid, 2 August 1764.*
2) *Grimaldi to Aranda August 2, 1764* in *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2.* and
3) an anonymous report quoted in Barriera 2020 citing *AGS, Estado 6957.*

957 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

958 Rice 1973 pp.417-418

In England, a store-ship for the resupply of Byron's expedition is fitted out.

"The same concern for security was shown when it became necessary in August 1764, to purchase and fit out the store ship that would meet Byron at either Pepys's Island or Port Desire. The Admiralty directed the Navy Board to purchase the Gloucester, 299 tons, to carry stores and provisions to the 'Gulph (sic) of Mexico & coast of Florida'. The Gloucester, with a complement of twenty-four men, was to be 'Put on the List of the Royal Navy, as a Storeship by the name of the Florida.' ..." [959]

August 4th, in France, Bougainville receives instructions from Choiseul.

> *"Bougainville will return to Malouine Island to organize it according to the Minister's instructions and to install new families there. ... (Aigle) will take a priest with a chapel and a bell to stay in the country; two engineers to lift it in full, an artillery officer with two sergeants and six gunners, some large calibre cannon, six small cast iron field pieces and two howitzers, powder, bullets, one rifle per sailor or inhabitant who will embark, three Canadian officers..., the two surgeons aboard the schooners will remain in the country and will carry the drugs necessary for the apothecary. It takes more than sixty tents with their masts, sticks and stakes. The frigate will leave in the beginning of August, will pass to the islands of Cape Verde, to take cattle, then go to the island Malouine. Immediately after landing the effects and colonists destined for the colony, she (must go) to get wood in the strait and Staten Land. She will be able to make two trips in the summer, and, if the Spaniards allow to take cattle (from) the River of Plata, she will ... take 100 horned animals, from 10 till 15 months (old), 80 mares, 12 stallions of the same age, six service horses and hay..."* [960]

August 6th, in Madrid, Minister Grimaldi receives a further letter from the Count de Aranda.

> *"Since this French recognition, every day I think more firmly that the Malouina, and the Bay of St. Julien are the keys to the south, and the kingdoms that we have there..."* [961]

"Thoroughly alarmed, de Llano wrote on 6 August to Grimaldi, pointing out that the Malouines were the key to Spanish possessions in the South Seas, and if they were occupied by Spain smuggling could be suppressed and the British would be forced to give extensive protection to their ships going to the South Seas. He conceded that the French project was entirely justifiable in itself, but this was a vital matter and the king would have to be informed..." [962]

August 7th, in Paris, Choiseul writes to the Duke of Praslin, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

> *"I have the honour, Monsieur le Duke, to address to you the original act of the taking of possession that Mr. de Bougainville made with the general staff and officers of the frigates the Aigle and the Sphinx of the Isle of Malouine. This officer left last year to discover this Island, recognized it and established it in the month of February last; as the King wishes to retain possession of it, I beg you, Monsieur le Duke, to be so kind as to have drawn up the act of approval that His Majesty gave to this taking of possession, taking the precaution of* ***inserting therein*** *that this Island having been* ***discovered previously by navigators from St. Malo*** *who had given it the name it bears, it is rather a confirmation than a taking of new possession."* [963]

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959 Gallagher 1964

960 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.181

961 *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2.* Erroneously, Munilla (1948 p.14) has this letter as written by Grimaldi to an unknown recipient, possibly the Count de Aranda.

962 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.162. South Seas being the South Pacific.

963 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.349. My emphasis. See August 31, 1764.

August 11th, in Spain, Jorge Juan y Santacilia writes to Julián de Arriaga. [964]

"... I suppose the fact of M. Bougainville's trip to be true, and his destiny to form an establishment, because for this it is enough to believe (of) his secret expedition. ... it is assured that Bougainville contributed to Montevideo, (and) there is no doubt that his intentions are to establish himself in the islands near the Straits of Magellan,... although it could also be believed that it could be in any of the Ports of the Costa de los Patagones, such as the Bay of Sn Julian, this coast is extremely arid, and there is hardly any water in it.

That this is the intention is proven, because the navigation to Montevideo is so far removed from any other destination, and the winds driving to those places so far away, that there can be no doubting ... the precise idea of heading to occupy any of those lands;... it is known that establishments in such Islands have never been undertaken, if not with the idea of establishing a port of arrival for the ships that go to the South Sea. ... ***at the end of the year 49, or the beginning of the 50****, the same enterprise of the English, because finding myself in London under the order of the King, I was able to find out that very secretly two Frigates, the Anson and the Porcupine were armed at the direction of Admiral Anson, whose intentions have always been to settle not only in said Islands, but also in the coasts of Chile: I gave notice of this suspicion to Don. Ricardo Wall, who at the time was Minister Plenipotentiary in that Court, who, addressing the Minister effectively, learned the truth of the fact: he (Wall) presented to (the British King) how little this procedure corresponded to the sincerity with which the treaties that had just been concluded were established. ... and* ***although repeating that they (the British) had the right to execute it****, ...* ***the enterprise was dismissed and vanished****. ...* [965]

France learned these ideas after a few months, and looked at them with the greatest zeal and care; but having been informed of what happened, France remained satisfied. ... It does not seem to me necessary to reflect to Your Excellency the enormous damage that (would) follow us from the same establishment, because even though it was the French, who would cut off their illicit trade in the South Sea? If these were established only by the right of discoverers, or by others no less ill-founded, the English would claim the same, because those are a multitude of Islands discovered by various Ships of the two Nations at different times, and still scattered in various Latitudes. and Longitudes, although they are not all known, there being some that only the English have seen, such as Pepys Island,... much more comfortable due to its temperament than the Falklands, so called by the French from St. Maló who attended to them.

In both of these Islands the Authors say that there is Water, Firewood, Fish, and even very good inlets and Ports, with which in any of them the establishment can be formed as it is granted. If the French are allowed, I do not doubt that the English want it equally, for claiming the same right: both will be prejudicial; but the (British) with the excess of being able to commit greater havoc.

I do not conceive of any usefulness in we going ahead to form such an establishment, ..: the first thing, because even if we take possession of an Island, not for that reason we will take away from the foreigners the alleged right (to take) others ... for the present, it is always advisable to oppose any

964 Mathematician, scientist, naval officer and spy, Jorge Juan y Santacilia's opinion appears to have been requested by Arriaga, with regard to the *conveniences and inconveniences of an urgent settlement in the South Atlantic*. Juan y Santacilia had been sent to England as a spy in 1749, to study naval construction methods. *cf.* 1749

965 My emphasis. The events referred to were in 1749, but Spanish Ministers consistently referred to them as happening in 1750. Suggesting that they had no accurate record of the events. The enterprise (an expedition to the Falklands) was postponed until the issue of the Asiento contract could be resolved. Byron's voyage saw the end of that postponement, albeit the delay had been longer than expected.

establishment that foreigners want to do in the Malvinas, Sebaldas, Pepys Islands, or any other of the many that are near the Strait of the Maire, in order to protect our trade, and what is more, to avoid that the English also want to execute it. This last argument can be very useful for the French to contain themselves, and I still do not doubt that by making them aware that they already wanted to execute it and were told, they resolved to abandon what they had undertaken." [966]

August 13th, a '*Report from London*' in the *Gazette de La Haye,* rejects claims of discovery by France.

"According to the latest advice from Paris, the French are now in possession of the Falkland Islands. We cannot therefore dispute their title of first occupants, but they cannot claim to have discovered them first. This honour, if it is one, should be attributed first to the English and then to the Dutch. These Islands, which are in large number and form a fairly considerable one by its extent, were ***seen and described in 1594 by Captain Hawkins*** *who named it Maidensland. The Dutch, after having passed the Strait of Le Maire, discovered it and gave it the name of Statenland. Captain Augustus Sharpe, returning from the South Sea in 1681, sailed around it and gave it the name of Albemarle Island and finally the Dutch Squadron Leader Roggewin that of Belgia Australis. It is perhaps on these notions that the French have recently sought it and that they have had the advantage of finding it. The Hague, August 13, 1764."* [967]

"The honour of the discovery was claimed by the French; but Frezier, a French voyager to these seas, admits them to have been discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins, and such is the opinion of the great French geographer Malte Brun." [968]

August 14th, a similar report appears in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam.*

"The French, actually in possession of the Falkland Isles may well be the first occupants but not the first who made the discovery. In ***1594, the Englishman Captain Hawkins****, found the way on the road & appointed them Maidens Land. Then the Dutch, through the Strait of Le Maire, saw them & called them Staaten Land. After them, the Englishman Captain Sharpe, on his return from the South Sea in 1681, doubled the Isles, and gave the name d'Altmarle. Finally, the Captain of Eseadre, Reggewin, imposed the name Belga Australis;.."* [969]

"... the French occupation of the Malouines/Falkland Islands is making headlines in the foreign press. Holland states that if England does not contest, then Holland will, as they discovered the territory in 1594. ..." [970]

"The French claimed the honour of having made the original discovery but Frézier, a French author, whose relation of a voyage to the South-Sea was published at Paris in 1716, admits that "ces Isles sont sans doute les memes que celles que le Chevalier Richard Hawkins decouvrit en 1593"..." [971]

These public news reports cause some consternation in France.

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966 *Informe de Jorge Juan a Julián de Arriaga, Madrid, 11 de agosto de 1764* quoted in Barriera 2020 citing *AGS Estado 6957*. See also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.95-96

967 *Gazette de La Haye* no.97 August 13, 1764. My emphasis.

968 *Voyage of the United States Frigate, Potomac ...* J. N Reynolds 1835 p.500

969 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* August 14, 1764. My emphasis. Davis' 1592 sighting was still little known.

970 *Gazette d'Amsterdam* quoted in Scavennec 2004/2005. No date cited. A Dutch Admiral saw the Jason Islands in 1600.

971 *"... these Isles are undoubtedly the same ones that the Knight Richard Hawkins discovered in 1593"* in *Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza July 10, 1832*

"It is obvious that this double publication responds to an official concern. The articles come from the Admiralty, or have been inspired by it. The English seem to accept too easily our right of first occupant for this tacit agreement not to be a sham. They also make the reservation that they are themselves the discoverers of the Malouines archipelago and that the French came there only third, after the Dutch. The Duc de Choiseul does not know what to think of this warning. Perhaps it conceals the desire to keep secret the purpose of the British expedition announced last May? Anyway, our Malouines establishment is unveiled and it will be good to be on guard." [972]

August 28th, *Sphinx* returns to France. Choiseul orders the Commissaire de Marine to finish arming Aigle.

August 31st, from Versailles, Minister Praslin responds to Choiseul's request of August 7th. He encloses a draft act of approval for the King's signature, and also an opinion from the Foreign Ministry's legal experts.

"Whatever research has been done in the Repository of Foreign Affairs and the Navy, no model of an Act of approval of any taking of possession on the part of the Officers of the King, of the places that they had discovered for His Majesty in America or elsewhere has been found. It appears established that the taking of possession in the name of the King is sufficient in itself, and that it finds its approval and natural confirmation in the Laws [sic] and orders that His Majesty gives relative to the establishment undertaken by his subjects. Indeed, the ***occupation*** *of a country which presents no trace of foreign possession, acquires according to the Law of Nations, the Right of ownership to the Sovereign whose subjects have established themselves there, and this continued possession, confirms the title and the Right of first occupant. According to these principles, it is thought that a Warrant, or provisions of Commander or Governor given by the King with orders relating to the new Establishment, have more efficacy to approve and confirm possession than can have acts of approval which, deposited in an Office, are known only to their authors, and consequently incapable of producing a title of possession stronger than possession in fact, which in the present case operates that of Right.*

However, we see no inconvenience in what His Majesty gives at the foot of the act sent by Mr. De Bougainville, his approval of the taking of possession made of the Malouines Islands in his name. If this form is adopted, the Secretary of State having the Department of Foreign Affairs will send to the Minister of the Navy a copy of the said act of approval of H.M., which will be registered in the Colonial Office.

As for the confirmation of the possession of the Falkland Islands, as having been already discovered by navigators from St. Malo, it was not thought necessary to make mention of it, because a simple discovery does not in itself create any right which is acquired except by taking possession, and the continuation of possession. Besides, it could be dangerous to want to make from the discovery alone of the Falkland Islands a title of possession, because the English and the Dutch could claim against it, by virtue of an older discovery. In fact, ***Captain Hawkins*** *and Captain Sharp, English, discovered these Islands 1st in* ***1594****, and the 2nd in 1681. The Dutch were in the same place in different years, and they gave them the name of Terre des Etats, which they have kept until now in the English, Dutch and even French maps. Finally, the Navigators of St. Malo seem to have discovered them only a long time after the English and the Dutch."* [973]

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972 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.190

973 *Praslin to Choiseul August 31,* 1764 in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.348-349. My emphasis.

September 3rd, from Madrid, Minister Grimaldi writes to Ambassador Fuentes in Paris.

"To the Count of Fuentes.
Sending a copy of three papers. 1st a Memorandum drawn up by a zealous member of the King's service; 2nd an Addendum to it by the same; and 3rd a report, requested at his visit from D. Jorge Juan. All three pertain to the damages that may result from the idea put into practice by the Ministry of France of sending the Naval Officer M. Bouganiville with two Frigates to take possession of one of the Maloüinas Islands situated towards Cape Horn to establish a Colony.

Esteemed Sir

When Duke Choiseul satisfied the representation that Your Excellency made to him in a note on the strange arrival of Mr. Bougainville at Montevideo, and communicated to you with his usual frankness the aforementioned object, and that he had carried out the said official act, disembarking and taking possession of an island immediately next to that of Tristan de Acuña. This must naturally be one of the Malouinas; and it is not understood by nautical experts that it could serve the French navigation to the East Indies in a any manner: from which other ideas are inferred. Cape Horn is opposite the Cape of Good Hope, and by approaching it the French move away from this which is their true navigation.

Nor (can) it be believed in this time of such close union of that and this court that the French have any intention of smuggling in Peru, and much less of deforming raids against the Dominions of Spain.

*On the other hand, it is undeniable that the establishment on the supposed island will give the English jealousy, and an example to do the same, or much more, to our detriment. Your Excellency should discuss this matter, as is appropriate, with the Duke of Choiseul; For if our objections are enforced, there is no doubt that he will dispose the Christian King to abandon the establishment and that it will be published that he is motivated by the appeal of Spain so that we may take advantage of this example, which we can allege another day to our commoners, as if it were necessary, we could now allege to this Court that, in virtue of our representations, the same designs were withdrawn by that of London in the year **1750** to establish a port of refuge in the desert islands that are over Cape Horn, to navigate to the South Sea, which they have no access to, lacking possessions, either English or French.*[974]

We will surely get out of this concern, since this Ministry will not hide anything from us about its designs, or about the progress made in them; in that according to the present system, the interest is almost equal. I do not know how the Duke of Choiseul was able to see the project (the enterprise) of Mr. de Bougainville formed and put into practice, and not communicate it to us: so it has been a mystery to us as to the rest of Europe until we had the news from Montevideo and the Gazettes spoke of the progress of the expedition. Your Excellency (must) allow this observation to be made in a friendly tone. So that Your Excellency can see if the English are thinking of the Malouines Islands, I am sending you a copy of a map in which they have them placed in the red colour with which they indicate their own countries." [975]

974 My emphasis

975 *Grimaldi a Fuentes Sept 3, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.64-66. At this time, Fuentes was ill and awaiting permission to return to Spain. He eventually passed on the correspondence to his temporary replacement, de Magallon, who only took it to Choiseul in December, 1764. For the map, see August 2, 1764, above. Darío G. Barriera (*Malvinas: de periferia del mundo conocido a centro de una disputa global (1758-1767)* 2020) suggests that the map provided was that by Parisian cartographer, D'Anville, published in 1748. However, the archipelago is not outlined in red on that chart. For the D'Anville chart of 1748 see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2021/02/1748-2.jpg

"Grimaldi wrote to the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, instructing him to see Choiseul without delay. Diplomatic courtesy was to dominate the interview. The Count de Fuentes was to express surprise and hurt that Spain had not been informed of French actions... At the same time, Grimaldi asked the French Ambassador, Pierre Paul, Marquis de Ossun, for an explanation." [976]

"September 1764 a letter to Ambassador Fuentes ... instructed him to send to Choiseul a formal request for the withdrawal of his establishment, on the grounds that it constituted a precedent that could be alleged by Great Britain to justify similar actions against Spanish domains. Also, Fuentes had to convey Grimaldi's disgust for the secrecy that had involved the Bougainville expedition." [977]

"It has been argued that the Third Pacte de Famille or Family Compact signed by France and Spain on August 15, 1761, by which both crowns pledged to recognise and protect each other's possessions in any part of the world, would invalidate the right of France to settle Port St. Louis in 1764. If such were the case, ***England would then be deemed first occupier, having settled Port Egmont on West Falkland two years before Spain****. It follows that the recognition of the French title is essential if the chain of succession France-Spain-Argentina is to be sustained."* [978]

September 6th, in Paris, Bougainville and Minister Choiseul finally agree upon the financial arrangements for a French colony in the Malouines.

> *"It is understood that, for lack of money, we will confine ourselves for this year to maintain the establishment, to develop it, to realize well its value of colonization. ... The King will maintain in the Malouines a commander, his staff and workers to work on buildings and public services. The new colony will be put into operation by* ***Compagnie de Saint-Malo****, at its expense and profit."* [979]

September 10th, from St. Ildefonse, the French Ambassador to the Spanish Court, Pierre Paul, the Marquis d'Ossun, writes to Choiseul regarding a conversation with Minister Grimaldi.

> *"Mr. Marquis de Grimaldi, ... spoke to me of the project that France appeared to have, to occupy the Malouines Islands that M. de Bougainville had reconnoitred some time ago, and he told me on this occasion, that the English had wanted to form an establishment there under the* ***reign of Ferdinand****, but that they had abstained from doing so as a result of the lively representations that Spain had made at that time to the British Ministry. M. de Grimaldi added that these Islands could not provide, by their situation, a refuge for ships going to the East Indies or to China, and that they could at most only serve to form the warehouse for merchandise that one would then want to introduce into the Domains of His Catholic Majesty"* [980]

September 11th, in London, orders are issued for the commander of the storeship Florida (Deans).

> *"Whereas we have directed Captain Byron, who is employed on a particular Service, to repair with His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin & the Tamar Frigate to Pepys Islands (which is said to lye in about the Latitude of 47.30 South at the distance of Eighty or Ninety Leagues from the Coast of Patagonia) and*

976 Dunmore 2005 p.128.

977 *La Estrategia Espanola en el Atlantico Sur. La Crisis de las Malvinas (1764-1774)* Paulino Garcia Diego 2014 in *La Revista de Historia Naval* 2014 No.125

978 Peña & Peña 2018. My emphasis. It was very clear, and would be reinforced, that Spain did not at any time, recognise a French title

979 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.192. My emphasis.

980 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.350-351. My emphasis. Another reference to the events of 1749.

to wait there with the said Ship and Frigate for the supply of Provisions which we have ordered to be shipped on board the Storeship you command, and which in order to conceal its real destination hath been consigned by the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy to Sir John Lindsay, or the Sénior Officer of the King's Ships for the time being in the Gulph of México; You are hereby required and directed to make the best of your way to join Captain Byron at Pepys Islands, and to dispose of the Cargo of the said Storeship, notwithstanding its Consignment as before mentioned, in such manner as he shall direct, and follow his Orders for your farther proceedings.

And that you may the more readily find Pepys Island, you are first to make Cape Blanco, which is situated on the Coast of Patagonia, in about the Latitude of 47° 20 South, and then proceed to the Eastward about Eighty or Ninety Leagues, between the Latitude of 47° and the Latitude of 48° in search of the said Island; And having discovered it, & not finding the Dolphin or Tamar Frigate there, you are carefully to look for a Cross, which we have directed Captain Byron to erect; as a Mark of his having been at the Island if he sails from thence before you arrive, and as a guide to you to find the Instructions, which he will in such case have left for you buried in a Bottle Two feet under the Surface of the Earth, six feet behind the said Cross, on the South side of it.

If you shall not be able to find Pepys Island, after having cruized a reasonable time in search of it between the Latitudes before mentioned; Or having discovered and arrived at it, shall (p. a) not join the Dolphin or Tamar Frigate, nor find the Cross above mentioned; You are in either of those Cases to proceed to Port Desire, laid down by Sir John Marborough as a very good Harbour, about Twenty Eight Miles to the Southward of Cape Blanco, on the Coast of Patagonia, where you will probably join the Dolphin, or Tamar, or both, or least find a Cross set up by Captain Byron as a Mark of his having been there, if he should sail from thence before you arrive; Behind which Cross you will find Instructions for joining Him, buried as before mentioned in a Bottle two feet under the Surface of the Earth at the distance of Six feet South from it; And you are to proceed to join Him, without loss of time, agreeably thereto. And to the end that you may know the Dolphin or Tamar, or make yourself known to them in case of seeing them, or either of them, at a distance; you are to make the Signals annexed to these Instructions, which will be answered by them in the manner therein directed.

But if contrary to all expectation you shall not join Captain Byron, nor get any Intelligence of him at Pepys Island, or Port Desire, you are to wait at the latter Four Months in expectation of being joined by him, or of hearing from him: And at the expiration of that time, if you shall not have seen him nor heard any thing of him, you are to return to the first Port you can make in England, and come to this Office, without a moment loss of time, to give us an Account of your proceedings. It being of the greatest consequence that these Instructions should be kept extremely Secret, you are not to divulge them to any of your Officers or Men, lest they should be discovered, if by accident you should be obliged to touch at the Brazils, or any other Place: But if, through a series of bad Weather, or unexpected Difficulties, the Officers or Men should express an uneasiness at being kept in ignorance of the Place to which the Storeship is bound, you are to endeavour to content them, and to encourage them to persevere with you in prosecuting the Voyage by giving them (as you are hereby empower'd to do, and more particularly the person who is next in Command to you) the strongest Assurances that their Diligence, Perseverance and Obedience to you their Superior Officer, shall meet with a suitable Reward from Us. - And you will also be assured that your own diligence & perseverance in the execution of these Instructions will secure to you Preferment, and such other marks of our Favor as your Merit may entitle you to." [981]

981 *Ibid*. pp.74-75. Signed by Egmont, Carysford and Howe.

Florida also carries further orders for John Byron.

> *"Whereas we have caused the Florida Storeship to be purchased for His Majesty, and to be laden with such a quantity of Provisions as we hope will enable you to prosecute & complete the Object of our Instructions to you dated the 17th of June last; And whereas we have directed Mr Robert Deans, who is appointed Master of the said Storeship, to proceed without loss of time to join you at Pepys Island, or, not finding you there, at Port Desire, agreeably to what is mentioned in Our said Instructions; You are hereby required and directed to distribute on board the Ship & Frigate under your Command the Provisions with which the said Storeship is laden, in such proportions as you shall judge proper, notwithstanding the said Provisions have been consigned to Sir John Lindsay, or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships in the Gulph (sic) of México in order to conceal their real destination. When you have unladen the said Storeship, you are to direct Mr Deans to return to England, and repair to this Office as expeditiously as possible, with such Dispatches as you may think proper to send by him, as well as to give Us an Account of his proceedings; unless you shall judge it to be expedient and necessary to take the Storeship with you in the prosecution of your Voyage, which you are hereby authorized to do; And we do in that Case also empower you to give Mr Deans a Commission to be Lieutenant instead of Master of the Storeship, as a Reward for his past Services in having joined you (if you. shall be satisfied with his Conduct and Proceedings) and as an encouragement to him to prosecute the Voyage with you: And you are at the same time to declare to the Petty Officers and Foremast Men of the said Storeship, in order to encourage them also to prosecute the Voyage with cheerfulness, that they shall have the same Allowance of Wages as the Petty Officers & Men belonging to the Dolphin & Tamar Frigate."* [982]

September 12th, at Versailles, King Louis XV formally ratifies French sovereignty over Malouine Island.

> *"Seeing the above act ... containing the taking possession of the Malouine Island made in our name by the General staff (and) marine Officers of our Frigates L'Aigle and le Sphinx, located to the East of the South America ... which the navigators of our city of St. Malo had formerly discovered and named accordingly Malouine Island ... WE, having been pleased with the conduct of our aforesaid subjects on this occasion, have before these (people) present signed with our own hand, and with our full power and Royal authority, approved and approve, confirmed and confirm as necessary the said occupations and taking of possession made in our name in the said Lands and Islands, as well as all the contents of the aforesaid act; declare that we wish to maintain and preserve ourselves in possession of the said Lands and Islands, wish that they be henceforth regarded as forming part and being a dependency of the Kingdom of France and governed by the same laws, statutes and ordinances as the other places, lands and countries subject to our obedience; and by such other Regulations as the circumstances of the places may require in relation to the new establishment that we intend to maintain and preserve there and for which we will provide more fully hereafter."* [983]

September 13th, on the other side of the Atlantic, Commodore John Byron anchors; *"... in the great Road of Rio de Janeiro."* [984]

September 16th, from Paris, intelligence is sent to London, asserting that Bougainville is soon to return to; "... *his island in the straits of Magellan, called by the French the Isle Maloine.*" [985]

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982 *Ibid*. pp.75-76.
983 *Ibid.* pp.351-352
984 *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* J. Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1 p.6
985 *Hertford to Halifax September 16, 1764* in *PRO SP 78/263/52 f.120*

September 22nd, at the port of St. Malo, Bougainville arrives to oversee *Aigle's* final preparations.

"She was to be commanded once again by Alexandre Duclos-Guyot; … The first colonists were to be strengthened by some fifty workers, including a dozen stone-masons and several hopeful settlers. In all the Aigle carried a total compliment of 116 men and women." [986]

September 27th, from Madrid, Britain's Ambassador, Lord Rochford, reports that he has successfully negotiated an agreement with regard to the British log-cutters operating in Yucatan, following their ejection by the Spanish Governor of that region. Rochford has assured Grimaldi the England will stamp out any illicit trade between the log-cutters and Spanish settlements.

"Grimaldi however, grumbled that there seemed no inclination on Britain's part to define the limitation of the cutting areas in Honduras; "he said a great deal more in the same peevish Stile(sic), that we were ever an enterprizing Nation, and had extensive views of Commerce that could not be borne." Rochford had to "let him cool a little" before he could again raise the subject of reparations, but Grimaldi said he had done all he could … Grimaldi later admitted that he did not dare mention the matter to Charles III, since the King already felt he had conceded far more than Britain deserved." [987]

October 6th, Bougainville sails for the South Atlantic in *Aigle*. [988]

> *"Paris, Oct. 22. M. de Bougainville, who some time ago discovered the Isle of Malouines, is just embarked from St. Malo's, with every Necessary for forming a Settlement in those Islands; from which great Advantages are expected."* [989]

"The ship, apart from the goods which represent "abundantly all that may be necessary for a new colony", has a total of 116 persons, including 53 workers." [990]

October 13th, from England, the store-ship *Florida* sails for a pre-planned rendezvous with Commander Byron.

"The supply corvette Florida, commanded by Lieutenant Robert Deans, is appointed to join Commodore Byron in the South Atlantic and bring back news…. The secret instructions of the Admiralty have been given to the Lieutenant in (a) sealed envelope which he will open after he has left the island of Santiago, in the archipelago of Cape Verde,… They enjoin him to go in search of the island of Pepys where he must find Commodore Byron…. If he does not discover the island of Pepys, he will go to the Port Desire, on the coast of Patagonia, and wait for the Commodore." [991]

October 21st, from Rio de Janeiro, Byron sails south.

October 22nd, the officers of *Dolphin* and *Tamar* receive new orders.

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986 Dunmore 2005 p.118

987 Rice 1973 p.289. Another example of encroachment into Spain's claimed American territory. Subject to the Treaty of Paris 1763, Spain adopted a rigid interpretation of the treaty terms (Art.17) in an attempt to dissuade log-cutters from opening up new areas. An even stricter reading of his orders, by Spain's Governor, had seen the British log-cutters ejected, even from old areas of operation. It took some four months before Rochford's belligerent, and threatening, tone forced Grimaldi to rebuke the Governor; to prevent Britain sending a fleet from Jamaica. The log-cutters were restored to their sites in early 1765; but agreed reparations of £27,000 were never paid.

988 In Pernetty 1771, M. Duclos Guyot gives the date of departure from St. Malo as October 5, 1764.

989 *Ipswich Journal* Saturday November 10, 1764. Also noted in the *Caledonian Mercury* Saturday November 10, 1764

990 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.203 citing *AN Mar. 4JJ I dossier 6 p.15 Extract du journal de navigation du s. Duclos-Guyot*

991 *Ibid.* p.387 citing *PRO Adm. 2/1.332 f° 113& ss. Instructions to Robert Dean, master of Florida storeship, 11 sept, 1764*

"... we were now relieved from our suspense; for a signal being made for the Commander of the Tamar frigate to come on board, he and our own company were informed, that the Commodore's orders were to go on discoveries into the South Sea: a circumstance which, from the manner in which it was received furnishes the greatest reason to believe, that no one on board had before the least notion of the voyage in which they were now engaged. But to prevent the appearance of discontent, they were instantly acquainted with the intention of the government to allow them double pay, for their encouragement in the prosecution of the voyage..." [992]

"On Monday the 22d, being now once more at ſea, I called all hands upon deck, and informed them, that I was not, as they imagined, bound immediately to the Eaſt Indies, but upon certain diſcoveries, which it was thought might be of great importance to our country, in confideration of which, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty had been pleaſed to promiſe them double pay, and ſeveral other advantages, if during the voyage they ſhould behave to my ſatisfaction. They all expreſſed the greateſt joy imaginable upon the occaſion, and aſſured me, that there was no danger or difficulty that they would not with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs undergo in the ſervice of their country, nor any order that I could give them which they would not implicitly and zealouſly obey." [993]

"No one aboard, had any hint of the project in which we were engaged. In order to prevent any kind of discontent, the Commodore immediately announced that the Lords of the Admiralty were giving the crews a double pay at the third (highest) rate, from the time they left the harbor of Plymouth to their return to England." [994]

"Only after the ships reached the Brazilian coast did the British Government acknowledge that Byron was to call on the Falkland Islands." [995]

"... they were overjoyed, especially at the Admiralty's promise of double pay "if they behaved themselves to my satisfaction"." [996]

November 11th, in the southern Atlantic, Commodore Byron abandons a first search for Pepy's Island; returning to the South American coast to; *"... take in wood and water."* [997]

November 21st, at Puerto Deseado, *Dolphin* and *Tamar* take shelter from gales. [998]

"... we turned up the harbour's mouth; we found it very narrow, with many rocks and ſhoals about it, and the moſt rapid tide I had ever known. I came to an anchor off the harbour in nine fathom, the entrance of the river being open, and bearing W.S.W.;.." [999]

December 5th, from Puerto Deseado, Byron sails out once again hoping to find Pepy's Island.

"I had now made eighty degrees eaſting, which is the diſtance from the main at which Pepys' Iſland is placed in Halley's chart, but unhappily we have no certain account of the place. The only perſon who

992 *A Voyage Round the World In his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin…By an Officer on Board* Anon 1767. See March 28, 1764. Subsequently translated into French (1767), Italian (1768), Spanish and German (1769). Source? Dubious.

993 *An Account of a Voyage round the World in the Years 1764, 1765 and 1766 by the Honourable Commodore Byron in his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin* in Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1.

994 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.388 citing the diary of Lieutenant Cumming. This author gives the date as October 23rd

995 Gustafson 1988. I can find no acknowledgement.

996 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.163 citing *Byron's Journal in the Years 1764, 1765 & 1766* (NMM JOD-58)

997 Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1 p.24

998 Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.164) gives the date as November 20, 1764

999 Quoted in Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1 p.14

pretends to have ſeen it, is Cowley, the account of whoſe voyage is now before me; and all he ſays of its ſituation is, that it lies in latitude 47 S.; for he ſays nothing of its longitude: he ſays, indeed, that it has a fine harbour; but he adds, that the wind blew ſo hard he could not get into it, and that he therefore ſtood away to the ſouthward. At this time I alſo was ſteering ſouthward; for the weather being extremely fine, I could ſee very far to the northward of the ſituation in which it is laid down." [1000]

"He had with him William Hacke's printed version of Cowley's voyage and Edmund Halley's chart of 1753 (sic) which marked the island, and searched for it for five days without result." [1001]

December 10th, Byron abandons the search for Pepy's Island. [1002]

"... after cruizing for It for some time We are well assured there is no such Island, at least any where near to the Latitude & Longtitude it is laid down in, in Lord Anson's voyage. We met with much bad Weather..." [1003]

"We had the mortification to see all our useless efforts (and) we are obliged to abandon this search."[1004]

December 13th, from Madrid, a Royal Order is issued reaffirming a general prohibition on foreign vessels trading with Spanish colonies; confirming that foreign ships should not be admitted to Spanish ports. Also, that there is no exemption for French vessels, despite the two nations being allies. [1005]

In Paris, with Ambassador Fuentes preparing to depart for Spain on sick leave, *charge d'affairs* Fernando de Magallón broaches the issue of Malouine Island with Minister Choiseul.

"I will relate to Your Excellency in detail what has happened, and in order to carry it out with complete freedom, as is appropriate to the importance of the matter,... Magallon having gone to Versailles and spoken to the Duke about some other matters, told him that he could not excuse himself from speaking to him also about Mr. de Bougainville's expedition to the Malouines Island: that I would have done so long ago, if the state of my health had permitted me to do so. ...

(Magallón) took the liberty of telling him that it could not be said that the Malouine Island belonged to France, because even if it were true (which was much in doubt) that the people of Saint Malo had been the first to see them, this did not mean that they had any right to them, since seeing the coast of an island, and even setting foot on it and giving it a name, were not titles that constituted rights, when the one who had seen it had not inhabited it nor left a settlement there. That in the history of navigation and voyages there would be many examples of ships that had discovered lands and countries and even landed on them, without for this reason ever having claimed ownership particularly when they had not left signs of domination or establishment; that according to those principles the English could claim the same right as France, since Captain Hawkins who discovered them in 1593 (sic) had given them the name of FaulKand (sic) Sound according to what the English themselves claimed.

1000 Byron quoted in Hawkesworth 1773 pp.23-24
1001 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.164. Halley died in 1742, aged 85. The reference to a map of 1753 is more likely to be that of John Green. See page 25, above.
1002 *Ibid.*
1003 *Byron to Egmont 24 February, 1765 ADM 1/162* in the documents section of Gallagher 1964
1004 Lieutenant Cumming quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.398
1005 Munilla 1948 p.17 citing *A.G.I., India. Gen., 534. Peru, fols. 54-5.*

*Magallon told him what had happened in London in the year **1750**, when Don Ricardo Wall, having learned that the English Ministry had planned an expedition of two frigates called the Anson (Raven) and the Porcopin (Porcupine) to go and seize these Islands, immediately abandoned the project (with) the first representation that Don Ricardo Wall made: that our Court had at that time greatly approved of Wall's conduct, and that France itself, as soon as it learned of it, had expressed great satisfaction at seeing the English idea stifled at its very beginning.*

Choiseul made no reply to any of this, and only went on to say that the whole land should belong to the one who occupied it, particularly being distant from the coast, as the Malouines were fifty leagues away;

*To which Magallón replied that the islands adjacent to a continent could not be occupied without the consent of the owner of the continent, and that the Malouines had been and should be considered adjacent to our coasts; that it was true that they were 50 leagues away or even more; but that they were in our seas, and that the **distances were always respective and should not be measured in America as in Europe**. ...*[1006]

Magallon let slip that the only thing that had caused any news in Madrid was the mystery with which Mr. de Bougainville's expedition seemed to have been carried out, of whose intent, ideas and voyage we had not heard a word. This hint was enough for the Duke of Choiseul to return with more enthusiasm to the conversation, saying that France had not had any need to inform anyone of what Mr. de Bougainville was going to do, repeating that the Malouinas Island belonged to it, and that if they had not been occupied or populated by the French until the arrival of this Officer (Bougainville) the same could not be said now, since he had left some people and signs of possession in them.

Magallon replied, as to the latter, that the possession and settlement of Mr. de Bougainville proved nothing, ...They put an end to this conversation that I have recounted,...“ [1007]

“Choiseul told the official to put the Spanish case in writing, but this was merely a delaying tactic, which Magallón courteously but firmly swept aside. Choiseul then pointed out that the islands were French and that what France did in the Malouines was its own concern. Magallón replied that this was a claim, not a fact.” [1008]

“The Spanish based their claim to the Islands not only on their ancient pretensions, as perpetuated by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) – which excluded all but Spanish settlers from that quarter of the globe – but also on legal theory, the territorial proximity of the Islands to the Spanish-Captinancy-General of Buenos Aires.” [1009]

“Choiseul himself assured Ferdinand de Magallón that the islands belonged de jure to France. not only did the name announce it, but some shipowners from Saint-Maló were its real discoverers. In addition, the French minister maintained that France could make a lot of use of them "by making in them an establishment with which to be able to oppose the Yngleses, ..." Magallón, for his part, maintained with equal firmness that even if

1006 My emphasis. For a note on what constituted a 'league', see footnote to May 4, 1493, above. Spain would long argue that as America was so large, the European league was not applicable. This suggests that there was already some general understanding of adjacency, when it came to questions of sovereignty.

1007 *Fuentes a Grimaldi Deciembre 15, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.77-85

1008 Dunmore 2005 p.128.

1009 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing Goebel 1927 pp.227-8. The Falklands are 1000 miles from Buenos Aires.

French navigators had been the first to see them, it could not be inferred from this that they were entitled to them, since "seeing the coast of a Ysla, and even setting foot on it and to give it the name, they were not titles that founded right, when the one who had seen it had not inhabited it or left it in an establishment ". He also brought up how Spain asserted its rights in 1750, upon hearing of the ships that the English were preparing to establish themselves on the islands. Finally, Magallón argued that the lands adjacent to a Continent could not be occupied without the prior consent of the "owner of the Continent, and that the Falklands had been reputed and should be regarded as adjacent to our shores."..." [1010]

"(Spain's) protest ... rested on two grounds. One was purely political: that by making such a settlement the British would be impelled to follow suit and make settlements of their own. The other was the legal argument that the islands were in fact already part of the Spanish dominions by <u>geographical proximity</u>." [1011]

"It is worth noting in passing that the papal Bulls of 1493 and the treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 were not mentioned once by the Spanish side throughout the dispute with the French, nor during that with the British later; the arguments Spain raised were exclusively concerned with the danger of smuggling and the potential threat to Spanish possessions." [1012]

December 14th, having slept on it, and with a cooler head, an embarrassed Choiseul calls upon the bedridden Ambassador Fuentes.

> *"... Twenty-four hours later, when he came to see me, we spoke about the same subject, and I found him to be more gentle in his way of thinking, and as if he had done some reflection on the matter.... I insisted that the French had no right to those islands, which had always been and should be considered adjacent, even if they were much further from the continent than they are, because in those countries the distances by sea were respective to those by land, and that there they were not distances such as in Europe are very considerable, which although short in themselves, form the dominions of different sovereigns. I repeated to him in greater detail what had happened in London in the year **1750**, and the satisfaction with which France had learned of the success of that negotiation. Then he told me that now the English would not have the same moderation; and that if there was no establishment in these islands, they would seize them, which would be a great evil for Spain and for France, to which I replied that what was certainly to be feared was that if the English saw that we were allowing the French to establish themselves in the Malouine, they would either do the same in one of the many nearby islands with equal right to the French, or that their main object in the first war would be to drive them out of this establishment. ... I also told him that the navigation of the East Indies could not give them reason to establish themselves in the Malouine since the true course of this navigation should be by the Cape of Good Hope so far from America.... More gentle and more convinced of what he had expressed the day before with Don Fernando de Magallon and at the beginning of my conversation, he told me that his main object and interest was that the English should not occupy these Islands, finding them without establishment;..."*[1013]

December 15th, from Paris, Ambassador Fuentes writes to Minister Grimaldi; detailing the encounters with Choiseul and arguing that the archipelago needs to be garrisoned by Spain.

1010 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.96-97

1011 *Sovereignty and the Falklands Crisis* Peter Calvert 1983 in *International Affairs* vol.59 no.3 1983.

1012 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.165

1013 *Fuentes 1 Grimaldi Deciembre 15, 1764* in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.17 pp.77-85. During the course of this exchange, Choiseul at one point suggested that he had not known of Bougainville's plans with regard to the Falkland Islands. This was noted in Grimaldi's letter of December 31, 1764, in such a manner as to make plain that he did not believe that for a moment.

"All these reflections make me think that we are obliged today to make an establishment in the Malouines island, even of little importance: to stop, from this day, all discussions with the Court of France, to ensure our property to the Court of London, finally, to prevent any nation from thinking more about setting up similar institutions in the future." [1014]

December 16th, unaware, and far away, Bougainville records that *Aigle* is lying off Brazil.

Dolphin and *Tamar* sail down the Patagonian coast towards Magellan's Strait.

December 22nd, from Spain, Minister Julian de Arriaga writes to Governor Pedro Antonio de Cevallos in Buenos Aires.

"I have informed the King of Your Excellency's letter. which involves the unexpected arrival in Montevideo of the French Frigate Aguila and Corvette Sphinx, which His Majesty had already received news of from the Governor of that Plaza, Don Joseph Joachim de Viana, and subsequently it was learned from France of its destination for recognition and the beginning of a new establishment in one of the Moluccas Islands. Regarding this fact, which, once completed, could attract very serious inconveniences to the detriment of His Majesty's Dominions, the corresponding letters have been sent to the French Court, seeking His Majesty to have that Sovereign desist from this Project, on which subject there is still no context. But since the entry or trade in the Ports of America and all foreign vessels are denied by laws and royal orders (a rule only mitigated in forced cases of due hospitality for arrivals at known risk); It is necessary in the sixth precept to observe with all firmness this law with regard to French vessels that cannot allege in their passage to those seas any other object than the one expressed, which is of such harm to us; for this reason it is necessary, even in the forced cause of giving them a Port, a utmost vigilance, so that they do not receive assistance ... The King hopes that Your Excellency will issue the appropriate orders for this purpose, and that he will be very careful of their observance."[1015]

December 26th, from Spain, and in receipt of Fuente's letter of the 15th, Minister Arriaga pens another letter to Buenos Aires with an instruction; *"...having subsequently received a response from the Court of France, which deals with a simple agreement on this matter; I warn Your Excellency by order of the King not to bring into execution anything of what is noted therein."* [1016]

December 31st, out in the Atlantic, Bougainville wastes two days in searching for Pepy's Island. [1017]

From Madrid, on the same day, Minister Grimaldi responds to Ambassador Fuentes letter of December 15th.

"... The King, our Lord, having been informed of everything, orders me to approve (to Your Excellency) the true zeal and corresponding firmness with which you have followed this business, and to warn you to express very particularly to the Duke of Choiseul, your King's gratitude for the noble docility with which he has yielded to our representations, adding that, your King has not stopped a moment in resolving that this Crown should form and maintain an Establishment in the Malouines, that the orders are being prepared for our Governor of Buenos Aires to arrange and carry it out and that we hope he will send us those of the Christian King so that the French left by Mr. de Bougainville

1014 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.237

1015 *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.86-87. This appears to be in answer to a letter from Buenos Aires regarding the arrival of the French ships at Montevideo the year before.

1016 *Ibid*. pp.85-86. Cancelling the instruction of the 22nd to offer no assistance to French vessels.

1017 Date from Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.166. Martin-Allanic 1964 p.204 suggests December 22, 1764

and the others who have gone after, will withdraw upon the arrival of the Spaniards, and there will be no conflict or unrest. This will perfect the Duke's work and both Nations will take advantage of the success of Bougainville (the advantage that, in view of the French leaving their possession, the right of Spain is strengthened so that the English do not try to enter another day, and our eyes are opened so that they do not catch us off guard)..." [1018]

"As soon as the negotiations began, France, through the mouths of its ministers, recognized Spanish law and the reasons of Madrid were heard. ... Grimaldi did not hide his satisfaction: "both Nations will take the advantage of the advantage created by Bougainville (so) that in view of the separation of the French from their position, (this) strengthens the right of Spain". At the same time the Ambassador was ordered to request Choiseul to withdraw the settlers installed in the Malvinas." [1019]

1765 – January 5th, at Fort St. Louis, Bougainville's second expedition arrives in *Aigle*.

"I had the satisfaction of seeing that all the inhabitants had enjoyed perfect health and that they were in the best possible state. Only one had perished by accident – François Perryer, master blacksmith, on the way back from a hunt. He remained behind the others, at about a league from the settlement. Nothing was heard of him afterwards, and his body had not been recovered, despite several searches having been made ... During the winter my cousin performed one marriage and two baptisms. He was the bishop of the diocese." [1020]

"On the 5th January 1765, I saw my colonists; again, and found them healthy and content. ... The settlement now began to get a kind of form. The Governor and the ordonateur lodged in very convenient houses of which the walls were made of sods. There were three magazines, both for the public stores, and those of private persons... Several trials had been made towards cultivation, which gave no reason to despair of success, as the greatest part of the corn brought from Europe was easily naturalized to the country. The increase in cattle could be depended upon,.." [1021]

"The winter we have spent here has not been rigorous; never enough snow to cover the buckle of the shoe; or ice to support a stone as big as the fist and if it was not (for) the rain that passed through our covers, as by a screen, we would have (needed) very little fire. You would not have recognized the colony if you had returned with M. de Bougainville. You would have found us fat...

The air is excellent here. All along the building, there is a beautiful walk of a plain land and 20 feet and more wide a new rebuilt store on the seaside a fort fully repaired, set level, with decks under the cannons, a new powder, a bakery and a forge. By calculation, we killed more than 1,500 bustards in the season; because there is one in which they disappear from the country and will run elsewhere ...

We have discovered an animal much more beautiful than a species of swan, as big, as white, but having the black collar as jayet (jet) and the red beak. It was not possible to kill them: these animals are very wild. By other discoveries, which I have had made in the island, more than twenty leagues in the East, it appears that the part we inhabit is detached from other adjacent islands, or only joined by isthmals.

1018 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.87-89

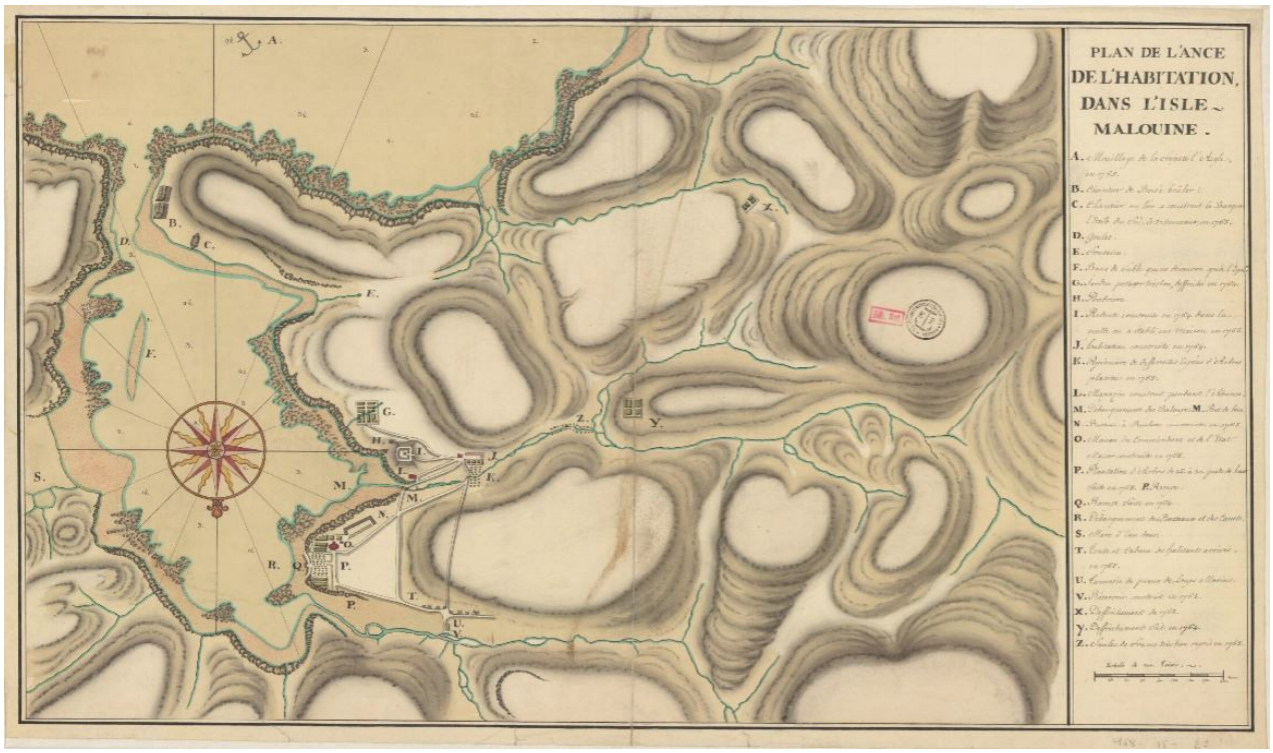
1019 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.98

1020 A quote from a copy of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's original journal - *Journal de mes Campagnes de Mer des Années 1763, 1764 et 1765* (lost) held by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.167 citing *BN Nouv. Acq. fr. 9407, fols 41 recto-41 verso*. Described by Pascoe (vol.1 p.143) as a "*slapdash*" copy, suggesting that it may lack accuracy. One baptism or two? See Scavennec 2004/2005

1021 Bougainville 1772. An *ordonateur* was an officer with responsibility for the stores.

We could get to know this perfectly with a schooner, … Our agriculture gives us all hope. All the vegetable seeds have succeeded. In regard to the wheat, it has produced in the briny earthy, fine ears, but as to the form only, and not a grain.

Our lands, as virgin, require to be worked longer, and even improved with good manure. What we have of cattle is enough for testing only. Four of our heifers and our three horses are still in the field: we have never been able to catch them, but their wandering mood makes us know one of the great advantages of the country; it is because the cattle can remain in all seasons, day and night in the fields, and there they find their weight and litter. We meet them often and often, going to the hunt: they are fat and are well of their liberty." [1022]



"... Bougainville found that one (had) died while hunting – Francois Perryer; one marriage took place – Genevieve Theriot, 16 yrs ... to Guillaume Guichard; one baptism, of Francois Benoist." [1023]

1022 *De Nerville to Dom Pernetty* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.206

1023 Scavennec 2004/2005. The chart above carries the title *Plan de L'Ance de L'Habitation dans L'Isles Malouin* (Plan of L'Ance of the habitation in the Malouin Isles). Dated 1765 it resides at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris *GE SH 18 PF 168 DIV 15 P2/1.*The legend reads: A. Anchorage of the frigate *Aigle* in 1765 B. Wood for burning C. Shipyard where the 50-ton barque *La Etoile de Sud* was built in 1765 D. Bottleneck E. Fountain F. Sandbank only covered by the tide G. Very good vegetable garden, destroyed in 1764 H. Powder magazine I. Redoubt built in 1764 in which a house was built in 1765 J. House built in 1764 K. Nursery of different species of trees planted in 1765 L. Store built during absence M. Landing place for ships wooden bridge N. Battery with parapet built in 1765 O. House of the commander and staff built in 1765 P. Plantation of trees 25 to 30 feet high built in 1765 P. Ramp. Q. Landing ramp built in 1764 R. Landing for boats and canoes S. Freshwater pond T. The center and the inhabitants cabin arrived in 1765 U. Sea dog fur cannery V. Reservoir built in 1765 X. Clearing of 1765 Y. Clearing of 1764 Z. Willows from France very well taken in 1765. For a better copy with zoom facility see - https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53123301q/f1.item.zoom

January 6th, at Fort St. Louis, stores are set ashore; *"On Sunday 6 January unloading began; the passengers disembarked, and captain Guyot and most of his officers attended a dinner in the stone building, while the guns of the fort fired several salutes."* [1024]

January 7th, from Port Famine, Byron sails towards the archipelago.

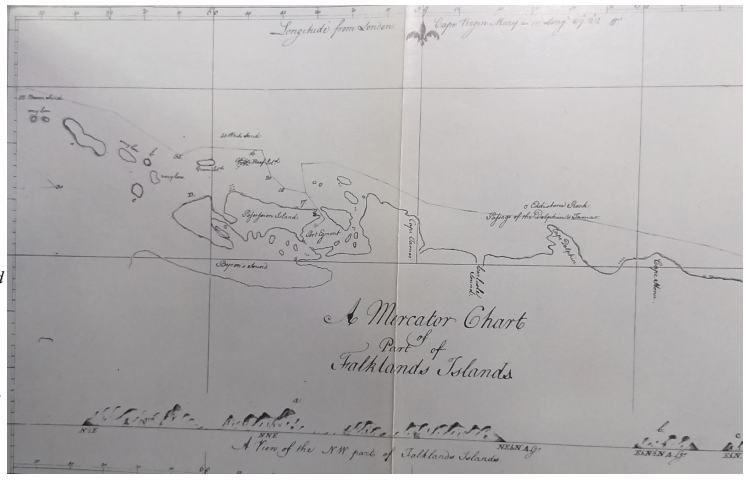
January 11th, Bougainville sends a boat out to explore the coasts, while he leads a party across land.

"Without waiting for the boat to be ready, Bougainville sets off on land with Lhuillier de La Serre, Thisbe de Belcour, Denis de St-Simon and an inhabitant named Benoist. His goal is to recognize a strait that (the) said Benoist and some others thought (they) saw the separation of our land in two islands." [1025]

January 12th, Commodore John Byron sights land.

> *"This Morning at day break stood in again, the wind in the night had shifted to NW at 4 saw the Land a head making like three islands, we imagined they were the Sebald de Werts, but intending to stand between them we found they were joined by very low land which formed a deep Bay; we tacked and stood out again. At the same time we saw Land a great way to the S°ward. We had no longer any doubt but this was the Land mentioned in the Charts by the name of the* ***New Islands****. ... This Land is high, ragged barren Rocks something like Statenland."*[1026]

January 15th, Byron moves closer.



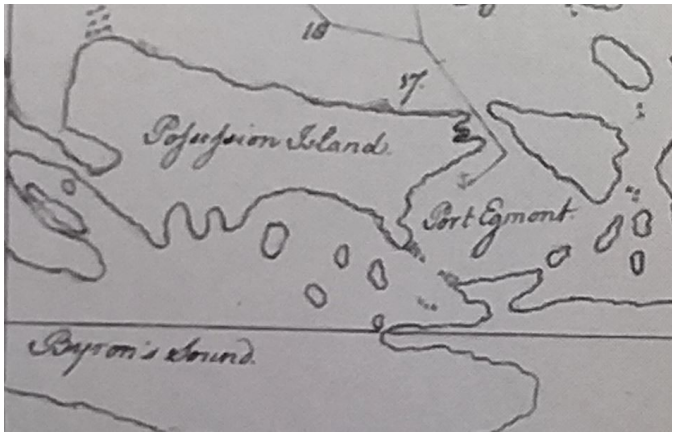
> *"At 3 in the morning made Sail & steered in for the Land to look for a Harbour. ... About 3 in the Afternoon the Weather clearing again I tacked & stood in again & presently after saw a Boat a long way to leeward of us. I bore down to her & found it to be the Tamar's boat with Mr. Hindman in her the 2nd Lieut. He had ventured off ... to inform me that he had found a very fine* ***Harbour****; We immediately stood in for it & found it answer far beyond my expectation. The Entrance is about a Mile over & no danger going in, the depth of water from 10 to 7 fm., close to the shore. It forms two little Bays on the Starboard side where Ships might anchor with safety, both of them has a fine Rivulet of fresh water, but if you chuse to go into Port Egmont (which I so named after the Earl of Egmont) I think it without exception one of the finest Harbours I ever saw in my Life."* [1027]

1024 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.167

1025 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.207. East Falkland Island is actually two islands linked by a narrow isthmus. The southern part is now generally known as Lafonia; then known as French Island.

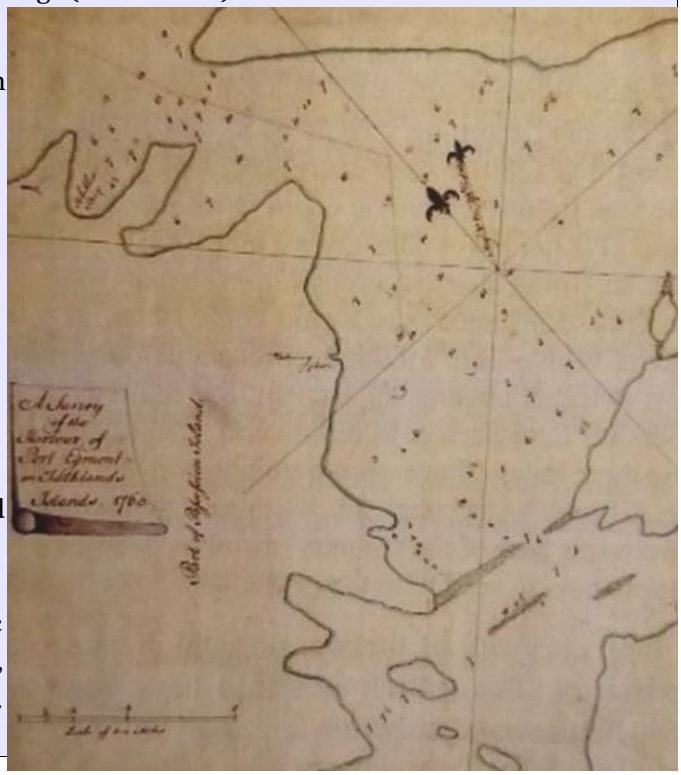
1026 Byron's *Journal* quoted in Gallagher 1964 p.56. My emphasis. Frezier had named the Falklands *Les Isles Nouvelles* (New Islands) in his chart of South America published in 1717. Also Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1 p.45

1027 Byron's *Journal* quoted in Gallagher 1964. Also Hawkesworth 1773 vol.1 p.46. My emphasis. Byron recognised a natural harbour: i.e. an area of sea in the shelter of land. Port Egmont harbour was protected to the west and north by Saunders and Kepple Islands (as they would become known), and to the east by the bulk of West Falkland Island. Shallows prevented access from the south leaving only a north-western gap as a safe entrance/exit.



*"The largest island is **located north of Port Egmont**, we went down there attracted by his situation and we had the pleasure, from the top of a very high mountain, to enjoy an admirable point of view. It is very difficult to climb to the summit of this mountain; but we are well compensated for by the pleasant sight of the whole extent of the port, of the three passages which come to end there, of our ships which we saw at anchor and of the whole sea which surrounds this island and the other neighbouring islands up to fifty, both small and large, all of which appeared to be lined with greenery."* [1028]

Researcher's Comment: The chart from Byron's Journal (previous page) is identified as *A Mercator Chart of part of Falklands Islands*. Subtitled, *A View of the NW part of Falklands Islands*. It reveals Byron's track along the northern part of West Falkland Island and his anchorage (detail above). [1029]



Before it was renamed Saunders Island, Byron had called the island where he re-established Britain's claim (first made by Hawkins in 1593) Possession Island.

The harbour of Port Egmont is clearly marked, as is Byron's Sound. The chart on the right carries the legend – *A Survey of the Harbour of Port Egmont in Falklands Islands 1765*. The island on the left is marked – *Part of Possession Island*. The harbour itself is studded with soundings.

It is important to note that Byron did not name a port 'Egmont'. He named a harbour 'Port Egmont'.

In 1910, an Argentine historian, Paul Groussac, claimed that Port Egmont was 'on' Saunders Island with the implication that any rights that the UK had acquired were therefore restricted to that single island. Groussac failed to understand the meaning of the word 'harbour', which is a body of water sheltered by surrounding land. Port Egmont is all at sea.

"Byron sailed out of the Straits and reached the Penguin or Falkland Islands ten days after leaving Port Famine. He found a capacious bay which he called Port Egmont, in honor of the first Lord of the Admiralty, ... The bay, he says, can hold all the British navy,.." [1030]

1028 Lieutenant Cumming's diary 1765 quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.391. My emphasis.
1029 Hydrographic Office reference C74/2 Cc. See *Byron's journal of his circumnavigation, 1764-1766* R. E. Gallagher 1964
1030 *The English in South America* M. G. Mulhall 1878 p.73

"It was decided to baptize the place with the name of Port Egmont, in honor of Count Egmont, then first Lord of the Admiralty. (Port Croisade, recognized by the French. The bay was enclosed by the Bourbon Islands [Pebble], Vigia [Keppels Islands] and Trinidad [Saunders])." [1031]

"Byron arrived on January 23 (sic) to the point that the French named Puerto de la Cruzada." [1032]

January 17th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, Capt. Patrick Mouat, on board *Tamar*, notes that 80 geese have been killed and taken on board; *"... men knock down as many as they please with Stones."* [1033]

To the south of Fort St. Louis, Bougainville searches for a strait seen by some of his colonists.

"He heads alone to the bottom of Choisuel Bay where he finds the boat that brought Lavary-Leroi. They go north to (reconnoitre) the Strait, which they believe to be "but a deep bay, separated from another bay, ... by a very narrow tongue of land, having no more than one rifle range."..." [1034]

January 18th, in Paris, Choiseul is informed of Carlos III's acceptance of his offer to vacate Malouine Island, and of Spain's intention to replace Bougainville's settlement with one of its own. Choiseul responds that he currently has no way of informing Bougainville of this, but must await that officer's return, probably in May. Then, Bougainville will be able to travel to Madrid to negotiate the final details of a hand-over. [1035]

January 20th, standing on the isthmus, Bougainville can see a mountain; so he sends some men to the top.[1036]

"On January 20, a group composed of Lhuillier de La Serre and Lavary-le Roi, two colonists, Augustin Benoist and Joseph Talbot, and two sailors, Brasse and Gillet, broke away and made the rise of a mountain that seemed the most high of the island and from where it perceive the sound. The weather covered does not allow them to acquire any certainty. They leave at the top a sealed bottle containing a paper to mark their passage."[1037]

> *"Bouteille posée par Augustin Benoist et Joseph Talebaux, colons, avant l'arrivée du navire, et par les Srs Le Roy, lieut. sur la fregate l'Aigle, en 1764 (?) et Lhuillier de La Serre, cap. d'Inf. et Ing. geog. du Roy, ce 20 janvier 1765, Brasse et Gilet, matelots."* [1038]

1031 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.116. No French chart of this period indicates a Port de la Croisade. In May, 1766, French Lieut. Lavary-Leroy, out of Fort St. Louis, discovered a narrows which he named Detroit de la Croisade. This would later lead to a claim that the French had discovered Port Egmont before the British. Pure propaganda. See 1767.

1032 *Historia de la Confederación Argentina: Rozas y su Época* Adolfo Saldias 1892 vol.2 p.98

1033 Byron's *Journal* quoted in Gallagher 1964 p.59

1034 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.207

1035 *Fuente a Grimaldi enero 18, 1765* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.90-91

1036 The isthmus is now the site of Goose Green. Mount Usborne at 705m is the highest feature on the Islands, and lies to the north of the East Falkland isthmus and Choiseul Sound. Satellite image courtesy of Google Earth.

1037 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.207

1038 I translate the words as – *"Bottle laid by Augustin Benoist and Joseph Talebaux, colonists, prior to the arrival of the ship, and by the Srs Le Roy, Lieut. Frigate the Aigle, in 1764 (?) And Lhuillier de La Serre, Cap(tain) of Inf(antry) and Eng(ineer) geog(rapher) of the King, January 20, 1765, Brasse and Gilet, sailors."* Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.207 en.22 (endnotes on page 220) citing *PRO Ad(m) 1/2116*. The question mark appears to query the year.

"There was, as the colonists had suspected, a narrow strip of land, 'one side being with range of a rifle shot from the other', barring what would have been an easily navigable east to west strait. ... They climbed a nearby hill and deposited a sealed bottle containing a note of their presence." [1039]

January 22nd, on Possession Island, Byron holds a formal ceremony. [1040]

> *"**Of this harbour, and all the neighbouring islands, I took possession** for his Majesty King George the Third of Great Britain, by the name of Falkland's Islands; and there is, I think, little reason to doubt that they are the same land to which Cowley gave the name of Pepy's Island."* [1041]
>
> *"... I took Possession of this Harbour & **all these Islands** for His Majesty King George the Third of Great Britain & His Heirs, tho' they had been before taken Possession of by Sir Richard Hawkins in the year 1593 (sic)."* [1042]
>
> *"... the Commodore hoisted his Colours & went on Shore & took Possession of **Faulklands Island** in the Name of His Majesty George the third on which I & his Officers Was present with him he was saluted With three Pieces of Ordinance from his Own Ship. On which every Man was Serv'd half Allowance of brandy to drink His Majesty's health."* [1043]
>
> *"On January 22, 1765, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Commodore, after having had the royal colours struck, and his own flag on the Dolphin, went on shore accompanied by Captain Mouat and several other officers, hoisted the colors on a mast which had been planted and took possession of the harbor of Port Egmont, the **islands of Falkland and all the adjacent islands**, in the name of His Majesty George III, for himself and his heirs forever. The Dolphin greeted the Commodore with three guns. Byron distributed to everyone a half-ration of brandy, which was drunk to drink for the health of his Majesty and the success of such a happy discovery."* [1044]

"In January 1765, Commodore Byron touched at the weſtern of theſe iſlands, and took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the King of G. Britain; but it does not appear that the Engliſh knew any thing at that time of the French proceedings." [1045]

1039 Dunmore 2005 p.120. See November, 25, 1766,.

1040 Gallagher 1964 p.34 citing *Hydrographic Department C74/2*. Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.170) give the date as January 21, 1765, while Groussac (1910 p.111) suggests 23 January. The plate laid by Governor David Tatham in 1996 states the 23rd. Byron did not actually name the day of the ceremony in his journal; merely noting the event as occurring between January 15 and January 27, 1765. Patrick Mouat also failed to note the date, but placed it after an entry in his log dated January 17th. Now Saunders Island. When the name change took place is not clear, although the *Carcass* log used 'Saunders Island' on its arrival there in February, 1766. It may be that with the harbour named after one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, it was felt politic to add those of the others – Admiral Sir Charles Saunders and, to the other sheltering island, Admiral Augustus Kepple.

1041 Byron quoted in Hawksworth 1773 vol.1 pp.50-51. My emphasis. The difference between this and the version immediately below it is notable. Gallagher (1964) considered Hawkesworth's account "*unreliable*" despite it having been commissioned by the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Sandwich. Hawkesworth's work also contained a chart, supposedly based upon M^{c}Bride's journals and drawings. On that, the archipelago is named *Hawkins' Maidenland* – not *Falkland's Islands*. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/00874022-e1548214581411.jpg

1042 Byron quoted in Gallagher 1964 p.60. My emphasis. Byron's written orders did not require him to make either a claim, or to take formal possession. The British Crown already regarded the Islands as its own territory.

1043 Patrick Mouat, who had transferred from *Tamar* to *Dolphin*, quoted in Gallagher 1964 p.60. My emphasis.

1044 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.391-392 citing *PRO Adm. 55/4.545. Cumming: Adm. 55/131. Mouat.* My emphasis.

1045 *A clear and concise relation of what has passed concerning the Falkland Islands* by *A Friend to this Kingdom* December 6, 1770 in *The Scots Magazine* January 1771 vol.33 p.27

"... commodore Byron came in January, 1765, to survey the Malouines. He touched to the westward of our settlement, in a port which we had already named Port de la Croisade, and he took possession of these islands for the crown of England, ..." [1046]

"... two establishments; the one, a national concern, executed by royal authority, and becoming a station of King's ships; the other, an individual enterprize, encouraged possibly, but certainly not supported, by the executive power of the country. The settlements were also perfectly distinct; for they were on different islands, at a distance of some hundred miles from each other; ... The two settlements were not only on different islands, but they were on islands to which neither country had, or could pretend to have, any thing like a prior or exclusive right. ... no right but that of actual possession or prior occupancy, can amount to an exclusion of other nations; and in this case, no such prior occupancy could be arrogated either by England or France. On the ground indeed of prior discovery, the right of England must have been indisputable ... This, however, is a species of claim too absurd to be depended upon in these days; and, in the case of the Falkland's Islands, it was unnecessary, as the circumstance of their having been unoccupied before the settlement in question was formed, gave the first settlers a clear and undisputed title against the whole world. It follows from this, that ***both settlements were valid*** *so far as the territory occupied extended. It would indeed be an extravagant proposition to affirm, that the possession of one island necessarily induces the possession of every island in its neighbourhood; as the obvious consequence must be that the first occupier of any Caribee Islands must have had exclusive rights to them all;..."* [1047]

"At the old English Settlement which stood here, nothing now remains beyond the foundations of a few straggling houses,... The spot was badly chosen for a Settlement, having a southern aspect, and at the distance of three miles from the Main land of West Falkland; ..." [1048]

"He (Byron) named a point in Byron Sound Port Egmont, after the first lord of the admiralty, and claimed the islands for Britain." [1049]

"A pole was planted on the shore and on top of which the British pavilion was flamed. Byron then declared that the islands belonged to S. M. B. and took possession on behalf of the Crown of England. The artillery salvos of the Dolphin and the Tamar completed the ritual at the same time that, breaking the secular stillness of the bay, they frightened thousands of birds that scattered to the four winds." [1050]

"British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands dates back to 1765, some years before the Republic of Argentina even existed." [1051]

January 27th, Commodore Byron notes; *"The surgeon of the Tamar made a pretty little Garden near the Watering Place which we surrounded with a Fence of Turf, for the benefit of those that may come next."* [1052]

"During a brief stay of 13 days Byron built a fort and hoisted the British flag, the usual salutes being fired, the ceremony concluding with enormous bowls of punch served round to the sailors to drink the health of King

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1046 Bougainville 1772. The only Spanish map of this period I have found is that by Capt. Francisco de Orosco of 1748, which was published in 1760. On that chart, the archipelago is noted as *Tierra Incognita* (unknown land) and the western edge of the archipelago is incomplete as in the style of Frezier's 1716 chart.

1047 *Letters lately published in The Diary on the subject of the present dispute with Spain, under the signature of Verus* Sir James Burges 1790. My emphasis.

1048 *Grey to Hamond 1836* in *ADM 1/43*

1049 Gustafson 1988 p.9. Byron Sound lies to the south of Port Egmont.

1050 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.116

1051 *Annex to the letter dated 14 January 2021 from the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. UN Document A/75/720*

1052 Gallagher 1964

George III. A large number of seals was killed while the fort was being constructed, one place in particular being called Bubblers Bay from the Shoals of these animals, which are so prolific as to give 18 or 20 at a birth. As for penguins the sailors found them very good eating provided they had been put in pickle the night before, which removed their strong flavor. Byron ascended a mountain over Port Egmont, and describes the view as very fine, embracing about 50 islands." [1053]

"It is curious that the mere planting of a vegetable garden... was considered by the secretary of state as the beginning of a settlement..." [1054]

"Before the British force left, a vegetable garden was planted, this act being later argued as giving continuity of British occupation." [1055]

Departing. Byron sails east across the northern coasts, naming various features as he sees them.

"All the islands that we(re) met, all the capes, all the bays, received honorable names destined to flatter the pride of the Admiralty lords and protectors of the expedition:..., Carlisle Sound, Cape Howe, Cape Carisfort, etc." [1056]

January 28th, Byron turns south, down the eastern coast of the archipelago. Unaware of the French presence deep inside, Byron names the mouth of the estuary leading to Fort Louis as – Berkeley Sound.

> *"This Island is very large – I dare say at least 6 or 700 Miles round, but part of the Coast is extremely dangerous; I went as far as any Ship would dare to venture & quite to the South End of It, after that it becomes a Lee Shore a prodigious Sea tumbles in upon It and sunken Rocks lay off 3 or 4 Leagues from It,.."* [1057]

"He sailed southwards past increasingly alarming rocks and breakers, so he reversed course and tacked back northwards again to Berkeley Sound. At 3pm on 28 January (by the civil day) he was 5 leagues from the entrance to the Sound, and at 8, as the wind changed to south-west, he headed towards the entrance, but held off for the night." [1058]

Byron, however, is being watched.

".., two English men of war with two vessels under their convoy anchored in sight of the Bay D'accaron, which caused much uneasiness to the French vessels and inhabitants of those Islands, who were of opinion that our men of war and the two vessels under their convoy were going to make a Settlement in the Streight of Magellan." [1059]

On the same day, five French men of a crew of nine, are lost when their longboat overturns. [1060]

1053 Mulhall 1878 pp.73-74
1054 Goebel 1927 p.234. Marks and, in this case, signs of sovereignty.
1055 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
1056 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.392
1057 *Byron to Egmont February 24, 1765* in Gallagher 1964 pp.153-160. Byron was aware of the sighting by Hawkins in 1594 (mistaking the year for 1593), but not that of Strong whose unpublished manuscript revealed a landing in 1690. Byron's repeated use of the word 'It' clearly indicating that he saw the archipelago as consisting of a single entity – as was so often depicted in the charts of that time. A clearer picture would not emerge until 1770. This undoubtedly had an influence on the nomenclature used for the archipelago during this, and later periods.
1058 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.175
1059 Report by John Le Mesurier dated June 26, 1766 in the Royal Archives at *GEO/MAIN/447-44. cf.* 1766
1060 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p176 citing the copy of Bougainville's journal in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

January 30th, after more than a fortnight away, Bougainville returns to the French settlement to be told that two ships have been seen, probably English.

"The men reported that they had seen two ships towards the north, which seemed to be making for the French settlement. Then they disappeared. Alexandre Duclos-Guyot thought they could have been sent from France with more supplies or colonists as had been promised... Louis, however, knew this was not likely, as France had no money for any further voyages; he believed that the ships were English, 'part of an expedition that was being readied as I was leaving, in order to set up some outpost in the South Sea.' ..." [1061]

February 2nd, encountering bad weather, Byron abandons his attempt to circumnavigate the archipelago, instead returning west along the northern coast before setting out for Port Desire (Puerto Deseado); *"... where he was to meet the Florida Storeship bringing him provisions and news from England."* [1062]

> *"As for Port Egmont I am almost certain that We are the first Ships that ever have been there since the Creation, & I coasted the Island above 70 Leagues afterwards but saw no Smokes or Signs of any Body's being there..."* [1063]

On the same day, Bougainville sails from Berkeley Sound bound upon a last ditch search for Pepy's Island. [1064]

"He sailed north to latitude 47° 42', turned west-south-west and searched for several days..." [1065]

February 4th, in Paris, it is confirmed that the French will remove their colony in the Malouines, to be replaced by a Spanish garrison. It is also agreed that an inventory will be sent to Madrid detailing Bougainville's costs; expended in the formation of the settlement. [1066]

"By early February 1765 the whole matter was settled, but Louis (Bougainville) did not arrive for another six months – and by then a whole new factor had come into the discussion:.." [1067]

February 5th, near Port Desire, Byron meets up with the store ship *Florida.* [1068]

> *"At four in the afternoon, the master of the storeship came on board the Dolphin, bringing a packet from the Lords of the Admiralty.*" [1069]

"As well as stores, the Florida brought a letter from Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, stating that the news of the French establishment in the Falklands had been made public in London on 3 August 1764." [1070]

February 13th, Byron decides to sail for Port Famine to continue the unloading of *Florida*; it being a more suitable harbour for the purpose.

February 15th, one of Byron's crew; *"... saw in the north-west area a foreign sail sailing south."* [1071]

1061 Dunmore 2005 pp.120-121
1062 Gallagher 1964 p.xxxix
1063 *Byron to Egmont February 24, 1765* in Gallagher 1964 pp.153-160
1064 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.208
1065 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.176 citing the copy of Bougainville's journal in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and noting that the copyist had omitted "*all but the barest details*."
1066 Scavennec 2004/2005
1067 Dunmore 2005 p.129
1068 Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.176) gives the date as the 6th (Sea time).
1069 *A Voyage Round the World In his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin ... By an Officer on Board* Anon 1767
1070 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.176
1071 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.393

"At 7 in the morning on Friday 15 February 1765, some ten leagues north-east of Cape Virgin, Bougainville and his crew saw three ships,.." [1072]

February 18th, Byron's squadron enters Magellan's Strait.

February 18th, *Florida* runs aground.

"At the sight of the danger that this ship ran, the foreigner who was very near, dropped anchor, raised the French flag, and put two canoes into the sea, which he sent with an anchor to rescue Florid(a). On the spot I detach two of my canoes and one of the Tamar to come to her aid with orders to the officers not to allow the French to board, but to thank them in an honest manner for their good will. These orders were punctually executed and our ships soon came to restore our supply vessel. When we returned from our boats, I was informed that there appeared to be on board the French ship a large crew and many officers..." [1073]

"*... The Stranger/ who came to an Anchor ... hoisted French Colours. ... She is either from the Islands to get Wood here, or else upon a Survey of these Straits; I should rather think the latter...*" [1074]

"When one ran aground, Bougainville put a dingy out to sea to give assistance. The ship refused the assistance. ... After observing the movements of the English, the men gathered plants – 10,000 trees for the colony." [1075]

"At dawn on the 18th Byron saw the strange ship getting underway towards him, so he took precautions: he got eight guns up out of the hold (as many as he could get at), and he hoisted no colours. But again the Florida caused problems: she ran aground, whereupon the strange ship anchored, raised French colours and sent two boats to render assistance. Byron still hoisted no colours, but sent the Dolphin's and Tamar's boats, ordering them not to let the French boats come near them but to thank the French for their offer of help. The Florida was soon refloated... Byron noted on 18 February: "This French ship is full of Men & seems to have a great many officers"." [1076]

February 19th, the three British ships sail to Port Famine on the northern shore of the Strait; to continue the transshipping of the store-ship's supplies and to take on wood and water.

February 24th, Byron writes a letter for the attention of Lord Egmont.

> *"Mr Stephens informs me the French have been lately to the Isles Mallouins, so Falklands Islands are call'd in some Charts. If your Lordship will please to look over Fraziers Voyage, you will see that the French themselves acknowledge our Countryman Sir Richard Hawkins to have been the first Discoverer of Falklands Islands. As for Port Egmont I am almost certain that we are the first Ships that ever have been there since the Creation, and I Coasted the Island for above Seventy Leagues afterwards but saw no Smokes nor signs of any bodys being there. This Island is very large, I dare say, at least six or seven hundred miles round, but par(t) of the Coast is extremely dangerous. I went as far as any Ship would dare to venture, & quite to the south end of it, after that it becomes a Lee Shore, a Prodigious sea tumbles in upon it, and sunken Rocks lay off three or four Leagues from it, & besides after that the Country appears just like Staten Land nothing but high Barren Ragg'd Rocks. ... I took Possession of this Country in Form for His Majesty & Heirs."* [1077]

1072 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.176
1073 Byron quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.394
1074 *Byron to Egmont February 24, 1765* in Gallagher 1964 pp.153-160
1075 Scavennec 2004/2005. Martin-Allanic (1964 pp.209-211) suggests that the ships were in close proximity for a week.
1076 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.177
1077 *Byron to Egmont February 24, 1765* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.91-97. Carried on the storeship *Florida*, and received by Lord Egmont on June 22, 1765.

February 25th, Byron sends the store-ship *Florida* back to England, before setting out for the South Sea; *"... the Commodore sent home the draughts of all the places he had caused to be taken,.."*

"... Byron resolved to get rid of Florida, directing it to England with copies of all the plans raised during the patient exploration. But fearing some setback, he issued orders that, in the event of being approached by sailors belonging to another nationality, all documents should be thrown into the sea." [1078]

February 26th, sailing west, Byron sees *Aigle* moored in a cove; *"I think there can be no doubt but she is here on purpose to get Wood for their new Settlement."* [1079]

"Bougainville then discovered two new bays that were named Bougainville Bay and Eagle Bay. On that occasion one of the officers disembarked and raised the French flag. For twenty days, and taking every precaution imaginable, they brought on board more than ten thousand plants of different ages. Soon after they managed to get in touch with the famous Patagones who were given various utensils and a flag, at the same time they exercised to make them shout: Vive le Roi de France." [1080]

From the French settlement, Capt. D'Eperriers sets out with a few men to explore to the south.

March 20th, D'Eperriers climbs Mount Usborne.[1081] Finding the bottle left by Bougainville's previous expedition, Capt. D'Eperriers adds his name to the back of the paper.

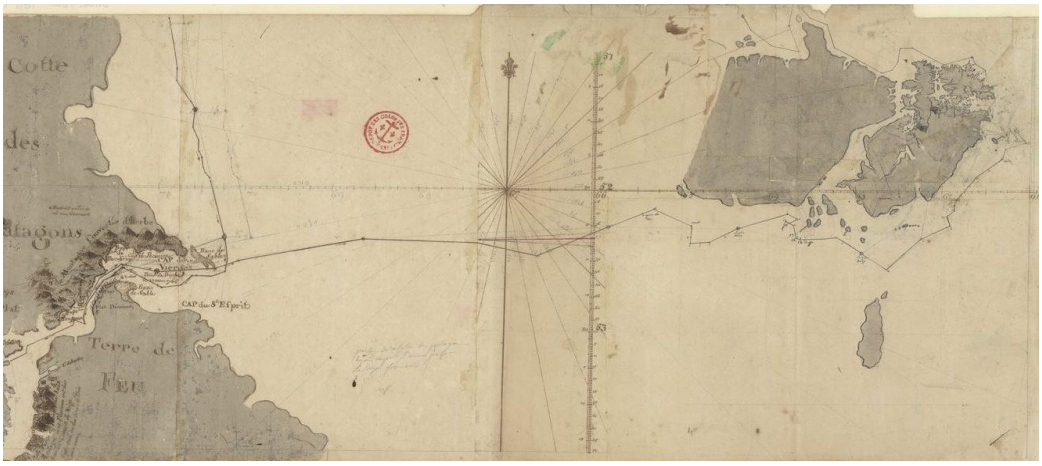
March 29th, Bougainville arrives back at the French settlement with a cargo of wood and saplings. [1082]

"M. Desperriers returned to the Settlement from his expedition a few days after our arrival. He confirmed to us the existence of a Strait which divides this land into two islands, of which the western one is more extensive than the part which we occupy at the moment." [1083]

April 25th, Bougainville de Nerville prepares a letter for Dom Pernetty; *"All the length of our building there is a beautiful promenade of a plain earth, and 20 feet and more in width; a new store rebuilt on the seashore; a fort completely repaired, levelled, with platforms under the guns, a new powder, a bakery and a forge."* [1084]

Charts are prepared. [1085]

1078 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.116
1079 Byron's journal quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.178
1080 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.86
1081 Apparently known as Mont Castellux by the French settlers.
1082 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.86
1083 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.181 citing the copy of Bougainville's journal in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
1084 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.86
1085 I have located two examples, provenance uncertain but both circa 1765. The first, with the name *Carte d'une partie du détroit de Magelan et de l'Isle Malouine* (Map of part of the Strait of Magellan and Isle Malouine) appears to show Bougainville's track to the Strait from the north, following his search for Pepy's Island and then back to the settlement with his cargo of wood. A track to the north of the archipelago seems to be Bougainville's 1764 route. The second, *Carte des Isles Malouines 1764 et 1765* contains a few intriguing details. Again it shows Bougainvilles tracks around the archipelago in 1764 and 1765 but the location of Port St. Louis is hidden behind a picture of the head of a dog or fox (Warrah?). This chart also appears to show the extent of exploration out of the settlement with rivers and streams marked. The English spelling of Isles raises a few questions. More research required.



While preparations are being made for Bougainville's departure, a few last civic duties need to be performed.

> *"A few days before my departure, … I married the two sisters of the wife of Malivilain, .., and I leave three pregnant women. The country is good for increasing. Total men, women and children of the colony in 1765: 75 people."* [1086]

April 27th, from Fort St. Louis, *Aigle* sails for France. [1087]

"Louis had every reason to feel satisfied with his young colony." [1088]

1086 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.215
1087 Burney 1813 p.149
1088 Dunmore 2005

June 21st, *Florida* arrives back in England with letters and papers from Byron.

"Commodore Byron's report, which reached England on the 21st June, 1765, stated that there were no signs of inhabitants on the Falkland Islands. On the strength of this and discounting the French announcement made in August, 1764, the British Government planned a further expedition to complete the settlement begun last year at Port Egmont." [1089]

"*The Admiralty report(ed) to the ministry on the success of Byron's mission, so that the news may reach the king, and (to) solicit instructions.*" [1090]

"On June 21, 1765 Florida was already in British port, and shortly after Byron's report was known to the authorities who, immediately, decided to implement the foundation of an establishment." [1091]

July 20th, in England, not having heard anything from the King's Cabinet, John Percival, 2nd Earl of Egmont, writes to Augustus Henry Fitzroy, 3rd Duke of Grafton, Secretary of State for the Northern Department.

> *"I have the honour to enclose the Charts & Surveys which were transmitted with the Letter your Grace has lately read from Commander Byron. With these I have likewise sent full Extracts of all such accounts as have hitherto come to our Knowledge concerning Falkland's Island from its first Discovery to this day – Your Grace will please to lay them before his Majesty & those of his principle Servants whose opinion can alone be taken on a Subject of this very great Moment & of the most secret nature. The Perusal of these Papers will, I believe completely prove his Majesty's Title. It will also shew the great Importance of this Station, which is undoubtedly the Key to the whole Pacifick Ocean.*
>
> *This Island must command the Ports & Trade of Chile Peru, Panama, Acapulco, & in one word all the Spanish Territory upon that Sea. It will render all our Expeditions to those parts most lucrative to ourselves, most fatal to Spain & no longer formidable tedious, or uncertain in a future War … Your Grace & the rest of the King's Servants will no doubt particularly consider how far & in what Manner this Project may commit G. Britain either with the Spaniards or the French. First, as to Spain, it is impossible that even their pretended Title from the Pope's Grant or any Treaty (so far as I can recollect) can give them the least Claim to an Island lying 80 or 100 Leagues in the Atlantick Ocean eastward of … Continent of South America, to which it* ***cannot*** *be deem'd appurtenant, and the attempt of France to settle there seems to confirm this argument against all that can be urg'd hereafter by either of those Powers to that Effect.* [1092]
>
> *With respect to France … the 1st & 2nd Discoveries of this Island were both by the Subjects, & under the authority of the Crown of G. Britain in the reigns of Q. Elizabeth and Charles the Second, and the French never saw them until the reign of Q. Anne. Their present Projector Frezier owns that they were first discover'd by the English.*
>
> *It was many months after Capt Byron's expedition was plann'd & 6 or 7 Weeks after he had sail'd that the first suspicion was entertain'd in England of any Design on the Part of France to attempt this Island. In Sept. 1764 a Paragraph in the foreign gazettes first mention'd that some frigates were returned to St Maloes from visiting and exploring the Coast there … and in … Month of March last the famous old Voyager Frezier himself told a Person employ'd to view the Ports of France (whose*

1089 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
1090 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.395
1091 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.117
1092 For comments regarding adjacency see 1790

important Intelligence your Grace has lately seen) that he had been consulted by the French ministers upon this undertaking & that 3 or 4 French Frigates were to be employ'd this Summer to make the Settlement.

This being all that We have yet learn'd of the French Intentions & coming from Us from no avowed authority & Capt Byron so late as Febry' last having rang'd the Coast for 200 Miles in Length & remain'd long upon it without finding the least Trace of any Possession taken by the French We may either suppose the Intelligence above mentioned to have been such as deserv'd our Notice, or Pretend a total Ignorance upon the Subject as it shall best suit the Conduct which his Majesty may think proper to hold upon this delicate affair. –

I have only to add that as things now stand, the King's Ministers should immediately take this matter under Consideration & come to a very speedy resolution upon it that the Admiralty may receive his Majesty's orders if any thing is to be done without delay. It will not be possible to fit out an Equipment proper to take possession of this Island later than the middle of Sept – This Interval is very short to prepare for such an undertaking – and if We should let this Season pass another will not return till the same month in the ensuing year.

By that time the French will have certainly fix'd a Colony which will have taken root full 19 months before any that in that Case can be made by Us & may be then probably out of Power to expel, at least without direct & avow'd Hostilities which may bring on an immediate Rupture both with France & Spain. Whereas (for many reasons too tedious to be inserted here) this will be less likely to ensue, if as things are now circumstanc'd We take our measures sooner or at least as soon as France. ....

I have the honour to be &c." [1093]

"Lord Egmont, in conclusion, calls for immediate action, because he fears that if the French really try to settle on Falkland Island and the English do nothing, the first ones will not only have an occupation priority of one year, but still "it is probable that it would then be no longer in our power to expel them, unless there were direct and open hostilities which would lead to an immediate break with France and Spain. However, for reasons that would be too long to expose here, this possibility could only be considered if the circumstances allow us to take our measures sooner or, at least, as soon as France". ..." [1094]

"More or less summarising Anson's proposals, Egmont thus envisaged an attack both on the unknown continent and (if necessary) on the more tangible riches of the Pacific, the Spanish empire. For harrying Spain in a future war, for establishing England's right to free navigation in the Pacific, and also as a bargaining counter in the negotiations over the Manila Ransom... the Falkland Islands were indispensable. Conversely, a hostile power in possession of them would prohibit further English penetration unto the Pacific." [1095]

"Nothing had yet been achieved with regard to the debated issue of the payment of the Manila bailout; it was found that, in order to gain any advantage and force the Court of Spain, it was necessary to force the hand and perhaps, better still, to have a bargaining chip, (and) that currency could well be the Malvinas Islands. On the other hand, there was still on the table the interest in that land that had been aroused by a good connoisseur of the problems posed by naval strategy on the one hand, and the development of British trade on the other: we are referring, of course, to Admiral Anson." [1096]

1093 *Egmont to Grafton 20 July 1765 SP 94/253, fol.238* quoted in full in Gallagher 1964. My emphasis.
1094 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.396
1095 Wallis (ed.) 1965
1096 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.115

Egmont asks that his letter be placed before the King. [1097]

"... it is clear that the author of the letter had no certainty that the French had founded an establishment in those latitudes." [1098]

That same day, Henry Conway, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, instructs the Admiralty to ready a frigate, a sloop and a store-ship for an expedition to Port Egmont.

> *"(They are to) immediately complete the settlement begun last year. ... If any lawless persons should happen to be found seated on any Part of the said Islands, they are to be compelled either to quit the said island, or to take the oaths, acknowledge and submit themselves to His Majesty's government as subjects of the Crown of Great Britain.*
>
> *And if, contrary to Expectations, the subjects of any Foreign Power in Amity with Great Britain, should under any real and pretended authority, have taken upon them to make any settlement of any kind ... the commanders of His Majesty's ships are to visit such settlement, and to remonstrate against their proceedings... to warn them off the said islands & to transport themselves with their effects within a time limited, not exceeding six months from the day of the notice so to be given."* [1099]
>
> *"If any wild people inhabit the said islands His Majesty orders them to be treated with the greatest Prudence and the greatest Humanity, to invite them to traffic, by presents and benevolent manners, and to induce them to treat and recognize the titles of His Majesty... The same concern for humanity and moderation has also led His Majesty to signify that he pleases him, in the event that any subject of some foreign power is, against any expectation, found established or attempting to make an establishment upon the said or any of them, and would refuse by recklessness or ignorance to take note of the advice given to him to leave, or persist in disobeying the orders given to him, or would try to maintain by force, the commanders of His Majesty's ships (except at the Port-Egmont establishment where they are formally ordered to stay at all costs) will have to carefully avoid employing measures of hostility or unless forced to do so by hostility or violence first against them and in the case of self-defense. In such circumstances, one of the ships would be immediately dispatched to England to inform Her Majesty of all the details of the events ..."* [1100]
>
> "*If, contrary to expectation, the vassals of any foreign power friendly to Great Britain, purport under any authority, real or pretended, to have taken possession of them in order to establish a colony of any kind or nature, whatever it may be, over any part or parts of the said Falkland Islands or Pepy(?), the commander of the ships of Their Majesties mentioned above, will visit that colony and protest against its procedures, informing them that these Islands have been discovered in the first term by subjects of the Crown of England sent there by the Government, with that object, and that by right belong to S. M.,... also, that in a certain period of time, (they) must leave these islands, term not to exceed six months from the day on which the communication is made."* [1101]

1097 Wallis (ed.) 1965

1098 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.118

1099 Sir Henry Conway quoted in Goebel 1927 p.234. Byron's information caused some confusion. The Admiralty was now aware that France had settlers in somewhere called the Malouines, but there was no certainty that that place was the same as the Falkland Islands; Byron having seen no sign of life.

1100 Sir Henry Conway quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.396-398

1101 Sir Henry Conway quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.117-118

"The new colony was to have a ship constantly stationed as a protection, and the other vessels were to be employed in making surveys and to continue the search for Pepy's island, which the King did not yet despair of finding and reducing to possession." [1102]

"Lord Egmont receives with joy the king's instructions which allow him to pursue his designs. He immediately ordered Deptford's arsenal to repair the armament of the frigate Jason, 32 guns, the Carcass sloop, 16 (guns), and the Experiment corvette." [1103]

"This clause had no application in Port Egmont. If a foreign establishment were found there, its inhabitants should be expelled. If it was not possible to do so, a colony would be established to maintain the future rights of possession of the place for H. M. the King of England. Note the difference that the English official document establishes for Port Egmont in relation to the rest of the archipelago, as well as the voluntary inaccuracy it incurs with regard to the navigators who discovered the islands." [1104]

August 12th, at St. Malo, Bougainville, after a journey beset by contrary winds and scurvy, anchors. [1105]

> *"... on disembarking I was received with acclamations by a large crowd – to all those crowding around asking me, I gave news of their families, and the joy of the people amply rewarded me for all the travails of these two campaigns."* [1106]

"It is assured, that our Court, ... proposes also to maintain the Establishment made in the Isles of the Malouines, and promises itself much in this Respect from the Cares of the Sieur de Bouganiville. This gentleman is returned, for the second time, from the Isle, which is believed to be one of the Malouines, near the Terra Patagonia, where he had formed an Establishment, which he found in good condition. Of the 115 inhabitants, whom he had left there, none of them had felt any illness, but their propagation will be but very slow, as they have only 15 women with them." [1107]

August 17th, in Paris, Bougainville finds that Choiseul is out of the city and that nobody is prepared to discuss what is happening. More worryingly, the supply ships that should have been ready for the journey to Fort Louis are not to be found. Nothing seems to have been prepared.

"Du Buc had given on the 30th of April, at the port of Rochefort, an order to "dispatch diligently ... some vessels of the King of about 200 tons to bring to the Malouines the necessary supplies according to the (requirements) drawn up by M. de Bougainville." ... But Du Buc's order remained a dead letter. It seems that it had never left the offices of Truguet and Rodier and had never reached Rochefort. ... no one wants to say anything precise, one whispers as around a corpse. It seems to Bougainville that the Malouines affair is dead and that they are only waiting for him to bury it." [1108]

Bougainville speaks to Charles de Brosses about all he has found in the new colony, sketching the land discovered; *"... separated in two by a strait."* [1109]

1102 Goebel 1927 p.234
1103 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.398
1104 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.118
1105 Date provided by Martin-Allanic 1964 p.219
1106 Bougainville quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.182 citing the copy of Bougainville's journal in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
1107 *Paris, Aug.16* in the *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette Thursday September 12, 1765*
1108 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.241
1109 *Ibid.* p.242. Charles de Brosses (aka the President of Brosses), Count de Tournay, was a prominent writer, historian and academic of the period.

August 20th, in London, the new Southern Secretary, Lord Conway, instructs Ambassador Rochford in Madrid, to press the case for full payment of the outstanding Manila ransom. [1110]

"Conway observed that the long silence in the correspondence may have led the Spanish to, think that the matter had been laid aside, but Rochford was now to employ all his zeal and ability to press for the full payment of the Ransom. Reviewing and answering the possible objections, Conway acknowledged that there may be no law in Spain enabling a Governor or Archbishop to draw on the Royal Treasury for so large a sum, but treaties made and signed must be fulfilled, as they engage the honour of nations; the Spanish ministers would surely dishonour their King "by advising him to act a Part rather becoming the low & mercenary Principles of a Banker or Scrivener, than the liberal and exalted Sentiments of a great Prince."..." [1111]

August 25th, Minister Choiseul returns to Paris and immediately calls for Bougainville; who informs him of the sighting of the British ships in the Magellan Strait.

"*The Duc de Choiseul is well aware that the successors of Admiral Anson are not people to let go of (an idea). They renew the attempt made at (Anson's) instigation fifteen years earlier.*" [1112]

Bougainville is told of the argument with Spain and the decision to hand the new colony over to them.

"(Choiseul) sets forth the arguments which have been produced by the Spanish Ministry and which are not lacking in strength: it is not certain, it is even very doubtful, that the French can rely on the priority of discovery; the Falklands were known to Spaniards as to other nations; they are ***contiguous*** *to the American coasts belonging to Spain, and if that nation has not occupied them, it is because it is not possible for it to maintain inhabitants on all points of its immense territory, especially when the usefulness of some of them is questionable; the French, moreover, who claimed the right of priority by discovery, had not occupied them either. If Spain allowed France to settle there, she would tacitly authorize England to do the same in other nearby islands, which she might, moreover, claim to have been discovered by her nationals. Finally, and this is the main argument on which the Spanish Ministry has insisted, the Malouines will be used mainly to introduce smuggling into the Spanish possessions of South America."* [1113]

"Choiseul imposed on him the state of the negotiation and the Spanish attitude, as well as on the need for him in person to talk with the ministers of the allied nation." [1114]

"Choiseul gave him the gist of his discussions with the Spanish Ambassador: it did look as though Spain had a valid claim to the islands. French sailors may well have discovered them and visited them on a number of occasions but France had not occupied them until Bougainville's recent effort." [1115]

Bougainville responds that the Spanish claim is invalid, as they have never attempted to settle the Islands; *"Even accepting that the whole of South America belongs to Spain, what rights can she have to an island lying 80 leagues from that coast."* [1116] Believing that Choiseul can be persuaded to change his mind, Bougainville promises to set out the fragility of Spain's arguments in a *memoire*.

1110 Rice 1973 p.294 citing *Conway to Rochford August 20, 1765* in *SP 94/171.* Privately, Spain's Finance Minister, Squilaci, informed Rochford that his King simply did not have the money to pay.
1111 *Ibid.*
1112 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.243
1113 *Ibid.* My emphasis. Contiguous? Hardly. The mouth of Magellan's Strait is some 300 miles from the archipelago. Spain's nearest surviving settlement at that time was Buenos Aires, 1000 miles away.
1114 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.98
1115 Dunmore 2005 p.130
1116 Robson 2005

"... Bougainville reiterated that England was going about its own business, ignoring Spain, and looking to establish its own land holdings in the area. Bougainville had seen the English vessels with his own eyes." [1117]

"... at that time Spain was ignorant of the islands; ... the first reference to them in the Spanish archive of the Indies is of 8 April 1758; in the same archive there is a letter of 16 October 1759 from Captain Francisco Horozco, who had explored the coast of Patagonia in 1746 and knew nothing of the Falklands." [1118]

August 26th, resolute, Bougainville presents a lengthy *memorandum* to Choiseul - *"On the motives which determined the Government to recognize and establish the Falkland Islands, on the consequences and advantages of this establishment and on the lack of foundation of the claims of Spain in this respect."* [1119]

> *"Spain is not entitled to make any claim on this establishment. It is an acknowledged principle that new lands belong to the first occupant. We discovered and established first the Malouine islands. It can not be contested."* [1120]

"In terms of the Law of Nations as it was then understood, Britain's claim by virtue of discovery was insufficient. So too was Spain's theoretical claim under the Treaty of Utrecht, since it could not be proven that these islands were part of the Spanish Empire in the time of Charles II of Spain. In legal terminology, the islands were res nullius, and open to the first permanent occupant, which was now France." [1121]

Minister Choiseul, persuaded and re-enthused, instructs Bougainville; *"... (to) plead his case to the Spanish court."* [1122] Reminded that the settlers need to be re-supplied, the Minister also authorises the supply ship, *Etoile*, to be readied. After the interview, Bougainville immediately writes to Dom Pernety; *"... I shall be sent into Spain to settle some matters with the Spanish Court relative to our new establishment."* [1123]

Choiseul writes to Ambassador de Ossun at the Spanish Court; *"M. de Bougainville has arrived from his island, I will have him leave next week for Madrid, where he will explain to the Spanish Ministers two things that are equally important; the first that our Establishment is useful to them and of primary use; the second, that if we abandon it to the Spanish, they will not support it and that the English will complain about it: I will work on a Memorandum that will serve as instructions to M. de Bougainville, who I ask you to welcome."* [1124]

August 31st, from Madrid, Grimaldi writes to Spain's Ambassador to the British Court, Don Filippo Vitorio Amadeo Ferrero de Biella, Prince of Masseran (Masserano), in London, on the unsettled issue of the Manila Ransom; *"As for the demand for the two millions, it is useless to enter into the discussion of a debt so ill-founded, that it is unfair to claim, and that it would be shameful to imagine paying it... What is the point of looking for excuses? It is better to say that England wants war."* [1125]

September 2nd, in Paris, Fernand de Magallón, who is still acting as Spain's representative in the Ambassador's absence, visits Minister Choiseul. The Minister tells him that the Malouine Islands are further from the South American coast than he had thought, and that he now wishes to re-examine the question of the French settlement.

1117 *Des Acadiens aux Malouines* G. Scavennec 2005
1118 Pasco 2022 p.183 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 and Groussac 1910. *cf.* 1748 & 1760
1119 Quoted in full in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.244 citing *Arch. Min. Col. Cart. 7, n° 530*
1120 *Ibid* p.248
1121 Rice 1973 p.418 citing Goebel 1927
1122 *Des Acadiens aux Malouines* G. Scavennec 2005 in *Racines & Rameaux Francais d'Acadaie: Recherche Genealogique et Histoire de l'Acadie* April, July, December 2004 & April 2005. Translation available here - https://rebeccabenoit.com/Augustin_Benoit.html
1123 Burney vol.5 1817 p.150
1124 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.353-354
1125 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.256

Magallón responds; *"... that he does not know exactly how far they are from it, but that this distance must be considered in proportion to the size of America."* [1126]

Choiseul informs Magallón that he intends to send Bougainville to Madrid to argue the case for a French settlement. Reporting the conversation in a letter to Grimaldi, Magallón emphasises Choiseul's concerns that, if the islands are not occupied by France or Spain, then the British will take them. [1127]

> *"This morning the Duke of Choiseul told me that Monsignor de Bougainville had returned from his voyage to the Maluinas Islands, and that he was thinking of having him go to Madrid to inform Your Excellency not only of the state in which he has left the establishment he has made in said Islands, but also of the good effects that can be produced by increasing it, and of his way of thinking about that Country. On this occasion he has told me that Bougainville himself had told him of having found some ships of an English fleet that seem to cross those seas, and that it was believed to be destined to make its cruises in those of the South, and that he had followed them, and observed them very closely, and seen that they were examining all the coasts of Cape Horn, the Strait of Magellan, and others.*
>
> *The Duke believes it is extremely important that a formal establishment be established on the Island, and in the place where Bougainville has begun to do so, and he has added that if we do not want to do it (assuming the many essential points that we have to maintain) France will do it, because he is convinced of its importance, its usefulness, and that it must be difficult for the English to do so, if what has been done is abandoned or not continued. I believe that through this Ordinary the Duke himself writes about this matter to the Marquis of Ossun, and that he leaves the details of it and the report that Mr. de Bougainville will make, and the means and methods that he can suggest to form the establishment with the appropriate success and solidity.*
>
> *The Count of Fuentes wrote to Your Excellency. a few months before leaving here a long letter on this important matter, which I think will be convenient to keep in mind when it comes to dealing with it; and I will limit myself for now to what I have said so that Your Excellency may see the way of thinking of this Ministry, always zealous in everything that may be convenient for the good of the two Nations against the common enemy, and can only add that the establishment of people that Mr. de Bougainville left on his first trip has increased much more than could have been expected, since of the fourteen or sixteen women that he left, he has found them all successively on his return, and according to appearances it is a climate in which the population can grow greatly in a short time, and more easily than in any other country."* [1128]

September 3rd, in Spain, Britain's Ambassador Lord Rochford meets with Minister Grimaldi.

"Rochford began cautiously and moderately, "Knowing how tender and disagreeable a Subject" it would be; but Grimaldi "flew out at the first mention of the word Ransom," and said they would go to all Eternity rather than pay so unjust a demand. He at once retracted this statement, and observed that he had no authority for such a remark. He lapsed into a bitter silence, and would have stopped there, had not Rochford continued on the injustice of Spain's refusal and the moderation of Draper's forces at Manila. At this, Grimaldi grew very

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1126 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.249

1127 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.99

1128 *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.100-101. Minister Grimaldi appears to have written a note on the reverse side of this letter; *"We will be pleased to see Mr. de Bougainville here to repeat the reports he has given to this Court on his expedition and establishment in the Malouines Islands and other observations he has made. The King and his Minister are convinced of the importance of the object; and having heard Mr. de Bougainville, we will take steps for the establishment. Please assure Mr. de Choiseul of this and thank him very much for sending Bougainville to Spain..."* No date.

heated, and vehemently reminded Rochford that although the British had left the buildings intact, they had stripped the interiors. After further acrimonious exchanges on similar themes, Grimaldi ended the interview with a request that Rochford should submit an Office making formal demand for payment, which Rochford agreed to do." [1129]

September 5th, in London, France's *charge d'affairs*, de Blosset, writes to Choiseul regarding a conversation he has had with Southern Secretary Henry Conway.

> *"This minister has asked me several questions about the return of M. de Bougainville and the … Falkland Islands, long known and frequented, by the subjects of Great Britain and to which he gives an English name. I confessed to him that I was not in a position to satisfy his curiosity, that it only seemed to me that the name indicated the nation that had discovered these islands, and that for the rest I had heard that they were sterile and uninhabited."* [1130]

"The fears of Bougainville and Choiseul are justified; English claims to possess rights over the Malouines are already emerging. This fact is not isolated, it is a manifestation of the increasingly dangerous policy of the English ministry where the influence of Mr. Pitt is felt again." [1131]

"… couriers were expedited from London to Paris, to Madrid, confirming the English intention to occupy the Malouines/Falkland Islands." [1132]

From St. Ildefonse, France's Ambassador d'Ossun also writes to Choiseul.

> *"I will inform, Sir, the Spanish Ministry of the imminent arrival of M. de Bougainville and of the object of his mission, the success of which I fear will encounter difficulties. Moreover, I beg you to believe that I will give this officer the warm welcome that he deserves and that you desire, and that it will not be in my care that he does not succeed in the negotiation with which you have charged him."* [1133]

On the same day, Bougainville presents Choiseul with a *memorandum* - for his eyes only.

"… saying he regarded "the cession of those islands to Spain" as highly prejudicial to the interests of the king of France – his use of the word "cession" shows he saw the islands as rightfully French, not Spanish. … he sent Choiseul a note including a list of treaties involving Spanish colonial territories, from the Treaty of Münster of 1648 to the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713… The passage he quoted all refer to lands actually possessed by Spain, which the Malouines were clearly not. He pointed out that the Treaty of Madrid of 1670 makes no mention whatever of the actual limits of Spanish possessions, only referring to "places possessed by the other" in America. Likewise in Article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which he quoted at length, the queen of Great Britain [Anne] promised to assist the Spaniards to recover the former limits of their possessions in America on the same footing as in the time of Charles II (when of course the islands were not possessed by Spain). His conclusion was that neither England, nor Holland, nor Portugal, had ever had the Malouine Islands in view when agreeing to protect Spanish commerce against other countries." [1134]

September 6th, from Madrid, Rochford informs London that the Spanish fleet is in a poor condition and that they could not equip and man more than 30 vessels in the event of war.

1129 Rice 1973 citing *Rochford to Conway September 6, 1765* in *SP 94/171, f.152*

1130 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.255 citing *Aff. Étr. Angl., 465 f° 206-207.* Also Dunmore 2005 p.131 citing *Archives Nacionales de France, Affaires Etrangeres, Angleterre, ref. 465:1.* Blosset's letter was dated the 7th and Choiseul received this September 12, 1765

1131 *Ibid.* p.255

1132 Dunmore 2005

1133 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.354

1134 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.184

"You see Sir by this State of Affairs how little they ought to wish for a new War, and it is my firm Belief They will do their utmost to avoid it, and will endeavour by all Sorts of Means to gain time but they will not easily forget their late Losses, and will as soon as ever They are able, hold a different Language." [1135]

September 12th, in Paris, and in receipt of de Blosset's letter, Choiseul becomes concerned about an emergence of British pretensions to the archipelago. He postpones Bougainville's trip to Madrid.

September 26th, in England, instructions are prepared for Captain John M[c]Bride. [1136]

> *"... (Byron) had examined & surveyed the Coast thereof from the Western part which he fell in with in the Latitude of 51° 08' South to the Eastern Extremity of it, extending near Four Degrees of Longitude, in all which Extent he discovered no Signs of any People either then subsisting, or who had ever set foot thereon; that he had fixed upon a very capacious and secure Harbour to which he gave the name of Port Egmont, as the most proper for the forming a Settlement there, at which Place Vegetables and other Refreshments very conducive to the health of Seamen after a long Voyage were to be found in great abundance; & that he had erected Marks of Possession (**more particularly upon the Shores of the Harbour** beforementioned) and had made & planted Gardens for the accommodation of such Persons as might be sent from Great Britain in consequence of this previous Step;* [1137]
>
> *And whereas His Majesty upon full consideration of the Information abovementioned, has signified to us His Pleasure that another Embarkation shall be made as soon as the Season of the Year will permit, in order to carry into farther execution the said Settlement at Port Egmont upon Falklands Island aforesaid, and that there be employed on that Service a Frigate of 32 Guns, a Sloop, and a Storeship carrying a Block-House of Timber ready framed so as to be set up immediately for the present Security & the more convenient Habitation of the Persons who are to remain upon the Island;*
>
> *And whereas we think fit that you shall be entrusted with the conduct of this important Service, and have with that view caused the Ship you command to be fitted, victualled and stored in all respects proper for the occasion, as also the Carcass Sloop (whose Captain is directed to obey your Orders) and the Experiment Storeship (whose Captain will be directed to follow you with all possible expedition). You are in pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure, hereby required and directed to proceed without loss of time in the Ship you command together with the said Sloop Carcass, to Port Egmont in Falklands Island, aforesaid, and for your guidance in finding the said Island, as well as for your information of such parts of it as Commodore Byron has visited and surveyed, & particularly the Port abo(ve)mentioned, You will herewith receive Copies of such Charts and Surveys thereof, as have been transmitted to us by the said Commodore.* [1138]
>
> *Upon your arrival at Port Egmont you are immediately to proceed to compleat (sic) the Settlement begun there the last Year, which is to be accomplished in all Events; and so soon as the Experiment Storeship shall join you in the said Port, you are to cause the Block House of Timber, which has been framed in England, and will be sent out in her, to be erected on such spot of Ground as you shall judge most proper for the defence of the said Settlement.*
>
> *You are to cause the Twenty five Marines including Officers, which we have directed you to bear as part of the Complement of the Jason, or so many of them as may be found necessary or expedient, from*

1135 Quoted in Rice 1973 citing *Rochford to Conway September 6, 1765 (Private)* in *SP 94/171, f.150*

1136 Variously rendered McBride, MacBride or M'Bride; he apparently signed the latter.

1137 My emphasis. A harbour is a body of water, sheltered by land. Port Egmont was a harbour sheltered by three main islands. Port Egmont was not **on** Saunders Island.

1138 *Carcass* was a converted bomb-vessel, under the command of Lieut. Mark Pattison.

time to time, to he posted in the said Block House for the defence of the Settlement, and to remain there, til they shall be relieved, which is intended to be done in the ensuing Year.

You are to cause such of the Carriage Guns belonging to the Jason or Carcass to he mounted in the said Block House, as you may judge necessary for its defence, and to be careful that the People posted therein be constantly supplied with proper quantities of Ammunition, Provisions & Necessaries of all kinds.

You are to take care that at the least one of the Ships be constantly stationed, as well during the Winter as the Summer, in Port Egmont, so as to be able in the most effectual manner to protect and assist the said Block-House, Garrison & Settlement, and you are to employ the rest of the Ships & their Crews, from time to time, as occasion may require, in making the most perfect Discoveries, and compleating (sic) the Surveys, as well of the Coast & harbours, as of the interior Parts of the said Island, or Islands adjacent thereto.

You are also to make the like Discovery & Survey of His Majesty's Island called Pepys Island, first seen by Capt. Cowley in his Voyage found the Globe in the year 1684, and by him said to lye in the Latitude of 47° 00' South, which for want of time, Commodore Byron was not able to explore, And you are to erect proper Marks of Possession & make and plant Gardens thereon against the following Year, and also to erect a Block House there and post a few Men therein, if the conveniencies (sic) of proper Harbours, Timber, Walter &c shall invite, and no circumstances at present unforeseen shall render this part of your Instructions with respect to the Block House on Pepys Island inexpedient to be carried into immediate execution.

If any Savage People should be found inhabiting any of the said Islands, It is His Majesty's Pleasure that they shall be treated with the greatest Prudence and Humanity, invited by Presents & kind Usage to Trade, and prevailed upon by mild methods to enter into Treaty, & acknowledge His Majesty's Title. If any Lawless Persons should happen to be found seated in any part of the said Islands, they are to be compelled either to quit the said Island, or to take the Oaths, acknowledge and submit themselves to His Majesty's Government as Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain.

And if contrary to expectation, the Subjects of any Foreign Power in Amity with Great Britain, should under any real or pretended Authority, have taken upon themselves to make any Settlement of any kind or nature whatsoever, upon any Part or Parts, either of the said Falklands or Pepys Islands, you are to visit such Settlement, and remonstrate against their Proceedings, acquainting them that the said Islands having been first discovered by the Subjects of the Crown of England, sent out by the Government thereof for that purpose, and of Right belonging to His Majesty, and His Majesty having given Orders for the Settlement thereof, the Subjects of no other Power can have any Title to establish themselves therein, without the King's permission, and acquainting them further that you are directed to warn them off the said Islands and to exhort them to remove themselves with their Effects within a time limited, not exceeding Six Months from the day of the Notice so given. And you are to warn them off said Islands and exhort them to remove themselves and their Effects accordingly. But His Majesty from His Humane disposition, and from his sincere desire to maintain the Friendship and Harmony now so happily subsisting between all the European Powers, having been pleased to signify His permission that if any such Persons under the last description should not be able to find the means of transporting themselves and their Effects aforesaid, they may be taken off in His own Ships, where they shall be treated with all tenderness and care, & be protected in every respect from Injury, either to their Property or Persons, in their return to the Dominions of that Power to which they may belong;

You are in such case to cause them to be taken off the said Island or Islands in His Majesty's Ships under your Command, & that they be treated with tenderness and care, and protected in every respect from Injury, to their property or Persons accordingly, landing them at some convenient Port in the Dominions of the Power to which they may belong, & victualling them as the Ships Companys (sic) during their continuance on board.

The same humanity & moderation have farther induced His Majesty to signify His Pleasure that in case any Subjects of any Foreign Power should contrary to expectation be so found, settled or attempting to make any Settlement upon the said Islands, or any of them, and should, from Brashness or Ignorance, refuse to take Notice of the Warning hereby directed to be given for their removal, or obstinately disobey the Orders hereby directed to be given, or attempt to maintain themselves by Force, the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships (except in the Settlement of Port Egmont only, which they are positively commanded to make and to maintain in all Events) shall carefully avoid proceeding to Measures of Hostility of Violence unless first committed upon them & in their own defence, and that in such Event, one of the Ships shall forthwith be dispatched to England to inform His Majesty of every circumstance relating thereto: You are to be very careful that His Majesty's Pleasure on this Head to be most strictly carried into execution. But in case it shall be found that a Settlement is actually made by any European Power at Port Egmont, where Possession was before taken by Commodore Byron in His Majesty's Name last Year as before mentioned, & that the Exhortations to remove from such Settlement as above should prove ineffectual, You are in that case, notwithstanding to land & make a joint Settlement taking great care at the same time to avoid any Act of Hostility against such European Settlers, & acquainting the Officer Commanding there, that the future Rights & Possession of that Port & Island are to be referred to & finally settled by His Majesty & the Sovereign of such Officer and Subjects there established respectively.

In case no such Event should happen as might occasion the necessity of an immediate dispatch (which there is no reason to expect) you are nevertheless, so soon as the Ships under your Command shall have Coasted round Falklands Islands, inspected those parts which Commodore Byron had not time to visit, & shall have obtained the best information they can procure of Pepy's Island, to send to England the Storeship, or Sloop, as you may judge most proper, with an Account of your whole proceedings & Copies of such Sketches or Surveys as you may have been able to make within that time for our information, directing the Commander of the Vessel, by whom you send your Dispatches to land at the first convenient Port he can make & bring those Dispatches to this Office as expeditiously as possible, having first directed the Officers & Crew of the said Vessel not to divulge to any body from whence they came." [1139]

"Captain McBride, the commander of this second expedition, received instructions to the effect that in the event of his discovering an alien (i.e. French) settlement in the Falklands, he was to remonstrate, pointing out that the islands had been first discovered by the English and therefore of right belonged to the British Crown. Having delivered this warning, he was to allow such settlers six months in which to depart." [1140]

1139 In full in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.102-106. See also *Anglo-Spanish Relations in America in the Closing Years of the Colonial Era* Vera Lee Brown 1922 p.397 citing *SP Spain Supplementary 253 Conway to the Lords of the Admiralty, July 20, 1765. Secret Instructions to Captain John McBride, September 26, 1765.*

1140 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing *Secret Instructions to McBride, September 26, 1765, State Papers, Spain, Suppt. 258*

"On September 26, instructions were given to Captain John McBride, commander of the Jason. These summarized the content of Conway's note and, specifically, stated that the aforementioned sailor was to depart with the Jason, the sloop Carcass and the supply ship Experiment. Once they arrived at the place, they would proceed to build a suitably armed fort in which a crew of 25 soldiers would be housed." [1141]

"... the prompt sending of an expedition to the Falklands was to have England challenge the French right of occupation and to found a settlement soon enough after the French one's founding to be in effect simultaneous."[1142]

September 29th, in Madrid, Grimaldi presents Spain's answer on the question of the ransom to Rochford.

"It was a long and detailed Answer, which amounted to another outright refusal, based on two main arguments. In the first place, it was argued that the Archbishop, even as Governor of Manila, had no authority to draw on the Royal Treasury, and that the British were foolish to think that he could. Secondly, the Answer claimed that the capitulation was obtained under duress, by the threat of a sack, and that the British broke the terms of the agreement by allowing looting to continue after it was signed." [1143]

Ambassador Rochford merely acknowledges receipt, and forwards the document to London.

In Paris, in early **October**, Magallón, presses Choiseul for the date of Bougainville's departure to Madrid. Choiseul prevaricates, while Bougainville prepares his case in a further *memorandum – Reflexions sur les moyens de commencer l'etablissement des Iles Malouines.* [1144]

> *"The principle from which we must start is that Spain has no right to the Malouines Islands. This principle is one of public law, universally accepted, namely that all unknown and uninhabited land, when it is an island separated from the continent, of 80 leagues, belongs to the first occupant. This is incontestably our title of possession, of ... the Malouines Islands,.."* [1145]

Bougainville does, however, acknowledge that any French colony on the islands would be dependent upon supplies from Montevideo.

> *"We can not establish the Malouines Islands promptly and in an advantageous manner if Spain does not consent to supply us with cattle of the river of La Plata; Now, the mistress of this river, where commodities of all kinds are in incredible abundance, would form the establishment much more quickly than we, and at half the cost.... most useful to the two nations would be a treaty of partition by which France would cede to Spain one of the two Malouines islands while preserving the other. The Spanish establishment would facilitate ours ... but it is very doubtful that Spain, which fears above all contraband into his possessions, (will) consent to sharing*." [1146]

October 8th, from Paris, Magallón reports to Madrid.

> *"... in the first conversation I had with Bougainville I saw him not only convinced of the right of France to retain these Islands, but also excessively infatuated with the great advantages he believes can be derived from them, ... In one of his conversations he also hinted to me (without ceasing to emphasize the need to maintain an establishment in that country, and the advantages that can be derived from it) that it would be of great pleasure to him if Spain gave him some token of honour that*

1141 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.119. For Conway's letter, see July 20, 1765, above.
1142 Gustafson 1988 p.10
1143 Rice 1973 p.299
1144 *Reflexions sur l'Etablissement des... Malouines* in *AGI 552.*
1145 Quoted in full in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.259-261 citing *Arch. Min. Col. Cart. 7, n° 529*
1146 *Ibid.*

she was satisfied with him, by pointing to some Military Order or something similar; but what he mainly focuses on is the reimbursement of his great expenses. … I only need to inform Your Excellency of the genius and character of this Officer. He is a young man of thirty to thirty-four years of age, of extraordinary intrepidity and liveliness, capable of the most difficult and daring enterprises, with a mortal hatred of the English, against whom he would like to see war declared that day, and against whom he says that an offensive and defensive plan could be made, which could not fail to have an effect." [1147]

October 11th, England's *Derby Mercury* reports:

"His Majesty's Ship Jason, of 32 Guns, commanded by Capt. M'Bride, which is arrived in the Downs, is sheathed with Copper, on a new Plan, and is destined for a foreign Voyage to try the Experiment."[1148]

October 15th, from England, *Carcass* departs for Funchal, leaving M[c]Bride to sail in *Jason* the following day. [1149]

"After advices were received from Byron, of his having viſited thoſe iſlands, and found a fine harbour, which he named Port Fgmont, the Jaſon, Capt. MacBride, went thither to form an eſtabliſhpment. Although this eſtabliſhment was made a ſecret of in England, it was known abroad, and the Spaniards complained of it as an incroachment on their rights. Our miniſtry alledged, that theſe iſlands having been diſcovered by Sir Richard Hawkins, belonged to the Engliſh by right of diſcovery." [1150]

"... on October 16, 1765, day of the departure of Jason, the Admiralty still pretend(ed) to ignore that the French were established in the Falkland Islands or Malouines. It was true that there was still no certainty. Bougainville could very well have been on other islands. Sir Henry Conway's apprehensions were more positive and, although he is keen on the titles and rights of England, he fear(ed) the meeting (with) these unwanted guests" [1151]

October 21st, in London, Spain's Ambassador Masserano, asks questions regarding Britain's intentions.

"Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador in London, protested sharply at the British expeditions to the islands, declaring that the king of Great Britain had "aimed a mortal blow" at the rights of the king of Spain and at his crown." [1152]

In Paris, on the same day, Minister Choiseul orders *Etoile* to be equipped for a voyage to the Malouines. [1153]

October 23rd, Magallón continues to press Choiseul to agree a date for Bougainville's visit to Madrid. Choiseul continues to be evasive; only replying "*soon*.". Magallón reports the conversation to Minister Grimaldi.

"... he began to repeat to me the same reflections that he made to us on another occasion, and which, as Your Excellency knows, we endeavoured to satisfy him fully, concerning the importance of those islands, telling me, among other things, that he did not believe that Spain could retain them in a war

1147 In full in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.106-110
1148 *Derby Mercury Friday October 11, 1765*
1149 *An Archaeological Survey of Port Egmont, Falkland Islands* Robert A Philpott 1992. Brown (1922 p.397) dates the departure to September, 1765 The two ships were to rendezvous at Madeira to take on a cargo of wine.
1150 *A clear and concise relation of what has passed concerning the Falkland Islands* by *A Friend to this Kingdom* December 6, 1770 in *The Scots Magazine* January 1771 vol.xxxiii p.27
1151 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.400
1152 Pascoe 2020 vol.1 p.33
1153 *Ibid.* p.186

with England, and that England would seize them either before or after breaking the war. From the repetition of these speeches, and from the way in which they were presented, I have learned that Mr. de Bougainville has heatedly and reflectively expressed the(se) motives...

I am also persuaded that the Duke of Choiseul, who is quick and easy to receive impressions, has allowed himself to be carried away more than he should by Bougainville's ponderings. The Duke has shown me a large piece of wood from the Malouines, which this Officer has undoubtedly brought as a sample of what could be used in the construction of ships, of which he assures there is an abundance in those Islands, and as in France they are usually quite scarce of this kind, they consider it an article from which they could derive great utility.

I believe that the Duke will compose a Memoir, which he will undoubtedly make clear to Your Excellency Mr. Bougainville, and which will insist, in particular, on the risk that there is of the English taking possession of said Islands, on the serious damage that they could cause us if they were their Owners,..." [1154]

October 26th, Choiseul confirms that *Aigle* and a storeship, *Etoile,* will carry fresh supplies out to the French settlement; supplies that should have been sent in April.

"A report prevails, that the Court has resolved to augment considerably the little establishment, which the Sieur de Bougainville has formd on one of the Maloine islands. The climate is very temperate, and pit-coal has been found there, as good as that imported from Great Britain." [1155]

In the South Atlantic, at Fort St. Louis, a girl, Adelaide, is born to Augustin Benoit and Francoise Terriot. [1156]

November 2nd, Minister Choiseul writes instructions for Bougainville de Nerville to explore the western island and to search for a suitable site for a village "*of 100 hearths*." [1157]

November 5th, from England, *Experiment* sails.

"His Majesty's ship, called the Experiment, Captain Rayner, left Plymouth on the 5th of November, 1765, having on board much naval and war ammunition, and timber to make a fort capable of mounting 24 cannons, all directed to Antigua to Admiral Tyrell." [1158]

November 9th, from France, *Etoile* (Chesnard de la Giraudais) sails for the south Atlantic.[1159]

In Paris, Bougainville remains as an adviser to Choiseul. [1160]

November 20th, from South America, Spain's Viceroy Manuel de Amat writes to Minister for the Indies, Julián de Arriaga regarding the archipelago. Of which he knows little.

*"Although it is true that the aforementioned island abounds in all the comforts of life for its fertility, waters, **forests**, and other qualities attributed to it; I cannot persuade myself that these delights are the only incentives to exile from France at such an enormous distance the merchant subjects who*

1154 In full in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.111-112

1155 *Paris Nov. 4* in the *Caledonian Mercury Monday November 25, 1765*

1156 Date unknown. Adelaide was married in 1787 in St. Pierre, Newfoundland with her place and year of birth recorded.

1157 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.186

1158 *Excerpt from a letter from the Prince of Masserano on the movement of English ships* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.226-228. Masserano's information appears to have come from a crew member of *Experiment*. Not all of the dates are correct.

1159 But only after a dispute regarding an attempt to tax the supplies as 'exports' had been resolved. *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.113-116

1160 Journal of *Etoile* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.113-116

come to populate it from Port St. Maló, so to frequent the South Sea... in my view they are presented with an advantageous occasion … to do the illicit trade, with much greater ease, as on this Island they will have greater freedom without being immediately subjugated, persecuted or noticed by any Governor." [1161]

At Madeira, on the same day, *Experiment* joins *Carcass* and *Jason*. [1162]

November 25th, from France, *Aigle* (Duclos-Guyot) sails for the Malouines.

"The Aigle took on board 47 more colonists; far from giving the islands up, the French were strengthening their position there. Bougainville was trying to present Spain with a fait accompli, and Choiseul energetically supported him – for a while." [1163]

Far out at sea, McBride records in *Jason's* log; *"Some of the people complain of Fluxe, which I believe is owing to the fish they have had and the St. Jago water which I have ordered to be changed."* [1164]

In Madrid, French Ambassador d'Ossun considers a plan to persuade his hosts of the advantages of leaving France in the Malouines. He writes to Choiseul.

"The Duke of Choiseul received in the first days of December a considerable war plan emanating from the Marquis d'Ossun, who established it in collaboration with the abbot Béliardi. This one inserted, in the articles to be agreed between France and Spain, the following: "in order to facilitate to France the means of sailing around the world, which we consider the most natural and the shortest (route) to make with advantage to the commerce of China, his Catholic Majesty is willing to renounce in favor of France any kind of pretended right on the Malouines Islands, so that the French vessels find a safe and convenient place to (refresh) them in order to enter the South Sea ... " The same article also provides for the possibility, from Spain, to give to France a part of the island of Juan Fernandez..." [1165]

December 20th, in France, Louis XV's son and heir dies following a long illness. All diplomatic issues are set aside for a period of mourning. Magallón, recognising this, makes no attempt to press Choiseul.

"... it was not a suitable time to discuss the Falklands with Bougainville and even less so with Choiseul. Nor was it, as it was courteously pointed out to (Fuentes), a good time for (Bougainville) to travel down to Madrid, as the route would take him through the snow-covered Pyrenees and along similarly snowy and slushy roads of Central Spain. No doubt in the spring, the question of his visit to Spain could be raised again?" [1166]

December 22nd, from Spain, a Royal Decree addressed to Don Pedro de Cevallos informs him that he is to firmly observe the previous order to prohibit the entry of foreign vessels into the ports of the Indies. [1167]

December 25th, in Madrid, Rochford hands Grimaldi a response from the British Government, arguing its case for the payment of the outstanding Manila Ransom. [1168]

1161 Quoted in Munilla 1948 pp.18-19 citing *Amat a Arriaga: November 20, 1765. A.G.T., Buenos Aires, 552*. In full in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas* Universidad De Buenos Aires Tomo I 1957 pp. 134-137. My emphasis. The Falklands archipelago was treeless.

1162 All three ships sailed on the 24th. *Jason* parted from the others on the 29th, bound for the Cape Verde Islands.

1163 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.186

1164 Jason's Log in *ADM 55/83.* The terminology is strange; "*the people*"? Crew? Supernumeraries? Settlers?

1165 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.271 & 273 citing *Aff. étr.Esp., 544, f° 49 & 52*

1166 Dunmore 2005 p.132

1167 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1

1168 Rice 1973 p.302. No immediate answer was forthcoming.

1766 – January 8th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, John McBride arrives in *Jason*. Cattle, goats, sheep and pigs are put ashore; *"I arrived here on the 8th of January after a good crossing with favorable winds ... The days from the 9th to the 24th of January were employed to (land) our provisions from the ship.., to build huts to lodge them, to dig a piece of land to make a garden and to put the ship in condition to resume the sea."* [1169]

"His Majesty had been pleased to exert a right, by taking possession of Falkland's Island, followed by an exercise of sovereignty in the establishment of a fort." [1170]

"The Settlement at Port Egmont was formed by the authority of Government, and at the publick expense, on an Island never previously occupied, not only by any European, but by any human being. Of course, as first occupants taking an actual possession of the soil, converting it to our own use, and enjoying it uninterruptedly as well as publickly, ... we had the best title of all others to its exclusive property..." [1171]

"... at the beginning of 1766 the France and the Ynglaterra each had an establishment in the Falkland Islands. The right of both to establish themselves in these unoccupied islands could not be questioned: and if England invoked the right of first discovery, France had for itself the advantage of the first occupation." [1172]

"It is a mistake ... to believe that the English settlement of Port Egmont was on the western Falkland, which was then called Grande Malouine. The settlement in question, the only one owned by England at the Falklands until the possession of 1833, was on Saunders Islet, to the north-east of the two large islands. The detail is not unimportant. ..."[1173]

"The McBride expedition, planned with some secrecy, arrived at the Falkland Islands on the 8th January, 1766, and a settlement of some one hundred souls was made at Port Egmont." [1174]

"Was the establishment of a colony in Port Egmont resolved with the purpose of occupying the archipelago definitively or just to frighten and force Spain to give in to the Manila affair?" [1175]

"The British took possession of the islands on a different site and founded their own settlement after the French, ... Thus it was impossible for them to acquire the whole archipelago by occupation, while their claim to prior discovery had no sound basis. If the archipelago was considered as a unit, no rights at all were left after the French occupation; if it was considered as divisible, Britain could only claim part of it." [1176]

1169 McBride quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.404 citing *PRO Adm 1/2.116*
1170 *Governor Pownall to Parliament* February 13, 1771
1171 *Letters lately published in The Diary on the subject of the present dispute with Spain, under the signature of Verus* J. B. Burgess 1790 p.24. Note '*Island*' singular.
1172 Grimblot 1843
1173 Groussac 1910 p.41 fn.2. Buildings were also erected on Kepple Island and West Falkland Island as shown on the Carrington-Bowles chart of 1770 (above). *cf.* 1765 & 1771
1174 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing *Confidential Memorandum 13336, para.16.*
1175 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.78
1176 Fisch 1983 p.120. *cf.* 1774

"... it was not difficult to organize another expedition under Captain MacBride, formed by three ships and a group of settlers, who arrived in the islands in January 1766 with a series of instructions motivated by the news received about the existence of a French establishment." [1177]

"The English occupations were carried out not only in violation of the aforementioned papal documents, but also of a series of other treaties in force, which established that the British authority, as well as its subjects, would not conduct their trade, nor sail, nor establish permanent establishments in the ports or places that the Catholic King had in the West Indies." [1178]

January 10th, from London, further orders are sent out to Mᶜ Bride by the Admiralty.

> *"Whereas as we have caused His Majesty's Storeship the Florida to be laden with Provisions & Naval Stores for the use of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels under your Command, and have directed Lieut. Deans, who commands the said Storeship, to proceed with all possible dispatch to Port Egmont, with the said Provisions & Stores, and dispose of them as you shall direct, notwithstanding* ***they have been consigned to the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships at Pensacola in order to conceal their real destination****; You are hereby required & directed to cause the said Stores & Provisions to be distributed on board the said Ships & Vessels under your Command, or deposited in the Block-House which you have been instructed to erect, in such proportion as you shall /judge most proper.*
>
> *If the Carcass Sloop shall not have been dispatched to England before you receive these Orders, you are to keep her under your Command until you are relieved by a Frigate & Sloop which we intend to send from hence to Port Egmont in the month of August or beginning of September next for that purpose. You are to send the Experiment Storeship to England, as soon after the receipt hereof as possible (if you should not have already sent her home) with full Accounts of your proceedings, & the discoveries you shall have made to that time, together with Duplicates of the Dispatches that may have been sent, if you shall have sent any, by the Carcass Sloop, or any other Conveyance.*
>
> *And as soon as you shall have been able to unlade the Florida Storeship, you are to send her also to England, with Duplicates of your former Dispatches, & farther Accounts of your proceedings to the time of her departure from you.*
>
> *You are to direct the Lieutenants Commanding the said Storeships to land at the first convenient Port they can make in England, & repair to this Office as expeditiously as may be with the Dispatches committed to their care."* [1179]

January 19th, in Spain, finally acknowledging that the Manila Ransom may constitute a legal and just debt, Grimaldi asks for more time to investigate. Rochford informs London that he still does not believe Spain will pay.[1180]

January 22nd, from England, *Florida* sails for Port Egmont. [1181]

1177 Diego 2014 p.14

1178 Clément 2019. No previous treaties mentioned *"permanent establishments"*. Papal Bulls (1493) carried no legal authority. For the British, the **West Indies** was the Caribbean. To Spain, **The Indies** covered all the Americas from pole to pole.

1179 *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.149-150. My emphasis.

1180 Rice 1973 p.304

1181 *Florida* did not get far before being captured by a Barbary corsair and taken to Algiers. There, once she was recognised as being a ship belonging to the British Crown, the vessel was quickly handed over to Gibraltar. See below.

January 25th, in the Falkland Islands, M[c]Bride sets out to reconnoitre the area.

> *"We found a mass of islands and broken lands, beaten by storms almost perpetual. Yet this is summer; and, if the winds of winter hold their natural proportion, those who lie but two cables length from the shore must pass weeks without having any communication with it."* [1182]

"... McBride had lost no time in following his instructions to complete as rapidly as possible the inspection of the islands which Byron had begun. Within a month of his arrival he had sailed round the group and had then commenced a minute and systematic survey of the land." [1183]

February 5th, at Port Egment, M[c]Bride returns to find *Carcass* moored nearby.

> *"I returned to Port Egmont at the end of eleven days;.. I perfectly reconnoitred a mass of islands and broken lands, and the only method in my power to examine them carefully, was to do it by canoe,.. Everywhere, the land is in peat bogs and completely devoid of wood.*
>
> *Your lordship will easily conceive what the daily perspective of a row of sharp and barren mountains, hard to climb, is, but above all, constant gales of wind, and we are in the summer,.. On my return to Port Egmont on the 5th of February, we discovered from the top of our masts, over the land, our storeship, anchored in a small harbor west of us.*
>
> *We have not seen any appearance of any establishment, and we have not found anywhere (one) to have (been) attempted... it is probable that this French frigate, whom Byron met in the Straits of Magellan, has been relieved. The season is far too advanced for me to think of Pepys Island or a recognition of the eastern end of the Falkland Islands. I will perform these two explorations as soon as time permits, in the spring. ... The fort was mounted near the watering hole. I made it as comfortable as possible and I will post part of the fusiliers; as there is no danger of being intercepted, I will postpone, until further notice, the cutting of gates and battlements. We will start to make gardens, but my self-confidence is not very high. This country is demanding more skilled farmers than sailors to get something out of it."* [1184]

February 7th, *Experiment* sails into the harbour of Port Egmont. [1185]

February 10th, *Carcass* anchors near Saunders Island. [1186]

February 11th, from London, Southern Secretary Henry Conway informs Ambassador Rochford of intelligence suggesting that Spain has a fleet of 5 capital ships, with frigates and 2,000 men, in the Rio de la Plata. [1187]

February 14th, at Fort St. Louis, in the eastern Malouines, *Etoile* anchors near the French settlement.

"... L'Etoile arrived at the port and disembarked the food and work items. Rarely was a ship as well received as the bark. And it was explained. There was a lack of food, so the villagers only by hunting provided themselves with what they needed." [1188]

1182 M[c]Bride quoted in *Memoir, Descriptive and Explanatory, to accompany the new Chart of The Ethiopic or Southern Atlantic Ocean, with the Western Coasts of South America, from Cape Horn to Panama…. composed from a great variety of documents, as enumerated in the work, by John Purdy: hydrographer* 1822

1183 Brown 1922 p.400

1184 M[c]Bride quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.405 citing *PRO Adm 1/2.116*

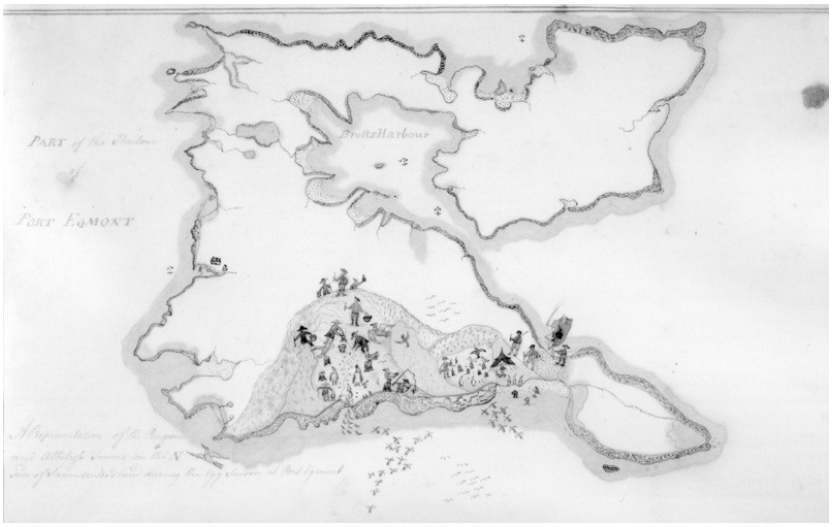
1185 *ADM 55/83*

1186 *McBride to Egmont April 6, 1766*. Also *ADM 55/83*

1187 Rice 1973 p.349 citing *Conway to Rochford February 11, 1766* in *SP 94/173 f.91*

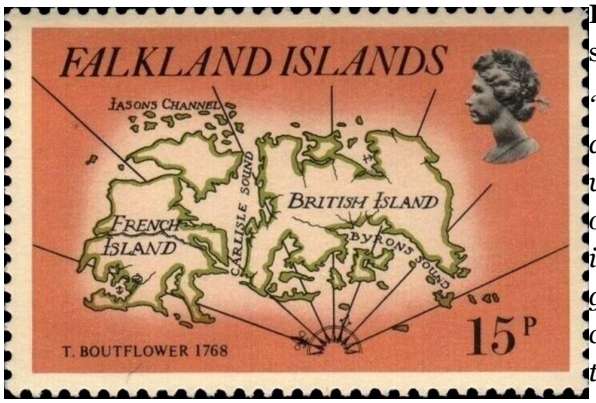
1188 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.87

February 20th, at Port Egmont, in the western Falkland Islands, an entry is made in the *Carcass* log; *"Lieut. Master with a boats crew of the Jason came on board to survey Carlisle Sound..."* [1189]



Artistically inclined crew members sketch Saunders Island.

"While in the Falklands, Boutflower prepared a map - 'A Draught of Falklands Islands' - showing West Falkland described as the 'British Island' and East Falkand as 'French Island', the latter very much smaller than the former! His lack of training and of background information show in the distorted coastal outlines beyond the northern coast of West Falkland and in the archaic orientation, placing south at the top. Of more interest and great charm are four sketches or 'representations' of various activities of the settlers: 'the Mullet and Trout Fishery at the E. End of Byron's Sound'; 'the Wild Geese Chace or progging party on Keppels Island'; 'the Sea Lion party at Burnt island'; and 'the Pengwin and Albitrose towns in the N. side of Saunder's Island during the Egg season'. Drawn with a real sense of fun, these show small figures in large three-cornered hats, accompanied by their dogs, angling, netting fish and shooting geese, watched by warrah foxes and cara-caras." [1190]



February 23rd, at Fort St. Louis, *Aigle* arrives at the French settlement with further supplies and more settlers.[1191]

"There are on a point at the entrance to the port two stores about 80 feet long by 30 wide, built like the houses, one of which is for the King and the other for the Company. A third of a mile from there is a fort of 18 cannons located on a height in which an obelisk is planted. A little further is the government located on the edge of the sea, built of stone and covered with cages, there is said, on Sundays and holidays, the divine office, there not being yet a debatable church." [1192]

March 7th, from Paris, Ferdinand Magellon reports to Madrid.

"Ferdinand Magallon informed the Marquis of Grimaldi that Bougainville, in confidence, had warned him that from the island of Madeira he had been informed that three English frigates had passed by in sight of the island heading for the South Sea "and that they had on board many young people with the intention of perfecting an establishment that they had begun some time ago"." [1193]

1189 *ADM 51/167 Carcass Log 1766.* The log also notes that a boats crew left to survey Carlisle Sound on February 22, 1766, taking three days supplies. As with *Jason's* log, the weather description that appears most is '*gales*'.

1190 *Thomas Boutflower 1732 – 1775* Peter Barber in *Dictionary of Falklands Biography* David Tatham 2012. Boutflower, a carpenter by trade, was the Purser in *Carcass*. One drawing featured as part of a Falkland Islands stamp set in 1981.

1191 Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.190) gives the date as March 24, 1766.

1192 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.117

1193 Revello 1952

March 11th, news reaches London that *Florida* is now at Gibraltar, and that its commanding officer is seeking new instructions on whether to proceed to Port Egmont. [1194]

March 17th, from England, messages are sent to Gibraltar ordering *Florida* to continue to Port Egmont. The opportunity is taken to send letters to M^{c}Bride, including intelligence as to the location of France's settlement.

> *"My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having received a copy of the plan of the Bay of Acaron situated at the east end of the Malouine Islands (supposed to be Falklands isles) where M. de Bougainville made a settlement in the year 1764... I send herewith a copy for your information and use."* [1195]

March 20th, from London, the Spain's Ambassador Masserano writes to the Minister Grimaldi concerning intelligence that three English ships were believed to have passed through Madeira for the southern Atlantic.

April 6th, from Port Egmont, the store-ship *Experiment,* sails for England. [1196]

> *"As winter is in full swing, I have lost hope of seeing Florida this year. With what the Experiment has brought, we will have enough until next summer."* [1197]

"Before the southern winter closed in, Captain McBride sent home an account of his first three months on the Falklands. This was far less favorable to the new settlement that Byron's report had been. Instead of expatiating on the advantages of "the finest harbour in the world", the beauties of a land "wanting nothing but wood", and the possibilities of mineral wealth, the man who had spent three months there dwelt on "the dreary prospect of a range of craggy barren mountains heightened by almost constant gales of wind" and emphasized the inconvenience of a total lack of wood, the scarcity of fuel and the presence of "an incredible number of sea lyons, penguins, and other vermin". The section of the letter, however, which aroused the greatest interest in government circles was undoubtedly the statement "we have seen no appearance of any settlement or where any had ever been attempted". ..." [1198]

With the onset of the austral winter, M^{c}Bride keeps his crews and settlers busy constructing shelters and defences. The blockhouse, pre-fabricated in England, is unloaded.

"From the 6th of April until September, however, Captain Mac Bride... employed the crews under orders to erect a battery of eight guns, to build a jetty to more conveniently supply the ships with fresh water, to build two houses and to establish and plant six gardens." [1199]

1194 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.401

1195 Quoted in Brown 1922 citing *Stephens to McBride March 17,1766 SP Spain Supplementary 253.* The chart of Accaron Bay was only of the bay, with no indication of where in the archipelago it was located.

1196 With *Experiment* went Lieut. Mark Pattison who had commanded *Carcass* on the outward journey – invalided, together with three others described as being a bad state of health. *ADM 51/167 Carcass Log 1766.* Command of *Carcass* was given to Thomas Jordan, First Lieutenant of *Jason*. See *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain During the Years 1772-1776, Told in Despatches and Other Contemporary Documents, Translated Into English and Compiled, with Notes and an Introduction* B. G. Corney 1913. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.404) gives the date of departure as the 7th. *cf.* June 18, 1766

1197 *M^{c}Bride to Egmont April 6, 1766* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.405 citing *PRO Adm 1/2116.* Letter in full in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.158-161. Also in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.188-190.

1198 Brown 1922 p.397

1199 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.522. See also *M^{c}Bride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116 section 2*

April 7th, in Paris, Choiseul is moved to the Foreign Ministry; handing responsibility for Marine Affairs (Navy) to his cousin, the Duc de Praslin. Minister Choiseul orders Bougainville to travel to Madrid.

"...(carrying) a plan proposing (a) military alliance between France and Spain against England and to negotiate the occupation of the Malouines Islands." [1200]

"...(Choiseul) sent for Bougainville and gave him the war plan of the Franco-Spanish alliance. This precious document will be transmitted by the Marquis d'Ossun to the Marquis de Grimaldi and His Catholic Majesty, ... Bougainville will not only be a mail carrier. He is colonel of infantry, former aide-major of Montcalm. In this case, he will become the minister's aide-major: he will specify his thoughts to the Spanish Ministry and the General Staff, which already includes several French officers. The Duke de Choiseul also recalls his instructions concerning the Malouines Islands: keep them as much as possible and, failing that, hand them over to Spain on the formal condition that it establishes an effective defense there to prevent the English from introducing and controlling the route to the South Sea." [1201]

April 8th, from Versailles, Choiseul writes to the French Ambassador at the Spanish Court.

> *"I am sending you M. de Bougainville; his business is simple, either Spain wants to leave us the Falkland Islands that we will keep, and which will be useful to the two Monarchies, useless to Spain which cannot keep them; or Spain will want to take them back, and then we must reimburse M. de Bougainville for the expenses he has incurred to establish a colony there; you will be kind enough to help him with all your care in order to have a decision one way or another; the first would be a hundred times more useful, but we will have no difficulties, provided that Spain reimburses; Bougainville will explain his affair to you, and the King expects that you will do everything in your power to make it succeed."* [1202]

April 9th, from Paris, Louis Bougainville leaves for Madrid, carrying the war plan proposal from Choiseul. [1203]

"These were highly confidential and needed to be handed to the Spanish government by an able and respected courier. The matter of the Falklands would be addressed, naturally, but almost as a secondary issue, out of courtesy, with (Bougainville) explaining to the officials why France should retain possession." [1204]

Bougainville also carries letters from Choiseul for Minister Grimaldi, regarding the Malouines; *"... His Most Christian Majesty was determined to hand them over to Spain if she really wanted to occupy them. In that case, the costs incurred in that establishment should be reimbursed. ... It is, in advance, a capitulation."* [1205]

April 18th, at Madrid, Bougainville is met by the Abbe Béliardi who tells him that Carlos III is away hunting. [1206] Bougainville tells Béliardi of the French offer.

> *"If Spain wants to occupy them, the French Court will provide it with all the clarifications it is now in a position to give about the Islands. (However) if the Court of Spain consents to France retaining the*

1200 Scavennec 2004/2005

1201 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.271 & 273 citing *Aff. étr.Esp., 544, f° 49 & 52.* An attempt to clothe Bougainville in an official capacity? There is no evidence to suggest that Bougainville was anything other than a courier, who could plead his own case to the Spanish Court.

1202 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.356

1203 *Magallon to Grimaldi April 11, 1766*

1204 Dunmore 2005 p.133

1205 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.276

1206 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.101 citing *Bougainville to Choiseul April 21, 1766*

establishment which it has begun to found, it is absolutely necessary for it to be formed with Spain, for its part, agree(ing) on all the facilities, without which France would not achieve that goal. These facilities consist of the permission to go to Montevideo to obtain all species of animals, which exist there with an incredible abundance, and provisions to supply the first settlers…" [1207]

April 24th, from Fort St. Louis, *Aigle* and *Etoile* sail for Patagonia to collect wood. [1208]

April 26th, in Spain, at the Aranjuez court, Bougainville, Abbe Beliardi and French Ambassador d'Ossun discuss the best way of approaching a negotiation on the Malouines. Ambassador d'Ossun suggests that a version of Bougainville's *memoire* to Choiseul should be submitted to Minister Grimaldi.

"It was a tactful overview of the position, but concluded with the suggestion that France would be the most appropriate country to protect the islands against expected British encroachment, "as she considers herself better placed to supply colonists and troops and to fortify that outpost of Spain, which already has immense areas to defend." ..." [1209]

April 28th, a version of Bougainville's earlier *memoir – Reflexions sur les moyens de commencer l'etablissement des Iles Malouines* – is provided to the Spanish Court by d'Ossun; who is informed that a Council of Ministers will consider the French submissions.

"Grimaldi did what politicians usually do when faced with an awkward situation: he set up a committee to report on Bougainville's report." [1210]

Ambassador d'Ossun writes to inform Choiseul. [1211]

"Mr. de Bougainville, Sir, has drawn up a Memorandum on the affair which brought him here, he was kind enough to confine himself to the objects which I indicated to him. Consistent with

1. to establish the necessity which exists for Spain and for France, that the Malouines Islands be occupied sufficiently by force, so that the English cannot seize them easily.

2. to develop the great advantages which will result from this establishment for navigation in the South Sea, in the Philippines and in China;

3. That it would be agreeable to France to take charge of doing so, on the condition that it will be permitted to draw from the Spanish colonies the Livestock and the provisions which it will need.

4. Finally, to give an idea that it will be easy to agree on the precautions to be taken, to avoid the smuggling, which Spain could fear on the part of our navigators." [1212]

In the Falkland Islands, on Saunders Island, M^{c}Bride commences the erection of the prefabricated blockhouse (see next page), together with shelters for the garrison and settlers.

1207 *Mémoire sur les Isles Malouines* quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.101 citing *Correspondance politique*, cit., vol.545, fs. 341-346. This appears to be the same as, or a version of, *Reflexions sur les moyens de commencer l'etablissement des Iles Malouines* cited by Martin-Allanic 1964

1208 They would be away for nearly two months. Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.91) cites *Una version poco conocida del viaje de Duclos-Guyot y Chesnard de la Giraudais a las Islas Malvinas y al Estrecho de Magallanes* Leon Baidaff in *Boletin del Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas* 1930 vol.11 no.46 pp 455

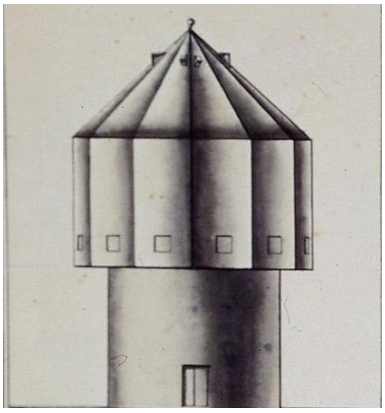
1209 Dunmore 2005 p.133

1210 *Ibid.*

1211 Martin-Allanic 1964. In full in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.163-166.

1212 *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.357-358

"... the very fact that the British settlement took place unhindered is the clearest possible evidence that French occupation was not effective over other islands in the group, ..." [1213]



"Between April and September 1766 a blockhouse was completed, six more gardens planted and two houses built at Port Egmont. A wharf was also constructed and guns erected. Although a modest settlement, it was the British Empire's most southerly possession." [1214]

"A Blockhouse of wood 32 feet high, 20½ feet diameter on the outside at its lower part and 26 in the upper part, with four ports for cannon;..." [1215]

April 30th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Madrid.

> *"We still do not know the essential thing about the voyage of the vessel Jason... The only thing our man says... is that thirty-three marines have been left on an Island, but he does not know the name of the Island or its situation. Some people think it's the one they called Egmond (sic) on the map I sent you last year...."* [1216]

From Fort St. Louis, the schooner, *La Croisade*, sails for a reconnaissance of the western Islands, commanded by Lieut. Lavary-Leroy. [1217]

May 1st, at Aranjuez, d'Ossun seeks an early opinion from Grimaldi.

> *"... I have since spoken of this affair with this minister and he seemed to me to be entirely opposed to France establishing an establishment in the Falkland Islands; there is reason to presume that Mr. [Marquis] de Grimaldy is doing this only to conform to the views of the king his master, or else that he will easily lead this monarch to adopt his sentiment, moreover this subject must be examined at this moment in a Committee of the ministers of His Catholic Majesty, and we will not wait long for a positive response, but I believe that it will be negative."* [1218]

Grimaldi speaks to Bougainville and the Abbé Béliardi.

"He does not conceal from him (Bougainville) that he thinks that the Committee's decision will be unfavourable to him. He regards the recognition that the Duke de Choiseul made, in December, 1764, of the rights of Spain on the Malouines Islands, as an acquired fact; there is no need to return to it. ... Finally, opposes the Minister of State, what would England think and do, who agreed in 1750 to give up the occupation of the Malouines, if Spain, now, tolerated that France settles (were) there?" [1219]

1213 Calvert 1983

1214 McAdam & McAdam in *The Dictionary of Falklands Biography (including South Georgia): From Discovery up to 1981* D. Thatham (ed.) 2008

1215 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.296

1216 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.119. No source or citation provided."*Our man*" probably translates as 'spy'. Map? Last year? Intriguing. Byron had yet to return to England, so any map could only have been among his papers sent back to the Admiralty in *Florida* in February, 1765, which had arrived back in England in June, 1765.

1217 No precise dates available. This was the first time that the French expedition had considered visiting what is now West Falkland Island. The French called it Gran Malouine, but from what date that name was used is not clear. Capt D'Eperriers had only ascertained that a strait split the archipelago in two in February, 1765, and reported to Bougainville that the other island appeared larger (Gran) on March 29, 1765.

1218 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.358

1219 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.280-281

Spain's *ad hoc* Committee[1220] gives Bougainville's *memoir* a brief consideration before rejecting the arguments outright; also any suggestion of compensation.

> *"One should not erect buildings on someone else's land. Let your King, who employed you, refund your expenses."* [1221]

"Arriaga himself produced a report in response to the Reflexions of Bougainville in which, while admitting the need to create an establishment in the archipelago and the fact that France – unlike Spain – was able to populate it, noted ... that the main concern should be to find the way to use the islands as a barrier to prevent access to the Pacific by enemy powers... Consequently, the Secretary of the Navy and the Indies proposed to organize a military colony, without this entailing the added foundation of a commercial establishment." [1222]

"... Spain considered the Spanish occupation and evacuation of the French colonists as already finalized and in no need of further discussion." [1223]

"The Spaniards were not impressed and denied French rights of occupation based on Article II of the Third Family Compact which guaranteed the territories each power possessed ..." [1224]

The same Committee then considers what action the Spanish Crown should take; *"Arriaga first, and others Ministers later, proposed that, without creating a commercial colony, a military one be established, sending the troop from the peninsula necessary to constitute its garrison."* [1225]

"Once Arriaga's report was submitted to the inter-ministerial board, Grimaldi and the rest of the secretaries agreed with its content." [1226]

May 4th, following a personal plea from Ambassador d'Ossun, with regard to Bougainville's expenses, Carlos III instructs Minister Grimaldi to treat Bougainville, "*nobly*."

".., it was Carlos III himself who gave the final formula. (He) approves the ministerial proposal, but decides that the forces be sent from the provinces of Plata, declaring "this new dependent possession and subordinate to the captaincy general of Buenos Aires". ... The personal initiative of the Catholic King, adapted to the needs of the moment, recognizes the transcendental role reserved to the provinces of Plata." [1227]

"Thus, they decided that the necessary military forces were (to be) sent from the provinces of the Plata and that the new possession would come to depend on the general captaincy of Buenos Aires." [1228]

May 5th, following the king's intervention, the *ad hoc* Committee meets again to reconsider its decisions.

> "*It is by this Committee, Monsieur, that it has just been decided that M. de Bougainville should abandon the establishment which he had formed in the islands Malouines and that Spain would immediately occupy this important post for the convenience and safety of navigation to the South Sea.*

1220 Ministers Grimaldi, Muzquiz, Muniain and the Bailiff Arriaga, plus the Dukes of Alva, de Massones, and the Duke of Sotomayor. Also Count de Fuentes and Minister Wall. Ambassador Fuentes was still on sick leave from his Embassy in Paris. Wall had been Spain's Ambassador to Britain in 1749 and was well aware of Britain's interest in the Islands.

1221 Spain's Finance Minister, Miguel Muzquiz quoted in Dunmore 2005 p.133

1222 Diego 2014 p.13 citing *Archivo General de Indias, Buenos Aires 552.* Published in full in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.277-279

1223 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.35-36

1224 Peña & Peña 2018. While Spain claimed all the Americas, it could hardly be said that Spain '*possessed*' the Falklands archipelago which no Spanish ship had ever visited.

1225 Munilla 1948 p.20

1226 Diego 2014 p.13

1227 Munilla 1948 p.20

1228 Diego 2014 p.13

It was decided at the same time that the court of Madrid would reimburse the expenses legitimately done on this occasion by M. de Bougainville, and the Marquis de Grimaldi told me that M. de Magallon would be in charge of arranging this object, with the King's ministers; (as) M. de Bougainville proposes to leave us in five or six days." [1229]

"I find it now agreed between the French and Spanish Courts that the former shall renounce all claim to these Islands and that M. de Bougainville shall be reimbursed by Spain the expenses of his settlement, but this last matter is to be left to be finally adjusted by Count de Fuentes..." [1230]

"Soon after, it was decided to pay Bougainville for everything he left in the Establishment, in addition to the costs of transport, maintenance and compensation. He accepted this proposal, but declared that in order to be able to fix the total amount, as well as to resolve the pertinent matters to the populating families, it was necessary that he return to France, to which it was agreed,.." [1231]

"*... since the buildings and farms could be used by the Spanish, Bougainville's costs ought to be refunded.*" [1232]

From Gibraltar, *Florida* resumes its journey to Port Egmont carrying new messages for M^{c}Bride prepared at the Admiralty in March. [1233]

On the Falklands, at the harbour of Port Egmont, His Britannic Majesty's ship *Carcass* fires a salute of 21 guns; *"... it being his Majesty's Birthday."* [1234]

Reconnoitring, Lieut. Lavary-Leroy discovers a a narrows which he names – *Détroit de la Croisade* (Narrows of the Crusade) after the French settlement's schooner. [1235]

"They named it Détroit de la Croisade, after their ship, drew a sketch map (which has not survived) and recommended that it should be explored in more detail. ... Martin-Allanic speculates that the Croisade had actually entered Kepple Sound (and probably Pebble Sound) rather than Port Egmont, since McBride's party did not see them and the French did not see McBride's establishment. " [1236]

Lieut. Lavary-Leroy turns back for Fort St. Louis. [1237]

May 6th, Spain's King, Carlos III, grants Bougainville a personal interview.

May 8th, in Madrid, Bougainville discusses the hand-over with Minister Arriaga, nominally agreeing a date of January 1, 1767. There is a further conversation with Grimaldi regarding reimbursement.

1229 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.284 citing *Aff. étr.Esp., 544, f° 353 5 mai 1766*

1230 *Lewis de Visme to Henry Conway, May 19th, 1766* quoted in Goebel 1927 p.228. The English government appears to have become aware almost immediately, undoubtedly from spies. See August, 1766.

1231 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.104-105

1232 Dunmore 2005 p.134

1233 It is worth noting that *Florida* sailed before there was any confirmation that France and Spain had finally agreed to the handover of the French colony. See December below.

1234 *ADM 51/167 Carcass Log 1766*

1235 The name given this particular feature was *Detroit de la Croisade* and described as a narrows, not a port. In 1770, Bougainville, under the watchful eye of the Spanish Ambassador, would refer to this feature when writing his book as *Port de la Croisade* and imply that the French had discovered Port Egmont before the British. However, Bougainville did not mark this place on the map within his book, so its exact location remains uncertain despite a general acceptance that it was one of the entrances to the harbour of Port Egmont. If Lieut. Lavary-Leroy had sailed his schooner into the actual harbour of Port Egmont in May 1766, he would have found a British establishment, complete with blockhouse and defences. For a more detailed discussion see Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.191-193

1236 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.191 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 p.454 fn.74

1237 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp. 437 & 454 fn.73

"The Marquis de Grimaldi is already putting the finishing touches on the reimbursement of expenses incurred by Bougainville. The compensation he can fairly ask for (covers) objects and goods that he will leave in the island. It is right to pay, for these same objects, their cost and their transport, as well as the expenses made to bring and maintain the families and the workmen. The Spanish government will also pay them without any difficulty. Bougainville agrees that these propositions are just and equitable and that he neither claims nor can claim more. However, he can not make a decision concerning the families, because this question depends on the ministry of France. Nor can he, at the moment, provide the supporting accounts because he has not brought them with him. Since this is so, the Marquis de Grimaldi proposes that the question be settled in France with Count de Fuentes, once the principles have been agreed upon and settled. He asks how much Bougainville estimates that these expenses will be. The latter replies that he has already established for the Duc de Choiseul an account on documents, from clerk to master, which must be about 450 or 500,000 livres, but the present and future expenses must be added up to the date of the cession. He thinks that the Duc de Choiseul will abandon what belongs to the Crown of France, that is to say, all that pertains to armaments. M. de Muzquiz, who attended the conversation, agrees on all these points. The sum due to Bougainville, definitively attested by the Count de Fuentes, will be made available." [1238]

May 9th, in England, Byron returns with *Tamar* and *Dolphin* after circumnavigating the world. [1239]

All log books and diaries are collected in by the Admiralty. [1240]

"The French Ambassador to London wrote to his superiors that France and Spain should inquire into the return of Byron and question the mystery surrounding his voyage. ..." [1241]

"... no public announcement was given of Britain's settlement at Port Egmont. This ... show(s) that the British government maintained a clandestine occupation of a place in the Falklands/Malvinas, in the knowledge that its settlement was in violation of the treaties concluded with Spain,.." [1242]

In Spain, at Aranjuez, the French Ambassador, on Bougainville's behalf, submits *Further Reflexions*. [1243]

May 10th, Bougainville is granted another audience with King Carlos III.

"The King was very happy with Mons. De Bougainville." [1244]

"Before he left, Carlos III asked Bougainville whether he was satisfied with his time in Madrid, 'because he was anxious to ensure that justice was done.' Bougainville bowed his thanks. ... Grimaldi and even Muzquiz promised that there would be no difficulty with the reimbursement of all his expenses." [1245]

1238 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.284-285

1239 Byron had simply passed through the Magellan Strait into the South Seas and then sailed for home, ignoring Admiralty orders to search for the fabled North-West passage. On his return, Byron produced a list of fanciful excuses for this dereliction of duty. However Gallagher (1964) suggests that the real reason was more mundane – the brandy ran out.

1240 Not necessarily unusual. As all voyages into little known parts of the world had both commercial and diplomatic implications, attempts were required to reduce the flow of information. In some cases the crew would not be permitted ashore until the Admiralty was satisfied that there was nothing likely to embarrass the government or confound the purpose of an expedition.

1241 Scavennec 2005. French spies at the ports were well informed. Hard to hide the return of two ships.

1242 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.35. The French government, in 1763, had announced their new settlement in the Malouines because they had never attempted to claim those islands before. The British had merely returned to a territory first claimed in 1594, so there was no need to announce a claim.

1243 In full in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.167-175

1244 *Grimaldi a Fuentes mayo 14, 1766* quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.105

1245 Dunmore 2005 p.134

Minister Grimaldi presents Bougainville with a gift - a bejeweled painting of the Spanish King. Accompanied by a request that Bougainville be, "*reasonable with the Accounts*." [1246]

May 12th, Spain's Minister Grimaldi pens a letter to Minister Choiseul in Paris.

> *"... Politically, even more than by interest, it was judged that it was appropriate for the King to take charge of this Isle of Malouine. After the submission that was obtained from the English, to renounce the Project that they had formed to occupy, and to establish themselves in these Islands. These Islanders could have reproached Spain for a difference of action, ...* [1247] *We will take measures according to the Memorandum provided by Mr. de Bougainville, to form the establishment according to what he advises us. With regard to his interests, we agree to pay for everything he wishes to leave on the Island, including the costs of transport, maintenance, etc. and all compensation that it will be reasonable to make to him. He has not asked for anything else; he says that in order to form this state, and to know the workers he has led there, it is necessary that he return to France, and we have agreed that this Article will be settled in Paris between Mr. de Fuentes and him...."* [1248]

May 15th, from Spain, Ambassador Rochford, returns to England on home leave following illness. Secretary of the Embassy, de Visme, remains as *charge d'affaires* while he is away. [1249]

May 19th, a report of Grimaldi's negotiations with Bougainville, is sent to London. [1250]

"For the first time the Admiralty admitted official knowledge of the French settlement (though they did not officially concede that the Falkland Islands and the Malouines were identical)." [1251]

May 23rd, in Britain, Henry Conway moves to the office of Northern Secretary. On a temporary basis, Lord Richmond, still officially Ambassador to the French Court, agrees to act as Southern Secretary. [1252]

May 26th, from Madrid, d'Ossun writes to Choiseul to inform him of the situation as regards the Malouines.

> *"Mr. de Bougainville, Sir, must be at this moment able to give you a full account of the arrangements to which the Court of Spain appears to be willing to lend itself with regard to the Falkland Islands; it has shown itself willing to compensate France for the expenses that have been incurred to put these Islands in the state in which they are today and to grant a fair compensation for what has been paid in particular to Mr. de Bougainville and his associates. Mr. Count de Fuentes, who has finally left, has sufficient powers to discuss these two subjects; however, I would not be surprised if some difficulties arose over the greater or lesser compensation that Spain should give.*
>
> *As for the liberty that you desire that the Court of Madrid grant to all French vessels that go to the East Indies and to China to put in at the Falkland Islands and to obtain there the assistance that they may need, I have just made a written request and strongly solicited the success of it from Mr. the Marquis of Grimaldi; This Minister told me that he would immediately take orders from the King his master in this regard, and that he would immediately communicate the determination of this monarch."* [1253]

1246 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.105 citing *D'Ossun to Grimaldi May 17, 1766*

1247 Clearly a reference to the events of 1748

1248 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.176

1249 De Visme was a clergyman who had taken up the position on the insistence of Rochford, as he was a personal friend. He would be Britain's senior representative at the Spanish Court for some 17 months.

1250 Wallis (ed.) 1965. Also Rice 1973 p.418 citing *de Visme to Conway May 19, 1766* in *SP 94/174*

1251 *Ibid.*

1252 Richmond resigned the office in July, 1766. Lord Rochford was appointed to the Paris Embassy in May, 1766.

1253 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.361

May 29th, Bougainville arrives back in Paris.

June 9th, following the delivery of letters from Madrid, Choiseul summons Bougainville to tell him that Spain is impatient due to the news of Byron's return to England. Also that the returning Ambassador Fuentes has been empowered to finalise the hand-over arrangements when he reaches Paris.

June 10th, in London, Spain's Ambassador Masserano questions Lord Richmond as to where Byron has been.

> *"... I asked him if he could tell me anything particular about the voyage that the two ships that arrived recently had made around the world. He told me in a joking tone that they had gone to look for Giants, and I replied that if they had asked me for news of them, I would have given them the news and saved them the voyage.*
>
> *But then I told him that I did not know if they had gone to make any discovery or settlement; to which I told him that this made me and should make me more curious because all those countries belong to the King and no one can settle in them. He asked me if the whole world belonged to Spain and I replied that that part did. To this he told me that he did not believe that there was any thought of establishing settlements in any place that could belong to Spain, and we ended the conversation.*
>
> *This last part of the conversation causes me due concern, and I will not fail to try to find out from these Ministers what there is in the matter, as far as it interests us."* [1254]

"According to the ambassador's letter dated June 10, 1766, he replied that "he (Richmond) does not believe that there is any intention of establishing an establishment in any place that may belong to Spain"." [1255]

From London, the French Ambassador writes to inform Choiseul of Masserano's interview with the Southern Secretary and of Richmond's retort: *"Would Spain claim to be mistress of the world?"* [1256]

June 13th, Masserano speaks to General Henry Conway.

> *"..., I told him that we cannot be indifferent to the sight of the English ships going to the **South Sea**, alluding to the two that had recently returned from there. To which he told me that they had gone to make some discoveries, and that since the French are going, the English may as well go. I replied that there are no discoveries to be made in those seas that have not already been made on our part; and that the French do not cross the Strait of Magellan, nor to the coasts of Patagonia or Chile; adding that it was not necessary to send the people carried by the frigate that left after the arrival of the Dolphin in order to make discoveries. To this he replied that he did not believe that it had taken more people or more troops than its crew, and that these matters are handled by the Admiralty, so he does not know what may be going on there."* [1257]

"Mr. Conway confined himself to telling (Masserano) that he thought it was to try to make some useful discoveries in navigation, but that he confessed that he was not very well acquainted with it." [1258]

1254 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.184-188. See also *The Patagonian Giants* Helen Wallis in Gallagher 1964. Rumours following Byron's return in 1766 suggest that London was using the story of giants to conceal the voyage's true purpose; with perhaps a pinch of devilment. *cf.* Gallagher 1964 p.187

1255 Revello 1952

1256 *De Guerchy to Choiseul June 10, 1766* in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.307 citing *Aff. étr. Ang., 470 f° 157 10 juin*

1257 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.189-191. My emphasis. Worthy of note that Masserano constantly referred to the **South Sea** – which is the south Pacific to the west of the southern cone of South America. The southern Atlantic Ocean is not the South Sea. Masserano seems to conflate the two; possibly explaining his inability to understand British interpretations of old treaties - mares del sur and Mar de Sur, are not the same.

1258 *De Guerchy to Choiseul June 13, 1766* in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.308

June 15th, at Fort St. Louis, after a difficult voyage, *Etoile* arrives with a cargo of wood for the settlement.

"The establishment was by now beginning to take shape. The commandant and the Director lived in comfortable houses built of stone; the rest of the inhabitants lived in houses whose walls were made of turves. There were three storehouses, both for public property and for that of individuals. The wood from the Strait had served to make the frames of those various buildings, & to build two schooners suitable for exploring the coasts." [1259]

June 16th, news of a Franco-Spanish deal reaches the British journals.

> *"De Bougainville has obtained the King's Permission to sell the uninhabited Island, which he discovered in 1764, near the Malouines, and where he had begun to form a little Settlement. It is said the King of Spain has purchased it for a Million, out of which Sum, all those who advanced Money to M. de Bougainville, on Account of this Enterprize, are to be reimbursed."* [1260]

June 18th, in England, *Experiment* anchors at Deptford.

"As soon as they arrived at Depford (sic), the Captain collected all the journals and papers, and handed them over to the Admiralty, so that no more detailed account can be given." [1261]

June 19th, M[c]Bride's letters arrive in London. [1262]

"For Lord Egmont and for the Admiralty, there is no longer any hesitation: the indispensable establishment of the Falkland Islands will be maintained and strengthened; (and) a new expedition will be made to complete the discoveries of Commodore Byron in the South Seas, in order to create advantageous settlements,.. the choice was made on Captain Samuel Wallis recommended by Admiral Saunders,.." [1263]

June 20th, Ambassador Masserano writes to Grimaldi with the results of his inquiries.

> *"My dear Sir: The object of the voyage of the two English frigates to the South Sea occupies me as it should; so I am trying to find out from various people what they think of it.*
>
> *Speaking with Lord Rochford about the importance of living in good understanding for the Cortes, I told him that for this purpose it is necessary that no motives for discussion which may arise should be brought to light on either side, and that no one or the other should be upset by not giving in on certain matters, and that there should be no room for disquiet or distrust, going on to give him as an example the voyage of the said vessels, which we cannot look upon indifferently. This Ambassador seems to me to be very confident. He replied that although he does not know the object of this voyage, he believes that it may be to reconnoitre those places and see where they could do us the greatest harm in time of war. I replied that such plans do not denote the best intentions for maintaining peace and that we do not do so. He continued in his tone of confidence and offered to inform me of the object of that expedition, warning me that if it is against us he will not be able to tell me and will not tell me; but that if there is nothing of the sort he will tell me what it is about. I did not let him know that I perceived the equivocation of his offer; but I am well aware, as will happen to Your Excellency, that I must not count on what he tells me, since he should not reveal the secret to me if it is against us, he should not remain*

1259 Bougainville 1772
1260 *Arrived the Mails from Holland and France. Paris, June 16* published in the *Oxford Journal* Saturday June 28, 1766
1261 *Excerpt from a letter from the Prince of Masserano on the movement of English ships* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.226-228.
1262 Brown 1922 p.397 citing *SP (State Papers) Spain Supplementary 253*
1263 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.406

silent as he has offered me, and in that case what he tells me will not be true, as will not be anything that he tells me that is planned, that is not against us, since it cannot fail to be so in the places where the ships have been.

Now it is said that the Dolphin is returning to an island that they have discovered on this side of the Strait of Magellan, and that they are carrying various goods to establish trade with the natives of the country. I have also spoken of this matter to my Lord Rockingham, but have only obtained from him half-words with which he has tried to persuade me that they have no other object than trade, saying that even in this the English are careless, and that they are not as enterprising in novelties as other people, alluding doubtless to the French. When I told him that those places belong to us, he told me that the English are masters of the sea, telling me that we are masters of the land; and to this I replied that each one is master of his own and of nothing else and that we cannot look with indifference upon his ships in the South Atlantic. ..." [1264]

June 21st, the *Newcastle Courant* reports.

"The Voyage lately performed round the World, under the Command of the Hon. Commodore Byron, was kept so secret, that none of the Ship's Company knew any Thing of its destination, being told no more but to provide themselves with Cloaths (sic) proper for a hot Climate. It is pretty remarkable, that none but picked Men went out, and no Boys were allowed. ... Commodore Byron, in this expedition, has settled a colony at Isles Malouines, or Falkland Island, almost opposite to the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, in the Atlantic, about five degrees from the continent. This island was discovered anno 1706 (sic), and may be of great use to Britain, in any future rupture with Spain; as ships may sail from that island to the South Sea in a few days."

June 24th, the *Scots Magazine* reports.

"It is said, that Com. Byron settled a colony at the isles of the Malouines, or Falkland islands, almost opposite to the mouth of the streight of Magellan, in the Atlantic, about five degrees from the continent. This island was first discovered in 1706 (sic), and may be of great use to Britain in any future rupture with Spain, as ships may sail from that island to the South Seas in a few days."

From London, on the same day, Ambassador Masserano sends a purported record of Byron's voyage obtained from Ambassador de Guerchy, for the attention of Minister Grimaldi.

"My dear Sir: ... The French Ambassador has obtained a copy of the logbook of the ships the Dolphin and the Tamer, and in it there are particulars that agree quite well with some of those that I have written for Your Excellency as I have acquired them, (i.e., I am enclosing a copy for Your Excellency, which will make it easy to trace on the Map.) the course followed by those vessels, and I will not dwell on reflections on the consequences that this expedition may have, leaving them to the light and penetration of the King and his Ministry. I have agreed with the French Ambassador and with Mr. Durand that neither he nor I will speak of the matter again to these Ministers, until we have instructions from our respective Courts, for which reason I have no doubt that both Sovereigns will want to be in agreement on this matter as on all others. Your Excellency will tell me if the King wants me to make any complaint here, regarding the fact that they are prohibited, although in general terms (the English) by the Treaty of Utrecht (Art. 9), to the English, as well as to the French and other Nations, from sailing to our possessions in America." [1265]

1264 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.192-194

1265 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.196-197. For the Treaty of Utrecht see 1713. Interpreted very differently by both sides.

A log entry is quoted.

> *"8 January... From Port Famine they entered Port Falkland, after having sounded and visited the island they discovered a quantity of small islands at a distance of 7 & 8 miles from Falkland Sounds on the 14th of the same month, they remained there until the 21st and gave to the largest of these islands the name of Egmond Island, or Port Egmond. The weather being very bad they returned to Port Desire where they arrived on the 5th of February."* [1266]

In a second letter, Masserano notes: *"... today's gazettes say that the frigate Jason, of 32 cones, commanded by Captain MacBride, has set sail on the occasion of some important discoveries made in the South Sea;..."* [1267]

From Paris, on the same day, Choiseul writes to Ambassador d'Ossun in Madrid.

> *"M. le Comte de Guerchy has done, Sir, all that could depend on him to discover what was the true object of the Navigation of Captain Byron who has just arrived in England ...; but all his researches have not yet provided him with certain notions in this regard.*
>
> *The Court of London has taken the greatest precautions to conceal from the knowledge of the public the motive of this mission; When the Ships which made the voyage in question, landed in the British Isles, their Crews were made to take an oath before a Judge to keep an inviolable Secret, and were given a double pay by way of gratuity. The Officers were obliged to take the same Oath before the Treasury of the Admiralty.*
>
> *The English ministers who were questioned on this subject replied, sometimes that they were not exactly informed of what related to this Navigation, sometimes that its object was to make some discovery or establishment, sometimes that Captain Byron was charged with recognizing whether a passage to the North of America to go to China was possible.*
>
> *This manner of explaining and the mysterious air with which it is accompanied, cannot but render very suspect the intentions and views that the court of London had on this occasion, and I know that (the) Prince de Masseran has neglected nothing to have this regard less equivocal clarifications although I am well convinced that he will have reported to his Court everything he has been able to collect. I thought I should put you in a position to communicate to Mr. le-Marquis de Grimaldi what was sent to me on the same subject."* [1268]

June 26th, in London, Lord Egmont writes to the Duke of Richmond.

> *"Intelligence concerning the Malouines Islands ... It is a **company** that has undertaken, with the King of France's consent and protection, to send a colony there. The said islands are very healthy. Two vessels have lately sailed from Nante for the said Isles. They are going to begin a trade from the said Isles with Rio de la Plate (sic), with the mutual consent of the Kings of Spain and France. The climate of the said Isles is about the same as that of St. Malo. They have already discovered 30 leagues of the Coast of these islands, but the rest is not yet discovered. The places discovered are mountainous.* [1269]

1266 *Ibid.* pp.197-200 with this extract on p.199. Most likely a fake made up from someone's memory. All records had been supposedly handed in on the ship's return to England, although some may have slipped the net.
1267 *Ibid*. p.201
1268 *Ibid*. pp.201-202
1269 My emphasis.

The voyages from France to the said Islands and from the said Isles to France, are of seven or eight months, or there about. They are of hopes to discover from the isles Malouines, Les Terres austral, otherwise the austral lands. The coast of Magellan opposite to the said Isles is very woody, and it is from that coast they have their Timber and wood for those Islands. The ships going into those Islands, very often put in Rio de la Plate River.

About a year or two years ago, two english (sic) men of war with two vessels under their convoy anchored in sight of the Bay D'accaron, which caused much uneasiness to the french vessels and inhabitants of those Islands, who were of opinion that our men of war and the two vessels under their convoy were going to make a Settlement in the Streight of Magellan.[1270]

They take Sea Lions upon the coasts of those Islands of 36 feet length and as big as the Long Boats of our men of war, and they make oil of them. They reckon those Islands to be about 300 Leagues circumference. There sailed in october last a ship (formerly a fire ship or a Bomb Ketch...) from Rochelle, and the french frigate called the Eagle sailed at the same time from St. Malo with people for those Islands. The winter of those Islands is very cold and exposed to high winds...

There is no ... Journal of the voyage to those Islands, at St. Malo, there being none in that place.[1271]

There is no cattle to be found upon those Islands, except those they carry from France, which thrive well, all the ships that sail from france for the said Islands carry with them, horses, Bulls, cows, sheep and other animals and sheperds to take care of them. ...

They are going to build at Saint Malo 2 frigates, in order to send them to the said Isles in october next. There is 60 or 70 houses built and inhabited at the Settlement of those islands. There is water enough ...

There is wolves and Bears and other wild Beasts The best time of sailing for the said Island is in the months of September and October, their winter being our summer. The Neybourhood of the Settlement of the Isles Malouines is pretty mountainous. They expect a vessel in the month of August next at Saint Malo, from the said Islands.

Mr. de Bougainville who has the chief command of the Isles Malouines, sailed about March last from France for those Islands.... The St. Malo people have a great hope, that those Islands will succeed and flourish in time. ..." [1272]

June 29th, at Fort St. Louis, *Aigle* returns with a cargo of wood from Patagonia.

June 30th, the *Salisbury & Winchester Journal* reports.

"According to private letters from Paris, the Court of Madrid is said to have purchased the island discovered by Mons. Bougainville, on account of its situation between Streights la a Mair and those of Magellan, of the greatest importance, by means of its port, to prevent the progress of an enemy round Cape Horn into the South Seas." [1273]

1270 Original emphasis

1271 Maintaining a level of secrecy was not only an English trait.

1272 Report by John Le Mesurier in the Royal Archives at *GEO/MAIN/447-448.* The letter is in the form of a list, clearly compiled with snippets of information over an unstated period of time. John Le Mesurier was most likely a spy, or a shipping agent, or both. The information regarding Accaron Bay was sent out to Port Egmont in September, 1766.

1273 *Salisbury & Winchester Journal Monday June 30, 1766*

July 1st, Lord Rochford is appointed Britain's Ambassador to France. [1274]

The *Manchester Mercury* reports.

> *"It is said that Capt. M'Bride, of the Jason man of war, is sailed upon some important Discoveries in the South Seas."*

July 2nd, the *Dublin Courier* reports.

> *"It is said the late voyage round the world, performed by Commodore Byron, was in consequence of a plan and observations found among the late Lord Anson's papers, and communicated by his heirs to the Lords of the Admiralty."* [1275]

July 3rd, from Fort St. Louis, *Etoile* sails for France - commanded by Chesnard de la Giraudais.

"In July 1766, Bougainville again presented a new Memoire, in which he showed that he was waiting at any moment for the return of the boats sent by him to the islands, because in his opinion it would be more beneficial not to set sail before knowing the news brought by them." [1276]

July 5th, the *Oxford Journal* reports.

> *"We are credibly informed, that when Commodore Byron touched at Falkland Isle, he found the Place deserted, nor were there any Traces of former inhabitants to be found. The Report of the Dolphin having left an English Colony on Shore there, is entirely unfounded."*

July 7th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Madrid

> *"... I told my Lord Egmond (sic) what has happened on account of the establishment of the French in the Maluinas Islands, which Your Excellency wrote to me in a letter dated June 15, in context with what I had informed him that Egmond himself had told me, that the French had established themselves in the Gulf of Darien; and he only answered me that he had not been mistaken, and that it was not the Maluinas but Darien that he was talking about.*
>
> *I also told the Duke of Richmond this same thing on Thursday. ... He pretended not to know where those islands were, and asked me what right we have to them, if we have established settlements and populated them. I answered him that although we do not have as many settlements as we would like, they cannot be disputed.*
>
> *He wanted to argue in favor of his claims to Manila with the example of the King having reimbursed Mr. de Bougainville for the expenses he had made in his expedition, despite having wanted to seize unjustly what belongs to His Majesty, for which he deserved reprimand and non-payment; but I replied that in the matter of Manila they did not have the justice they said: That Mr. de Bougainville was not treated thus because he is French, as he wanted to make me understand, but because the King had taken pity on him, the disbursement which had resulted, after he had given satisfaction, and France had yielded to the right of His Majesty and desisted from its attempt; and that this shows that neither this nor any other Nation will the King consent to appropriate any possession that belongs to it in America or anywhere else. Even the English gazettes have said that Spain has bought those Islands from Mr. Bougainville for a million francs; confusing the reality of what has happened."* [1277]

1274 After some delay, Sir James Gray was appointed to replace Rochford at Madrid. In ill-health, Gray accepted only reluctantly and would prove slow to take up the post – which he did on his arrival in Madrid in October, 1767.

1275 For the Anson plan, see 1748.

1276 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.105

1277 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.204-205

"Even though Article Eight of the Treaty of Utrecht was ambiguous about the status of the Pacific, it nevertheless became Masserano's main line of defence. He never failed to remind his British counterparts that – "even if we do not maintain as many settlements as we would like in this region, [you] cannot dispute our rights to the South Seas."..." [1278]

In Madrid, on the same day, Secretary of the British Embassy, de Visme, speaks to Grimaldi. He proposes that Spain pay a reduced amount of £300,000 in settlement of the Manila Ransom. Grimaldi declines; *"... the Ransom dispute had arrived at the impasse in which it was to remain."* [1279]

July 9th, reports in the '*English Gazettes*' present Britain's claim to the Falkland Islands.

> *"It is not ... Byron who, as has been announced in the last English papers, made the discovery of the Falkland Islands. It is due to the knight Richard Hawkins, who entered there in 1593 and gave it the name of Maidenland, in honor of the Queen. Since then, Captain Strong, another English navigator, recognized this island and named it Falkland or Falkland Island, but it is not known whether this captain or any of his crew landed there. The French vessels of Saint-Malo (to use Mr. Frézier's own words) only visited them in 1706, 1708 and 1712.*
>
> *The English are therefore the first to have discovered these islands, so that it would be unjust to dispute their possession of them, and if the Government thought fit to form some establishments, neither the French nor the Spaniards, would have the right to oppose it."* [1280]

July 11th, Minister Grimaldi writes to Ambassador Fuentes, who is en-route for Paris.

> *"In accordance with the agreement regarding the Malouina Island where Mr. de Bougainville established himself and which we are to take possession of, a war frigate is ready (for navigation) that has just been careened in Ferrol, and arranged to carry a picket of sixty men with their officers, ... a large number of married men will be sought so that their wives accompany them. There will also be a Governor of political and military talent: an Engineer: one or two artillery officers and twenty gunners: as many workers as can be gathered in Coruña and Ferrol: two Chaplains: two Surgeons: and twenty to twenty-five Families.*
>
> *It is believed that this Frigate be put under sail from the beginning to the middle of August, and it cannot be later: with the urgent orders that we expect from this Court for the French who may be on that Island to hand over their possession to the Spaniards, and for them to evacuate it, except for those who voluntarily wish to remain under the dominion of His Majesty. If Your Excellency has not collected (these) (said) orders upon receipt of this (these) please urge that they be given to you without delay, and send them to me without loss of time. Mr. de Bougainville offered pilots, and the Frigate would take them if they were at hand, but it will be difficult. We believe that there will not be a lack of some pilot in Montevideo, where it (the Frigate) will arrive to refresh its provisions, and to embark cattle, and there it will take one. On the part of France, their Frigate or other Vessels may be sent at the same time as we do for the return of the Individuals who evacuate the Island; but if it suits them that ours should bring them, it will carry orders for this purpose, since His Majesty has resolved that the offer be made to this Ministry.*

1278 Buschmann 2014 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi July 7, 1766 AHN, Estado 4271, vol.1*
1279 Rice 1973 pp.308 & 309 citing *SP 94/174.* See 1771
1280 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.321 citing *AN Mar. B7 425*

The Island will be submitted to the Government of Buenos Aires, and from there it will be provided with the Cattle it needs, with weapons and other provisions, while the Establishment is ([cultivated]) perfected and cultivated, and it will produce ([.....]) (conducive) to living on its own. The new Governor will carry the warnings contained in the Memorandum presented to us by Bougainville, and with them, and with the sight of everything that the French have done that he finds subsisting on the Island, he will be able to take correct measures to advance its benefit." [1281]

July 16th, the *Caledonian Mercury* reports.

"The Dolphin man of war has had her hause holes raised from the lower to the upper decks, she has also been raised in the gunwales, and will carry out five suit of new sails, and all her repairs are such as have been judged necessary for a ship bound on a long voyage. Philip Carteret, Esq; who was first Lieutenant of the Dolphin man of war, under Commodore Byron, is appointed commander of the Swallow sloop, now fitting out for sea at Chatham." [1282]

July 17th, further intelligence reaches Paris that the English are preparing a new expedition to reinforce the Falkland Islands with a permanent settlement. [1283]

July 21st, in Paris, Ambassador de Fuentes finally returns to his Embassy. There he receives the correspondence from Minister Grimaldi sent on the 11th. Summoning Bougainville, Fuentes reads the letter to him. Bougainville immediately confirms that he is willing to lead the Spanish to the French settlement and oversee the transfer. [1284] Bougainville notes that there is no pilot in Montevideo; *"who is familiar with the Malouines."* [1285] Fuentes writes to Minister Arriaga in Madrid.

"As the item of accounts which this Officer must present was a necessary preliminary to finalizing this business, I have asked him many days ago to carry it out as soon as possible, but as he has been obliged to request various papers and supporting documents from San Malo, he has not yet been able to finalize it, although he told me this morning that he would present said accounts to me within four to five days. He added that he believes his total will be between five and six hundred thousand pounds, and that, assuming that our Court is always in the mood to advance him a sum on account, he would like it to be half that, as he must immediately pay various pledges which he has contracted for his expeditions, and to pay the crew of the vessel of which he speaks in the enclosed memorandum, whose arrival he is expecting from one day to the next. If he should ask me for any sum for his journey to Spain and for some other necessary expenses, I will have our Treasurer Llovera give him thirty or forty thousand pounds; this is understood on the assumption that he leaves before Your Excellency responds to this letter of mine." [1286]

July 22nd, in Paris, Fuentes speaks to Choiseul, pressing him to obtain from the French Court; *"... a document confirming the **cession** of the Malouines Islands and instructions for the French who occupy them."* [1287]

1281 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1p.207
1282 *Caledonian Mercury Wednesday July 16 1766*
1283 Dunmore 2005 p.135 citing Gallagher 1964
1284 Scavennec 2005. Also Martin-Allanic 1964 p.323.
1285 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.220
1286 *Ibid*. p.219
1287 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.324. My emphasis. Fuentes would receive a rebuke from Grimaldi, for the suggestion that France had something it could cede.

July 25th, in London, the French *charge d'affaires,* Durand de Distroff, writes to Ambassador Masserano to report that four ships are being prepared for a voyage to the Falkland Islands – *Dolphin, Swallow*, *Swift* and *Roy*.

> *"The Admiralty, in the absence of Lord Egmond, sent orders yesterday evening to the Dolphin, which was at Dep(t)ford, to leave on this evening's tide to pick up its cannons, which number 24, and to prepare to leave without delay to form an establishment towards the Falkland Islands, in the one to which Captain Byron gave the name of Egmond. The Dolphin will be accompanied by the Swallow which is at Chatham. This vessel is already loaded with gear and a framework suitable for forming a fort. It will be followed by the Swift Sloop, currently at Woolwich, having on board some mortars, cannon balls, and tools; (and) by a vessel of 20 cannons, currently at Norwich, named the Roy, a vessel of French construction, recently repaired, and which is not found in the states of the naval forces of England. All these vessels have their full complement of sailors, and on each of the two warships there are [sic] 16 Marines without officers. The destination of this armament is solely for the Falkland Islands and the command is given to the Captain Wallace."* [1288]

In sending this information to his own government, Ambassador Masserano refers to an informant; adding that the ships will rendezvous at Madeira. [1289]

> *"The gazettes have said that in addition to the Dolphin there is another warship called the Alarm, and four transports. But this* ***man*** *assures us that now only the Dolphin will sail with two transports, and that they are carrying provisions for eight months, a great deal of gunpowder, artillery, bricks, and timber already cut to build a fort and make warehouses in Falkland, which, as Your Excellency will see in the English maps, is a port at the entrance to the stretch of sea which separates the two largest Maluina Islands on the north side. The idea of this establishment, he says, is to open and maintain a trade in the South Sea in time of peace, and to be at hand in time of war to disturb ours and even attempt some expedition against us. …*
>
> ***The subject in question*** *has offered to notify me in advance of the fixed time of departure of the expedition for Falkland, and to begin his confidences he has asked me for forty guineas, which I have not hesitated to give him, inasmuch as if his news is good it deserves well that the King should not ignore it, and if I see that he is not well informed it will be of little use to prove it to him.*
>
> *The Duke of Choiseul strongly orders Mr. Durand to watch out and spare nothing to hasten this object, considering it very important."* [1290]

"Reinforcing the colony at the Falkland Islands was part of Egmont's plan. Although Wallis's objective was the Pacific Ocean… Swift, under Captain Raynor, was also to sail to the Falkland Islands to relieve McBride and the Jason… (Raynor) was never under Wallis's command. … Masserano kept his government informed of the preparations for the new expedition, …" [1291]

1288 *Durand a Masserano julio 25, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.209-210

1289 Corney 1913

1290 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.208-209. My emphasis. A suggestion that a French diplomatic official was a Spanish spy?

1291 Wallis (ed.) 1965. It was true that vessels were being fitted out; but not all were for Wallis.

"It was understood that England was gathering an armada of warships to go to the Malouines and reinforce their claim to the islands. This would most certainly lead to war. There was panic in Paris and Madrid as time was short to prevent the English takeover." [1292]

July 27th, in Britain, a change of government in England sees William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, appointed as Prime Minister. A decision is made to delay the Wallis expedition until the new administration can give its approval. Lord Richmond resigns as Southern Secretary, to be succeeded by the Earl of Shelburn.

July 29th, at Madrid, Phelipe Ruiz Puente y Garcia de la Yedra is selected to be Spain's Governor at the Malouines. [1293]

> *"The King, having resolved to establish the Right of His Majesty, .., a moderate establishment that serves to strengthen possession, and at the same time provide recognizance of the nearby Strait of Magellan and forestall the English, or another nation, …*
>
> *His Majesty has decided to consider (a) Marine officer for Governor..."* [1294]

At Port Egmont, with no sign of the *Florida* storeship, rations are reduced by half.

July 30th, in Paris, Bougainville prepares an account of the costs of three expeditions to the Islands.

> *"First Expedition ..... 253,944 12s ll d*
> *Second Expedition ..... 77, 347. 1. 9.*
> *Third Expedition..... 200,403. 4. 3.*
> *Special expenses relating to the*
> *three Expeditions..... 28,000. ,, ,,*
> *Interest on the Sums advanced for*
> *the three Expeditions ..... 52,559. 4. 3.*
>
> *Addition of parts omitted in*
> *the previous Section ..... 5,854. 10. 3.*
> *618,108. 13. 5.*
>
> *We the Undersigned in our name and in the name of Mr. De Bougainville de Nerville commander in the Malouine Islands, our associate, certify*
> *The present true account, amounting to the Sum of Six hundred and eighteen thousand one hundred and eight Livres, thirteen sols and five deniers, in Paris this 30th of July 1766*
> *Bougainville*
> *Arboulin*
> *NB. The expense for the arming and disarming of the King's ship L'Etoile which left Rochefort, the provisions and effects which it carried to the Falkland Islands, is not included in the present statement."* [1295]

In Paris, the Count de Guerchy arrives from London on leave; bringing a copy of Byron's diary and a map upon which has been marked the route that Byron took. The map shows Port Egmont as an island some 300 leagues (900 miles) from South America. Bougainville is suspicious and questions the diary's authenticity. [1296]

1292 Scavennec 2005
1293 Garcia Diego 2014
1294 Quoted in Munilla 1948 pp.20-21 citing *Arriaga a Blas de la Barreda: July 29, 1766 (minute). A.G.I. Buenos Aires,552.*
1295 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.51
1296 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.311 & 312

"Bougainville summarises, with the dukes of Choiseul and Praslin, the results of this expedition, ..: Creation of an establishment called Port-Egmont, on an island which is probably part of the Falkland or Malouines group, taking possession of the place of establishment and the surrounding islands. The English can not, if it is indeed the Malouines, boast of being the first occupants since he, Bougainville, preceded them by one year for occupation and ten months... The distance of more than three hundred leagues between the establishment founded by the English and this continent is false. It has been insinuated to confuse research and to deflect in advance any claim from Spain based on the natural right of geographical dependence." [1297]

August 2nd, in London, Ambassador Masserano demands *'clarification,'* from the Earl of Shelburne; asserting that any settlement in the Americas would breach Article 8 of the *Treaty of Utrecht*. [1298]

> *"Has arrived at my Court, like all of Europe, the news that has been put in the public papers of this one, on the trip made by the Commander, Captain of the Navy Byron, that (he) has sailed around the world, going through the Strait of Magellan, making (establishments) on some of the nearby islands, and even in some ports and roadsides of those coasts of the mainland, probing them and dealing with their natives, and in the same way in other islands of the Sea of the South, and then in the seas of the Philipinas, and returning to Europe through the Cape of Good Hope.*
>
> *The King, my master, has also had warnings with all the signs of truth, that as a result of the observations of Commander Byron, the project of making an English settlement near the Strait of Magellan has been signed and embraced by the Ministry of His Britannic Majesty, ... and that, as a consequence of this resolution, an expedition is prepared in which, in addition to the troops, women and all kinds of workers must go with the tools, ... to found a population. ...*
>
> *In any case, he has sent me to represent (to) the British King his friend and to make, if necessary, the most solemn protest in his Royal name that he will never consent to such establishments, and he will prevent them at all costs,..."* [1299]

Inspected, Article 8 of the 1713 treaty is seen to state:

> *"Art. 8. That there be a free use of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each kingdom,* ***as it was heretofore, in time of peace, and before the declaration of this late war, in the reign of Charles the Second****, of glorious memory, Catholic King of Spain, according to the treaties of friendship, confederation, and commerce, which were formerly made between both nations, according to ancient customs, letters patents, cedulas, and other particular acts; and also according to the treaty or treaties of commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at Madrid. And whereas, among other conditions of the general peace, it is by common consent established as a chief and fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce to the Spanish* ***West Indies*** *should remain* ***in the same state it was in the time of the aforesaid King Charles the Second****; that therefore this rule may hereafter be observed with inviolable faith, and in a manner never to be broken, and thereby all causes of distrust and suspicion concerning that matter may be prevented and removed, it is especially agreed and concluded, that no licence; nor any permission at all; shall at any time be given, either to the*

1297 *Ibid.*

1298 Rice 1973 p.421 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi August 11, 1766* in '*Bourbon 'revanche' against England' an unpublished thesis by Abarca for the University of Notre Dame 1965.* Also *Archivo General de Simancas, Inglaterra, legajo 6961*

1299 Attributed to Spanish Ambassador Masserano, but undated, in *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de Aragón* Cesáreo Fernández Duro 1895-1900 vol.6 p.144

French, or to any nation whatever, in any name, or under any pretence, directly or indirectly, to sail, to traffic in, or introduce negroes, goods, merchandizes, or any things whatsoever, into the dominions subject to the crown of Spain in America, except what may be agreed by the treaty or treaties of commerce ...

And, that more strong and full precautions may be taken on all sides, as above-said, concerning the navigation and commerce to the West Indies, it is hereby further agreed and concluded, that ***neither*** *the Catholic King, nor any of his heirs and successors whatsoever, shall sell, yield, pawn, transfer, or by any means, or under any name, alienate from them and the crown of Spain, to the French, or to any other nations whatever, any lands, dominions, or territories, or any part thereof, belonging to Spain in America.*

On the contrary, that the ***Spanish dominions*** *in the* ***West Indies*** *may be preserved whole and entire, the Queen of Great Britain engages, that she will endeavour, and give assistance to the Spaniards, that the ancient limits of their dominions in the West Indies be restored, and* ***settled as they stood in the time of the above-said Catholic King Charles the Second****, if it shall appear that they have in any manner, or under any pretence, been broken into, and lessened in any part, since the death of the aforesaid Catholic King Charles the Second"* [1300]

"... the ambassador was in a foul mood. From his perspective, it had not been a good year: British officials still demanded ransom for their occupation of Manila four years earlier, had most likely established residence in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, and were now officially announcing that Commodore John Byron had traversed the Pacific Ocean on his recent circumnavigation. In Masserano's mind, this ocean figured as Spanish territory beyond dispute. Armed with a copy of the Treaty of Utrecht, ... Masserano aimed at proving once and for all that the Spanish Crown was master of all the oceans surrounding its most sacred American possessions." [1301]

"Discrepancy arose when it became necessary to define what should be understood by 'West Indies under Spanish dominion.' Spain understood that the term included both mainlands and islands, discovered or not, inhabited or vacant, as long as they were located to the west of the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI and extended by Tordesillas. Other European powers such as England, France and Holland, maintained that the term 'dominion' implied control, jurisdiction and government, and consequently Spain was only entitled to the territories it had actually settled or were under its effective influence at the time of the death of King Charles II of Spain on November 2, 1700." [1302]

Unconvinced, Lord Shelburne responds that British rights are based upon first discovery. Also that Britain does not regard Article 8 as prohibiting further exploration.

"... the English Minister countered with the claim that only trading ships were excluded, not warships." [1303]

".., the treaty stipulated neither the range nor the degree of Spanish control over those seas, nor did it acknowledge an Iberian right of first discovery to their many islands. ... (Masserano) found himself rebuffed..."[1304]

1300 My emphasis throughout. With ill-defined terminology, the 1713 *Treaty of Utrecht* was guaranteed to inflame disputes. For a full discussion, see 1713.
1301 Buschman 2014 pp.46-47
1302 Peña & Peña 2018
1303 Wallis (ed.) 1965
1304 Buschman 2014 pp.46-47

Shelburne taunts Masserano.

> *"Could he perhaps be so kind as to produce a map depicting the exact location of the mythical Solomon Islands? Where were all the other islands and continents witnessed by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why was Frenchman Louis de Bougainville allowed to pass into this postulated closed sea? ..."* [1305]

"Shelburne was evasive, and refused to admit that the British outpost was in the same group as the French colony which had been agreed to be ceded to Spain. He argued rather that Utrecht imposed no limitations on Britain's right to navigate and make discoveries in the South Seas. Masserano was outraged at this, ..." [1306]

"There had never been a general prohibition of British navigation to the South Atlantic, nor could it be inferred from the existing treaties that the Falkland Islands were recognised as Spanish possessions." [1307]

August 4th, in Paris, Spain's Ambassador Fuentes meets with Bougainville to reconsider the details of a handover in light of the intelligence from London; *"The Malouines would have to be transferred to Spain without further delay, so that the two Bourbon kingdoms could present the British with a united front."* [1308]

Fuentes also seeks Bougainville's opinion as to the location of the British settlement in the Islands.

"... everything makes (Bougainville) believe that it is the Great Malouine that Byron came to..." [1309]

August 8th, from London, French spies report to Choiseul that the British fully intend to reinforce Port Egmont.

> *"... In time of war against the Spanish in the South Sea the fleets will be more within reach of being provisioned and will be able to be so every three months ordinary journey of going and coming from both the island of Tinian (?) and Falkland, instead of previously they could only draw provisions from St. James and were obliged to lengthen their voyage considerably by doubling Cape Horn which they now shorten crossing the Strait...."* [1310]

Made aware, this information is immediately passed on to Madrid by Ambassador Masserano. [1311]

> *"I informed Your Excellency a few days ago that as a result of an Admiralty Meeting in the absence of Milord Egmond, the departure of the Armament for the Falkland Islands had been postponed. Later, Milord Egmond has come here, and has taken this delay very badly. Two Councils have been held to decide whether they should continue with their destination, and it has not yet been decided. From the enclosed Paper that Mr. Durand brought me this evening, Your Excellency will see that the principal object of the Establishment now is to carry out Smuggling on our Coasts of Peru, and on those of Brazil. Your Excellency will note that they intend to establish themselves there with solidity. I understand that they consider it easier since they know that the French must withdraw from the Maluinas, because the Spanish consider us less vigilant and slower; and they flatter themselves that we will give them time to gain a foothold."* [1312]

1305 Quoted in Buschman 2014 p.47
1306 Rice 1973 p.421
1307 Fisch 1983 p.118. See Goebel 1927
1308 Dunmore 2005
1309 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.328
1310 In *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.223-225, there is a report marked as *Extract of conferences held by the English ministers, based on the need for an establishment near the Strait of Magellan.* Dated August 8, 1766, it seems likely that this was the information provided.
1311 Barriera 2019.
1312 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.225-226

"... in May, England had been advised of the cession of the islands to Spain by Bougainville. Egmont, who wanted to consolidate the English position there regardless of the claim of Spain to sovereignty over the Falklands, worked from June through most of August to obtain the cabinet's approval of the Admiralty scheme of sending ships to Port Egmont." [1313]

"... the Spanish ambassador in England sent to Grimaldi a confidential letter where he assured that the English had settled in the Falklands "... to trade illegally with Peru, and to facilitate their business against us while in war."..." [1314]

In Spain, at the port of Ferrol, frigates are prepared for a voyage to the South Atlantic; *"There are two of them, one of thirty guns, the other of eighteen."* [1315]

August 11th, from London, Masserano writes a further letter to Minister Grimaldi, urging prompt action. [1316]

> *"... in the matter of the establishment of the English in the Falkland Islands, it seems to me that the most convenient thing, if the King wishes to oppose it, is to do so by force, evicting them from there without making it known that it is believed to be the work of this Government, but rather something attempted by some pirates who have wanted to cover themselves with the English flag. All the time that is spent on representations would be to give to this Government (time) to take root more in that place, and in the end we would not succeed in getting them to give up their enterprise. ..., I do not believe that a war could result from it, and starting by driving them out of where they have introduced themselves we will have the advantage of having the pledge in hand."* [1317]
>
> *"... there should be no waiting or negotiation but that steps should be taken to destroy the colony before the English fleet could reach the Falklands."* [1318]

"Prince Masserano counselled his government to destroy the British colony before an English fleet arrived... He argued that ... Britain's 1749 acknowledgement of Spain's right meant that the English had no right to be on the islands and could be forcibly evicted." [1319]

August 13th, in London, Lord Egmont defends his project before the King's Cabinet. Outvoted, he resigns.

> *"A Council was held last Wednesday. Lord Egmond explained all the reasons that the last Minister had determined to form the establishment in the Falkland Islands, to keep the Jason in station there and to make constructions there. The Duke of Grafton refuted the advice of Lord Egmond, he said that in the short time that he had been in office he had learned that the Spanish and the French had fortified themselves in these regions, that the silence of these two Powers was lacking, that they were assured of their superiority, that the Project could lead to a rupture that the Nation had an interest in avoiding, finally that all these new establishments always promised many advantages that experience reduced to nothing.*

1313 Gallagher 1964
1314 Barriera 2020 citing Ferrero de Fiesco 1766 in *AGS Estado 6962, 37*
1315 *Grimaldi to Fuentes September 13, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.368-369
1316 *Masserano to Grimaldi August 11, 1766* in *Archivo General de Simancas, Inglaterra, Legajo 6961.*
1317 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.228
1318 Masserano quoted in Laver 2001
1319 Gustafson 1988 p.11. See 1749.

Lord Shelburne and General Conway were of his opinion, but in order not to appear to totally reject that of Lord Egmond, they opened the advice which was followed to postpone the decision for a week to give time to the members of the Council to examine the matter. Lord Egmond replied and cited Lord Chatham as having already approved the expedition, and the latter kept silent: at the end of the Council, Lord Egmond placed in the hands of H.M.B. the resignation of his Employment. ...

Yesterday morning, Admirals Saunders and Keppel left.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, Lord Chatham sent a Courier to Stowe to offer Lord Temple the Place of Mrs. Egmond, and to let him dispose of it in favor of Mr. George Greenville if he preferred. The Duke of Bedford solicits in favor of Mr. Gower and Lord Sandwisch (sic).

The Clerk of the Admiralty from whom we have these details thinks that if the two Crowns of France and Spain wished to enter into an accommodation with the latter, England would willingly determine to abandon the Falkland Islands on the condition that no one would take post there." [1320]

"*Lord Egmont... vigorously reiterates all the arguments he had already made in his memorial of 20 July of the preceding year..*" [1321]

".., Egmont urged that orders to sail be issued to the fleet. The Duke of Grafton, however, had been informed that the Spanish and French had increased their strength in the Falklands and that their force would be superior to the English. For this reason and because he believed that sending the ships would cause a complete break in relations between England and France and Spain, he opposed the plan. According to the French charge d'affairs in London, whose report is the only extant record of the meeting, both the Lord Chancellor, Lord Camden, and General Conway agreed with Grafton, who wanted to postpone having to make a decision for at least a week. Egmont now argued that Chatham, who had recently rejoined the ministry, had previously approved the plan. At this time, Chatham remained silent. Within a few days of this rebuff by the cabinet, Egmont resigned." [1322]

"The fact that the British presence at Port Egmont was a product of Britain's strength in Europe had apparently been recognized by the Earl of Chatham in 1766 when he rejected a plan to increase Port Egmont's local defences, and the absence of any significant local defences increased the importance of Port Egmont as a symbol of Spanish weakness." [1323]

From Paris, Spanish Ambassador Fuentes writes to Madrid.

"It has been England that has always opposed any dismemberment of (Spanish) possessions, as it expressly did in the Utrecht treaty, in order to prevent France from thinking about acquiring new Establishments, and this (French) Ministry..., cannot see with indifference that England forgets this background with its new claims to establish itself in those Seas; if England refrains from such a project, leaving us in the peaceful possession we have, France will not think about altering it; but if England is obstinate in resisting our opposition, and in wanting to settle in those places, having no

1320 *News of a council celebrated by the English ministers with respect to the Malvinas Islands agosto 15, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.236. The argument that the Falklands should not be garrisoned by either side would resurface in 1770.

1321 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.409

1322 Gallagher 1964. Lord Egmont's resignation of August 13, 1766, was not immediately accepted by the King, leading to some confusion over its date.

1323 *The Falkland Islands Crisis of 1770; Use of Naval Force* Nicolas Tracy 1975 in *The English Historical Review* vol.90, No. 354 (Jan., 1975), pp. 40-75

more right that France, or any other power, ignoring … the uninterrupted possession in which We are, France will declare, of course, that it will try to settle in the same seas in which the English tried, and they will never consent to England forming new Establishments anywhere in the World without France forming them too." [1324]

August 16th, in London, provisional orders are issued for Wallis to sail for the Magellan Strait, but not to the British harbour in the Falklands. From the strait he is to search for the fabled southern continent (Antarctic) that Byron was convinced lay just to the south of his track across the Pacific. [1325]

"Whereas nothing can redound more to the honor of this Nation as a Maritime Power, to the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the Trade and Navegation thereof, than to make Discoveries of Countries hitherto unknown; And whereas there is reason to believe that Land or Islands of Great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Southern Hemisphere between Cape Horn and New Zeeland, in Latitudes convenient for navegation, … an attempt should forthwith be made to discover and obtain a complete knowledge of the Land or Islands supposed to be situated in the Souther Hemisphere as beforementioned. …" [1326]

Orders are also given to Lieut. Brine, commanding the storeship *Prince Frederick*.

"You are hereby required and directed to supply His Majesty's ship Dolphin and Swallow sloop with such quantity of Provisions as Capt. Wallis shall direct, out of the Cargo on board the prince Frederick Storeship which has been consigned to you; and you are dispose of the remainder of the Cargo upon your arrival at Port Egmont in such manner as the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's ships there shall direct." [1327]

August 18th, in Paris, Ambassador Fuentes reminds Bougainville that Spain still awaits some formal documents regarding a cession of the settlement by France. Bougainville responds that he will press Choiseul, but that as he is due to leave for Madrid it may be better if he took the documents straight to Minister Grimaldi. [1328]

Bougainville takes the opportunity to present his accounts to Fuentes, recalling that a deposit had been promised. Spain's Ambassador writes to inform Grimaldi; adding that it may be worthwhile to include some inducement so that the French settlers in the Malouines remain there after the handover. [1329]

August 22nd, from Plymouth, Samuel Wallis, commanding *Dolphin*, with Philip Carteret, in *Swallow*, sails for the South Seas. Accompanying them is the *Prince Frederick* storeship; bound for Port Egmont. [1330]

"… you are to direct Lieut. Brine, who has command of the Victualling Storeship, to proceed with her to Port Egmont on the North side of Falkland's Isles, and follow such Orders as he shall receive from Capt. MacBride of the Jason, or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Ships there, for his farther (sic) proceedings." [1331]

"Both Spanish and French diplomats appear to have been under the impression that Wallis's expedition was a colonizing enterprise…" [1332]

1324 Quoted in Munilla 1948 pp.27-28 citing *Fuentes a Grimaldi: August 13, 1766. A.G.I., Indif, Gen., 412, 11.*
1325 Confirmed on the 19th.
1326 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.151-154
1327 *Ibid.* pp.150-151
1328 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.333
1329 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.106 citing *Fuentes to Grimaldi August 18, 1766*
1330 *Derby Mercury Friday August 29, 1766 p.4. Prince Frederick* was bound first to Magellan's Strait with *Dolphin* and *Swallow*, before diverting to the Falklands.
1331 Wallis's orders quoted in Corney 1913
1332 Wallis (ed.) 1965. Different Wallis.

August 23rd, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to the Spanish Court to inform them that *Dolphin* and *Swallow* have sailed.

"A Letter from Your Excellency of the 23rd of last month, n° 787, has arrived … in a packet brought to Compiegne by a Courier from this Minister of France. I have read it to the King who has listened to its contents with all the attention it deserves. … The most unpleasant is that the departure of the Expedition was decided for the Falkland Islands, which we believed had been suspended because the reasons for our grievance had occurred in this Council and caused (MiLord) Egmond's resignation." [1333]

August 24th, in Paris, Bougainville informs Choiseul of his plan to circumnavigate the world – something that no Frenchman has yet achieved.

"He will leave with a single frigate of the King, to limit the expense, and will go to the Malouines Islands. He will find the commander appointed by the King of Spain and proceed to the transfer of his establishment. He will give the new governor all the information which will allow him to settle there strongly and to find, later, the establishment of the English in Port-Egmont. He believes that this establishment must be in West Malouine or an adjacent island. Meanwhile, readied, (is) a corvette, the Eagle, … or Etoile, which is also perfectly suited to this trip. This ship, laden with food, would join him in the Falklands and allow him to complete the supply of his frigate. The tanker, .., would bring back to France French personnel and Canadian or Acadian families who would not want to remain under Spanish rule… But if all the families remained in the Falklands, or if the Spaniards themselves undertook to repatriate those who wished, together with the French personnel, the corvette would become free and Bougainville asked permission to keep it, which would make the rest of his trip (easier)… Leaving the Malouines, Bougainville will pass, depending on the season, by Cape Horn or the Strait of Magellan, to reach the South Sea." [1334]

Choiseul tacitly agrees, despite harbouring some concerns about Spain's attitude to a circumnavigation.

August 25th, in Madrid, Miguel de Muzquiz, supported by the Marques de San Juan and the Conde de Aranda, suggests that two war vessels be sent to expel the British from the Falklands. However, Juan Gregoria Muniain and Indies Minister, Julian de Arriaga, do not believe that Spain is in any condition to provoke a war.

They argue for a peaceful settlement. A *minute* of the discussions notes:

> *"… the destruction of Port Egmont was bound to lead to a trial of strength, that preparation should be made for war, and that, the greatest danger being that the British navy would operate in the South Atlantic near rather weakly defended parts of the Spanish empire, the fighting should be kept in the north."* [1335]

Minister Grimaldi asks Spain's Ministers to consider the whereabouts of the English base.

> *"It has been reported for days that the English have formed the project of establishment in one of the islands called Malvinas or Faukland or in one of the islands of the South Sea to illegally trade with Peru, and to facilitate their enterprises against us while at war. … The King Our Lord, having taken charge of the gravity of this case, wants his ministers to give him their written opinion"* [1336]

An instruction is prepared for Viceroy Amat.

1333 *Grimaldi a Masserano Sept 8, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos* …University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 p.264
1334 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.345-346
1335 Tracy 1975 p.52
1336 Quoted in Barriera 2019 citing *AGS, E, 6962, 37. San Ildefonso, August 25, 1766*

"…have the Viceroy informed of all that is happening, he should be advised that, with the Governors of all ports very specifically charged with sending small vessels along the coasts of his district, the neighboring islands, and the Strait of Magellan, he should inspect whether there are any foreign establishments, and hold them accountable for the slightest oversight. These specific examinations should be used to ensure that he determines whether or not any exist. If he verifies the former, he should take his measures and expel them by force, without showing any order for this matter other than the obligation that his employment constitutes in compliance with the laws; as Your Majesty He has entrusted its preservation and defense to him." [1337]

In France, from the Palace of Versailles, worried that his country may yet again be about to offend Spain, Choiseul writes to d'Ossun at Madrid. Choiseul asks the Ambassador to explore the exact extent of Spain's pretensions in the South Sea (Pacific Ocean).

"All that this minister [the Marquis de Grimaldi] has told you about the South Sea seems to indicate that it may not be without some doubt as to the exclusive right of Spain to sail and even to form in this sea, … before we can give the Court of Madrid a hearing on such an important subject, we must know exactly what its claims are, and what its foundation is. I believe that it is certain in general that, by natural law, the sea is free in all parts of the world, but that it ceases to be so when nations are agreed by treaties that it does not would be point. It is only from this last principle that Spain can draw her right on the South Sea. If they suffers, however, that the English establish themselves in these parts, they will probably not pretend to exclude us from it, supposing that we also seek to make some establishment there,…" [1338]

Choiseul also speaks to the Spanish Ambassador, who has just arrived at Versailles. Fuentes reminds Choiseul that he still awaits documents regarding the cession of the French establishment; to which Choiseul replies that they would be prepared "*at once*." Fuentes immediately writes to Grimaldi to inform the Minister that Bougainville is about to depart for Madrid.

"*I will give him, forty thousand livres, and on your side you will give him the sum which will appear to you just when he has presented to you his accounts, supported by the vouchers, which he will take with him. …; I am content for the moment to tell you that there is no time to lose in order to send M. de Bougainville and the officer or officers whom the King will appoint to take possession of the island and the establishment already formed, because according to what the Prince de Masseran wrote to me, a council was held in London where the decision was taken to follow up the project of establishing a (base) in the 'Falkland Islands' which I suppose to be the Malouines and, consequently, the ministry gave the necessary orders to set sail for these islands the vessels Dauphin (sic) and Frederick."* [1339]

"He reports to (Grimaldi) that Bougainville's departure for Spain is very near, and that he will have the necessary orders for the evacuation and cession of the Malouines." [1340]

"… on the 25th, (Fuentes) announced that he had agreed with Choiseul that Bougainville, on leaving for Madrid four or six days later, would take with him orders to deliver Puerto Luis (sic) to Spain, while he would deliver him, as an advance, forty thousand Tornesas pounds. On that occasion, the Ambassador again maintained

1337 Barriera 2019 citing *AGS, E, 6962, 53*. Undated.
1338 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.348
1339 *Fuentes to Grimaldi* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.350
1340 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.350

that, in the presence of new news coming from London, not a minute of time should be lost in effecting the transfer of the Establishment." [1341]

"The Count de Fuentes, at the time, recounted what Choiseul thought of the Spanish king: "... it cannot be indifferent to him that the English establish where they (the Spanish) themselves have prevented the French from establishing... "..." [1342]

August 30th, King Louis XV of France signs a letter addressed to Bougainville de Nerville – *"Commandant of the Malouines Islands."* [1343]

> *"Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, in the firm resolution (with) which I am to cement by all possible means the friendship that unites me with my brother the Catholic King, I have consented that the Malouines Islands, whose command I have entrusted to you, should be* ***handed over to him****; my intention is that consequently you will hand them over to the officer whom his Catholic Majesty must send with a detachment of troops to take possession:* [1344] *You will leave to my subjects who are established in these islands the liberty of returning to France on the vessels which must be despatched for these islands, and you will allow those of my subjects who consent to remain there to pass under the Spanish Domination. To this end, I authorize you to give them all the certificates they may need to assure their present and future tranquillity, either in relation to their concessions and the effects they possess or may possess, as to their status as my subjects, giving them my royal word that in whatever time they or their descendants may deem fit to return to my States, they will always be received there and enjoy the rights and privileges of my other subjects, likewise, and as if they had not passed under foreign domination.*
>
> *I order you, to this end, to read this letter to the said inhabitants whom you shall have gathered for this purpose in the presence of the Spanish commander, to whom you shall deliver a copy signed by you for deposit in the archives of the government with a list of the inhabitants and, for your part, you shall remove at the bottom of this letter an aquiescement (sic) signed by the Spanish commander to ascertain what is my will and the consent of his Catholic Majesty.*
>
> *When you have carried out the above, you shall have an inventory made of all the furniture, effects, artillery, ammunition and merchandise belonging to me, belonging to the Malouines Islands, and you shall (appraise) them in the said inventory, of which you shall have a duplicate signed by the Spanish commander to be returned to France and handed over to the secretary of State having the Department of Marine, and, however, you shall leave the whole at the disposal of the said Spanish commander.*
>
> *And this being for no other purpose, I pray to God, Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, that he will have you in His Holy Guard. At Compiegne, August 30, 1766."* [1345]

1341 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.106

1342 Barriera 2020 citing *AGS Estado 9662, 37*

1343 Apparently, this was handed to Grimaldi by Bougainville, as the '*cession*' document requested by Spain's Ambassador. Together with the St. Malo Company receipt for compensation/expenses signed by Bougainville, these were the only documents handed to Spain.

1344 In the original - "*Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, dans la ferme résolution où je suis de cimenter par tous les moyens possibles l'amitié qui m'unit avec mon frère le Roi Catholique, j'ai consenti que les Iles Malouines, dont je vous ai confié le commandement,* ***lui fussent remises****; mon intention est qu'en conséquence vous les livrerez à l'officier que Sa Majesté Catholique doit envoyer avec un détachement de troupes pour en prendre possession:..."* My emphasis.

1345 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.352 citing *AN Col. F2 A 20, 30 août 1766 n°.1.*

"No evidence is to be found of a French acknowledgement of the Spanish title to the Islands. King Louis XV never suggested such a thing." [1346]

August 31st, in Madrid, Spain's Council of Ministers provides an opinion as to the action that should be taken against the British. While Minister Arriaga is pessimistic, the Council argues that as the Royal Navy already control the seas and reduce trade, there is a need to do something.

"The ministers and other courtiers conveyed their views to Grimaldi as quickly as was possible. All recommended an energetic and immediate intervention against the English establishment in Port Egmont, but assumed the indisputable Spanish inferiority against the rival in the sea as a battlefield. The Bailío Arriaga synthesized this ambivalent reflection very well: his opinion begins with a forceful "The English are already established in the Faulkland Islands ...", but he ends by saying that to dispute an island "... against the English owners of the sea, it is precisely to assist them with their triumph ...". For the Bailío, all the seas were controlled by the English, diminishing the legitimate trade of Spain all over the globe, ... The minister suggested to the king that he should avoid a new war front at all costs. Two opinions advised ... moderation with instructions to the Peruvian viceroy reminding him that the conservation and defense of these territories are in his charge." [1347]

Minister Muniáin says that having the English in the Falklands, is better than having them in Cape Horn, but if the King decides not to allow it, then a squadron with ground forces should be sent to eject them. Muniáin also asserts that the provisions of the *Treaty of Utrecht* have been broken by the British. [1348]

"Although the postures differ slightly, the general climate that circulates through the frenetic courtesan circuit is initially favourable to an energetic intervention..." [1349]

September 1st, in Spain, Grimaldi prepares a protest for Britain's administration; to be delivered by Masserano.

> *"My Court has become aware, as well as of course all the Courts of Europe, of the news which has appeared in the English gazettes on a voyage round the world by Captain Byron, in which he has sailed through the Magellan Straits; he has refreshed successively in several islands among those which are nearest, and even in some ports and (roads) of the coasts of the terra firma; .., communicated with the natives of the country; he then acted in the same way in other islands of the South Sea and finally in those of the Philippine seas, after which he returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope.*
>
> *The King, my master, was also informed, in a manner that shows all the signs of truth, that as a result of the observations made by Captain Byron during this voyage, His Britannic Majesty's Ministry designed the project of making an English establishment near the Straits of Magellan, in a place indicated by Captain Byron as particularly suitable for this purpose, and that, as a consequence of this resolution, the same Ministry have an expedition prepared in which independently of troops, it proposes to send women and workers of all professions with the necessary tools and supplies to found a colony.*
>
> *If this news is as certain as it appears, the King, my master, believes that, in spite of their reflection, the British King, and his ministry, have not realized that in forming this project they are prepared to bring a mortal blow to the right of His Majesty and His Crown. The Treaty of Peace of Utrecht, which*

1346 Peña & Peña 2018
1347 Barriera 2020 citing *AGS Estado 6962*
1348 *AGS Estado, 6962 57 (2)*
1349 Barriera 2019 citing *AGS E(stado), 6962 51-53*

is the political basis of Europe, by which the family reigning in Spain is recognized by England and that reigning in England recognized by Spain – a consideration which, with many others, demands of the two monarchies that they respect this treaty and do not contravene its provisions slightly – the treaty of Utrecht, I say assures Spain, in Article 8, the exclusive possession of the Americas and their adjacent islands, even to the point of binding her hands to prevent her from giving up any part of it.

It was England, who demanded and dictated this condition and it was England who since then (took) the most opportunities to show that it (understood) that this obligation was observed... Thus in 1741, England foiled a project that Russia had formed to make discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, declaring openly that Spain was the master of this sea and that the England was the guarantor. In the year 1750, at the instigation of Admiral Anson, the English ministry admitted the project of making an establishment in the Malouines, the frigates who were to participate were already ready and armed.

The Spanish ambassador, Don Richard Wall, learned about it, made representations. He gave the reasons and at once urged His Britannic Majesty to abandon the idea of this enterprise, although it was already well advanced. A company of Saint-Malo has formed and put into execution the same project since the last war: M. de Bougainville, officer of land and sea, went with two frigates to the Malouines Islands and settled in one of them. between them, leaving families and everything necessary to form a colony.

My Court was aware of this, (and) complained loudly to the Court of France and opposed the obligation that England did not allow: His Most Christian Majesty decided that Bougainville would abandon his establishment to the will of His Catholic Majesty. How could the King of Spain doubt that the English ministry was not fully aware of these precedents when it prepared an expedition destined to settle in the Malouines or in another city or on the coast more or below or beyond Cape Horn?

In any case, (Carlos III) has asked me to represent these facts to the King of Great Britain, his friend, and to make, if necessary, the most solemn protest in his royal name, that she will never consent to such institutions will prevent them at all costs from subsistence, no matter how sad she feels to see herself in such cruel necessity, and she is not afraid of coming to this end, thanks to the integrity of King George III, ... Your Excellency ... for the maintenance of good harmony between the two nations, (should) give me without delay an answer which dispels his anxieties and affirms them even more in the friendship which she professed with regard to the King of Great Britain and in his desires to maintain an ever stronger union between the two monarchies." [1350]

"Although Charles III wanted to know the opinion of his advisors regarding the English establishment, he was determined to put into practice as a first step, the one that Grimaldi had communicated to Arriaga: the presentation of an energetic claim in the London Court. Without even waiting for the arrival of all the opinions requested, the official protest was drafted, ... The protest note sent by Spain was reduced to establishing that any British colony in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan meant the violation of international treaties." [1351]

September 2nd, from Paris, Bougainville leaves for Madrid to negotiate the final details of transfer. He carries a letter from Minister Choiseul to Ambassador d'Ossun.

1350 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.360-361 citing *Archives Historiques Nationales de Madrid, 2.858* and *Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères de Paris* vol. 554 fols 282-283. Other sources refer to a similar message, but the dates in early September differ. See also Munilla 1948 p.39.

1351 Munilla 1948 p.38 & 41

"Mr. de Bougainville returns to Madrid and carries not only the cession which the King makes of the Malouines Islands to the King of Spain, but also the permission to all Frenchmen who there are established to settle there their residence under the domination of His Catholic Majesty.

M. de Bougainville is at the same time seeking the payment of the sums due to him, in accordance with the account examined and hereby decided by M. de Fuentes. You will do well, Sir, to use your good offices to persuade the Court of Madrid to finish this affair with the same good grace and diligence which you have placed on your side during this negotiation." [1352]

In Spain, Ambassador Fuentes writes to Minister Grimaldi, to inform him that Bougainville is on his way.

"Monsignor de Bougainville is leaving for that Court tonight, carrying orders for the delivery of the Malouines Islands to us. This Officer being unable to leave here without paying various expenses, and considering how much it would be convenient to speed up his journey, I ordered the Treasurer, Don Francisco Ventura de Llovera, to deliver to him the forty thousand pounds Tornesas, of which I have spoken to Your Excellency in other letters of mine, which he did immediately, as is evident from the enclosed document I received, which I am sending to Your Excellency so that you may please pass it on to the Minister of Finance, so that our Treasurer in Paris may pay the aforementioned amount.

Mr. de Bougainville is carrying with him, as I have notified Your Excellency, his accounts with all the supporting documents so that they may be examined there. I cannot help but tell Your Excellency that I replied that while I was with the Duke of Choiseul, when he ordered the orders to be issued for the surrender of the Maluine Islands, he told me in the presence of Mr. de Bougainville that, while they were willingly giving up that possession to please us, they were sorry that the English were going to establish themselves in those parts, and that if we were to make use of the exclusive right we have with them, we should make use of it with respect to all the others. I replied that he should not doubt that the King would oppose the establishment of the English, or of any other foreigner, in the said seas and coasts, and that he should not persuade us to think otherwise." [1353]

In France, *Etiole* sails into Rochefort. Riding to Paris, Captain Giraudais seeks an audience with Choiseul; who is in a meeting with Fuentes. Giraudais is brought before both of them and asked whether he has any knowledge of the English; *"The Ambassador asked him whether he had seen any sign of a British presence in the Falklands ... La Giraudais was adamant that no one had come across any British settlement ... The odds against a British presence in the Malouines were a thousand to one, he told Fuentes."* [1354]

September 5th, in Spain, Grimaldi consults Aranda regarding the risk of a war with Britain. [1355]

1352 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.352-353. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.353) describes Bougainville as *missus dominicus* – an envoy of the Lord – but does not identify an appointment giving Bougainville any diplomatic status. And the envoy of which Lord? Louis XV, Choiseul or God? What is clear, is that the document that Bougainville was carrying was not a cession of sovereignty, just an instruction addressed to the commander of the French settlement to hand over the facilities there to the Spanish. Choiseul was too clever a politician to tie his nation's hands, should the circumstances change in the future – as seemed likely with the British dug in at Port Egmont.

1353 *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.255-256

1354 Dunmore 2005 p.142

1355 *Making Imperial Futures: Concepts of Empire in the Anglo-Spanish Sphere, 1762-71* D. J. Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Grimaldi to the Conde d'Aranda, San Ildefonso, 5 September 1766.* Munilla (1948 p.37) suggests that a written opinion by Aranda was submitted on the same day – citing *A.H.N., State, 2. 858.*

September 7th, in St. Malo, France, *Aigle* and *Etoile* arrive back at their home port. [1356]

September 12th, in Spain, Bougainville rides to La Granja. Ambassador d'Ossun immediately informs the Spanish Court of his arrival. [1357]

September 13th, in London, the Admiralty prepare fresh instructions for Captain M[c]Bride.

> *"As we think it is necessary for the vessel you are ordering (or the Carcass sloop) to be up this year, and as we have had the Swift sloop, commanded by Captain Raynor, (fitted) to replace it, we hereby instruct you to return to England as quickly and as conveniently as possible on the ship you are ordering, provided that the Carcass sloop is in a condition to remain in the Falkland Islands until another sloop is sent in the year next take his place. You will take care, at the moment of your departure, to leave to Captain Raynor, or to the officer who will be at that time the oldest of the station, the copy which we enclose to you of our secret instructions dated September 26, 1765.*
>
> *You will also give them all the instructions you deem necessary for the protection and safety of the Falkland Islands, instructions which will be dictated by the experience you will have of these islands and by the discoveries you have made. ... we have reason to believe, from the information we have received, that an establishment was formed by Europeans in* ***Accaron Bay****, which we suppose to be the same as that named Berkley Sound by Commodore Byron, who is situated at the eastern extremity of the said islands of His Majesty. This establishment was able to easily escape your search in the first recognition you made of these islands. You will, therefore, before you return to England or before you return the Carcass, to take yourself to the bay, ... You will take great care, if such an establishment exists, to behave in all circumstances in accordance with the instructions of His Majesty mentioned above."* [1358]

September 14th, in Paris, Choiseul speaks to Colonel George Lennox.

> *"The first, he said, related to Les Isles Maloines which Spain had claim'd and* ***obtain'd from France, in consequence of the Treaty of Utrecht****, as by it all but Spaniards are excluded from settling in that part of the World, and England's having already observ'd that Article of the Treaty in laying aside a Project of Lord Anson's in the year* ***1750*** *for those seas, on the representation of Mr. Wall then Minister from Spain in England, was given as a proof of the propriety of their Demand; but that the report of Capt. Wallace's Destination seem'd to contradict this Example cited by the Spaniards; That however He (the Duke of Choiseul) should not take the alarm, till matters were more explain'd, & should give the same advice to the Spanish Ministers whom He thought too hasty on the occasion."* [1359]

In Spain, Bougainville informs the French Ambassador of his plan to circumnavigate the world, via China and the East Indies. [1360]

1356 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.90

1357 *Grimaldi to Fuentes September 13, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.368-369

1358 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.413-414 citing *PRO Adm. 2/1.332 f° 154.* My emphasis. A drawing of Accaron Bay – probably Pernetty's – had been sent out to the Falklands earlier in the year, but that did not identify where in the archipelago it was. This letter indicates that the connection with Berkeley Sound had been made. See also June, 1766.

1359 *Lennox to Shelburne September 17, 1766* in *PRO SP 78/271/8.* My emphasis.

1360 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.358

September 15th, in France, and in receipt of Grimaldi's instructions to Masserano to protest the British presence in the South Atlantic, Fuentes goes to see Choiseul at Versailles. Fuentes fears that the order is tantamount to a declaration of war. The more-so because Grimaldi is demanding that France make a supportive declaration. Choiseul agrees with this interpretation, telling the Spanish Ambassador that a softer tone is needed. Also that he will discuss the matter with Louis XV before responding directly to Grimaldi.

At the Spanish court of San Ildefonse, Minister Grimaldi greets Bougainville and the French Ambassador. Bougainville hands over a certified copy of the letter signed by Louis XV ordering de Nerville to "*hand over*" the French establishment to a Governor appointed by Spain.

Bougainville also gives to Grimaldi the letter from Ambassador Fuentes; announcing that a deposit of 40,000 livres tournois has been paid. Grimaldi informs Bougainville that the accounts will be checked by both himself, and by Minister Arriaga.

"The lack of precise information about British activities and the constant flow of rumours helped (Bougainville), ensuring that the Spanish remained anxious to settle the Malouines affair as quickly and as amicably as possible. ... Madrid therefore went smoothly." [1361]

September 16th, from Port Egmont, M[c]Bride sails for the Magellan Strait to obtain wood for the settlement. [1362]

From Spain, news of Bougainville's negotiations leak to the French press.

> *"M. de Bougainville arrived from Paris at St Ildephonse with the ratification of the treaty of cession of the Falkland Islands to Spain by France; and he was to embark at Ferrol with a King's Commissary, to put him in possession of those Isles, or at the same time convey Spaniards to begin to populate them."*[1363]

Minister Aranda announces to Grimaldi that, in his opinion, the Falklands are strategically more important than Cuba or Costa Rico. [1364]

"He again exposes the precedents, adding that created by Bougainville who comes to support them, demonstrating the consequences of such an establishment in relation to the security of the Spanish colonies and strengthens his (previous) conclusions, ... To allow England to settle in the Malouines, it is also to allow it to settle elsewhere, and, in particular to the coast of Patagonia. . ... The president of the council of Castile concludes that this "intrusive establishment" should not be tolerated." [1365]

"... the Count of Aranda, in his report of September 15 (sic), declared himself in favor of the immediate destruction of the English colony. The Treaty of Utrecht (art. 8) was favorable for Spain ... The Treaty of 1713 had assigned the West Indies to Spain. England herself had wanted it that way. Her signature at the bottom of the document certified it. But she hadn't stopped at this." [1366]

Minister Grimaldi responds; *"The English absolutely want to establish themselves on the coast of Patagonia, even though they have always recognized it as belonging to another owner."* [1367]

1361 Dunmore 2005 p.140

1362 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.522. Also *M[c]Bride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm.1/2116*

1363 *Journal Politique: Pour l'Annee 1766 Octobre: Premiere Quinzaine* p.29. It is also mentioned in *De Visme to Shelburne September 15, 1766.* Inaccurate

1364 *Francisco Gil y Lemos, gobernador de las islas Malvinas (1774-1777)* Iago Gil Aguado 2012. In 1761, Aranda had written to Ambassador Wall bemoaning that Spain had been negligent in not settling the coasts of South America below the Rio de la Plata, and around Cape Horn. See Alarcia 2004.

1365 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.364-365

1366 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.132

1367 Quoted in Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Grimaldi to the Conde d'Aranda, San Ildefonso, 5 September 1766*

"A single objection to Count d'Aranda, his exclusive interpretation of Article VIII of the Treaty of Utrecht. The English could, indeed, interpret it in their own way and contrast it with Spain: (which) did not occupy the Malouines in the time of Charles II, and has never occupied them since; on the other hand, the negotiators of the treaty aimed at navigation in the South Sea and not that in the South Atlantic. ... But since the whole of Europe has always understood this article in a way which favours the Spaniards, and which the English have themselves contributed to assert, the Spaniards would be very foolish not to stick to it." [1368]

September 17th, from England, His Majesty's sloop, *Swift*, under Capt. John Raynor, sails to relieve *Jason* at Port Egmont. [1369]

From Paris, on the same day, Choiseul writes to his *charge d'affairs* in London urging that Masserano be persuaded to seek further clarifications, before reading Grimaldi's letter of September 1st to the British Ministry. Durand is to make it clear that; "*... the King, on the representations of his cousin, the Catholic King, and in accordance with Article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht between Spain and England, ordered that Sieur Bougainville* ***evacuate*** *the Malouines Islands, where he had formed an establishment and put the said (establishment) in the hands of the Spaniards who would be appointed for this purpose by His Catholic Majesty.*" [1370]

"On September 17, 1766, (Choiseul) informed the British Ambassador that France had handed over Port Louis, and with it, the dominion over all the islands of the archipelago to Spain, considering that the Treaty of Utrecht excluded in that area all the nations except the Castilians." [1371]

September 22nd, at Port Egmont, McBride returns from the South American coast; increasingly concerned that *Florida* has not arrived as expected.

September 23rd, from London, Ambassador Masserano reports upon his progress.

> *"The day before yesterday, Sunday, I wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, who had been in the country until then, asking him to give me an appointment to speak to him, and having made an appointment for yesterday morning, Monday, I went to his house, after having met Mr. Durand again, and having read his instructions and mine again. I told that Secretary of State that, having reached the ears of the King through the gazettes and public papers, that this Government intends to establish a settlement in our southern seas as a result of the voyage of Commodore Byron around the world, His Majesty ordered me to ask this Ministry in a friendly manner if such rumors were true, since he cannot be persuaded of the friendship of this Sovereign, those parts being Spain. The said Minister answered me that he knew nothing of this; that he had not yet had time to acquaint himself with all the affairs, and that he could assure me that nothing had been discussed since he became Minister; but that it may be something of the other Ministry.*
>
> *I told His Excellency that I could not help knowing all that had been done during the last Ministry's time, and that this matter was of such importance that it must undoubtedly have been discussed in Council several times. He could not deny that Captain Wallis, with the frigates the Dolphin and the Frederick, had recently set out with men, munitions, and supplies, and that it was said that they were going to establish a settlement in the South Sea.*

1368 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.365

1369 Wallis (ed.) 1965. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.414) gives the date as the 21st. The first recorded use of the abbreviated form '*HMS*' was in 1789.

1370 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.371. My emphasis

1371 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.130. No source cited. Which ambassador? Appointed in May, 1766, Lord Rochford did not arrive in Paris until November, 1766. His predecessor, the Duke of Richmond, had returned to England in May, 1766, although he may have returned to Paris in the August. Unconfirmed.

He replied that this might be a matter for the Admiralty, and that it was not his department; that although he was under no obligation to tell me what was being discussed in Council, he assured me as a private individual and swore to me that he did not know that this matter had been discussed. He swore this to me three times, and he wanted to persuade me that there was nothing wrong with it, because I had told him that the King had learned of it from the papers and public notices. Then I told him that when I was asked this question, my Court would undoubtedly have more grounds for suspecting him than the gazettes. He offered to speak to His Majesty and to inquire about My Lord Chatham. He would remain at every turn, almost without answering me, and would try to get out of the conversation, leading me on to other matters, such as the shortage of wheat that is being experienced here, and the lack of authority of the Kings of England, who in a case like the shortage of grain cannot by themselves give a ruling to prohibit extraction without the assistance of Parliament. I took the same care that he took in getting out of the conversation as I did in getting back to it.

I repeated to him several times that the South Sea, with its coasts and the adjacent islands belong to Spain, and that no other Power may establish itself in those parts, or even navigate to them, as provided for in article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht, the basis of all that subsists between the two Powers, and of which Britain is the guarantor, and it is not credible that it wants to be the first to infringe it. He did not dispute it with me (or you.) He contented himself with telling me that he did not have that article in mind, and offering to examine it with great care. Nor did he reply to the example I cited of what France had done in the case of Mr. Bougainville; so that in substance our conversation was reduced to my putting the question to him in the terms referred to and my offering to give an account of it to this Sovereign.

I concluded by expressing to him that it was necessary that His Excellency Please respond to me in writing or orally as soon as possible to satisfy the King with your response, if you do not have such a plan, and if you do have one, so that His Majesty can take the measures that are appropriate, and he knows what to expect: offering to return to your house any day and at any time that you set for me." [1372]

September 25th, in London, the French *charge d'affaires*, Durand, seeks out Lord Shelburne, the Southern Secretary. Durand tells the Minister of the support that Choiseul is prepared to give to Spain. He emphasises that France had seen the need to abandon its own establishment in recognition of the existing rights of the Spanish King. Shelburne tells Durand that the matter is now between Spain and England, and that France should not interfere. [1373] After Durand has departed, Shelburne calls for Ambassador Masserano.

"I (Masserano) went in, telling him that I was going for the answer he had offered me. He told me that I was in a great hurry, for having spoken to him for the first time on Monday, I wanted him to reply formally on Thursday. I told him that I could not fail to request his reply, as the (Spanish) King was anxiously awaiting it to satisfy himself of the intentions of this Ministry. He told me that he could not reply to me as Minister as yet, because he had not spoken to the others except in passing at Court, and that no Council had been held; that he had only written to Admiral Saunders to send him the papers relating to this matter; that as a newcomer to the Ministry, His Excellency was not acquainted with all the affairs …

1372 *Masserano a Grimaldi septiembre 23, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos* ...University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.320-323

1373 *Masserano a Grimaldi septiembre 26, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas (1766-1767)* Universidad De Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.7-13

I had the Treaty of Utrecht in my pocket, and this Minister had it on his table. Having expressed to him the grounds on which we suspect that they have undertaken such an establishment, I made use of his book to allege to him the rights that the King has to not permit it, reading him article 8 and supporting myself on the clauses of it that allude to the present case. I also had the Madrid treaty of 1721, and I read him article 2, referring to the other successive treaties.

He objected to three points concerning the words navigation, commerce, and establishment. He intended to make the words synonymous, or rather to say a single word for navigation and commerce, granting that it was prohibited for subjects of any nation to navigate and trade in the South Seas; but not that the navy should (not) sail in them, and he was very surprised that I should deny to England this right, as well as to the other Maritime Powers.

Making a distinction between those two words, and taking the word navigation in its general meaning, I supported my proposition with it; for indeed it cannot be claimed that the term navigation should be applied exclusively to commercial vessels. He referred to me the voyage of Admiral Anson, and to this example I easily replied, telling him that he had made it in time of war; that nations that wage war among themselves seek to harm one another wherever they can; and that if he had met some of the King's ships in those parts they would not have failed to attack him and dispute his passage. ...

He asked me what right we had to those seas and territories. I satisfied him with the text of the treaty, and asked him to tell me, if England claimed to have any, on what basis it was. He told me that before we (Spain) had discovered America, the English already knew those Islands, and he cited to me the maps and travel books they have in the Museum, in which they say they are demarcated as discoveries of this Nation. ... I told him that the Spaniards had sailed before the English, although the latter had since greatly improved the art of navigation, and that it was more probable that we were the discoverers. He asked me why we had not established ourselves there. I replied that it was because we did not have enough people for everything, and because the country was not one of the most inviting, stating that I saw no reason for this Government to envy us. I told him that the night before I had been busy reading various papers about our (voyages) and that I had found that Captain Byron had been in various places that we know and of which we have taken possession.

He wanted to attack me on the subject of limits in article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht, ... He took out a map to ask me how far the land we claim to be ours extends. I pointed out all the southern seas, showing him the Maluinas Islands, those of Pepys, and all the others in those parts; ... I also extended myself to the Philippines, and he was astonished when I told him that the whole sea was ours, and that no nation could navigate there. He asked me if the English could go to their East Indies; and I answered that we only disputed the West Indies, and that the King only claimed what was just and his by treaties. He told me that our ideas were very vast...

He gave me to understand that he knew that we had given money to Bougainville to give up his establishment to us; and I told him that what had been paid to him were the effects which belonged to him and which he had left there, and ***not the right which was not his but the King's.*** [1374]

This was not yet an answer to the question I had asked him by order of the King, whether it was true that England intended to establish some settlement in any of those parts. I wrote to him at this point, and he told me that he did not know what had been done, since a ship had been there for more than a year.

1374 My emphasis.

I expressed the greatest surprise at hearing this, and told him that this was more than the King suspected, asking him what that ship was doing there, and declaring that if he had established some fort or begun some settlement, it was more than having had an idea of it, that it was to carry it out and consequently infringe the Treaty of Utrecht, to commit hostility and to begin a war.

I asked him to think carefully about all the consequences that this dependence could have. ... what was most important on the day was the answer that His Excellency had given me that this Government believes that the English can sail to the South Sea; that the Islands Falkland Islands belong to them, and they have settled there. ..." [1375]

"When Masserano claimed all of them for Spain, the secretary was aghast." [1376]

"The discoveries of the Spaniards in the new world, and the adjacent seas, were certainly extensive and important; but unfortunately for Spain, the information thus obtained was generally kept secret by her government... while the English, the French and the Dutch, on the contrary, published accounts... as soon as they had been made... when disputes arose,.. the Spanish government could only produce,.. bare assertions, or manuscript journals and charts of questionable authenticity." [1377]

After the encounter, Shelburne records his feelings.

"I could not consent to talk seriously upon it. That if the Spaniards talking of their Possessions included the A[mericas] & S[outh] Seas, and that our navigating there gave occasion to them to Suspect a War, I had no hesitation to say that I would advise one if they insisted on reviving such a vague & strange pretension, long since worn out, as the exclusive right of those Seas." [1378]

".., Masserano found himself on the defensive in a face-to-face meeting with the Earl of Shelburne, ... The Earl of Shelburne first reproached Spain's attempt to close the entire South Sea to navigation and commerce, two terms he claimed were ill defined (in Art.8). ... Shelburne (then) attempted a different argument, the right of first discovery. Indeed, he argued, the British possessed maps that charted many of the contested islands in the South Sea as their discoveries." [1379]

September 26th, from London, Masserano writes to inform Grimaldi of the conference with Lord Shelburn.

"I am confirmed in the idea that we should have spoken as soon as the voyage that Commodore Byron had made became known, or without having taken it for granted that we should have thrown them out of Falkland.... In my uncertainty of the tone in which France will support us, and of what she will do if we put ourselves to the task, it has not seemed prudent to me to speak more strongly from the start. I notice that Mr. Durand is always hinting to me that if we come to an agreement on Manila, this would also be resolved. He tells me that it is purely his idea, but he repeats it too much. I cannot, however, think that this is the idea of his Court. For my part, I do not see how the Manila issue can be resolved with the King's decorum by agreeing to pay, nor do I believe that this Ministry would accept such a proposal if we made it." [1380]

1375 *Masserano a Grimaldi septiembre 26, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad De Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.7-13

1376 Buschman 2014 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi September 26, 1766 AHN, Estado 4271, vol.1..*

1377 Greenhow 1842

1378 Quoted in Buschman 2014 citing *Global Reach of Empire* Alan Frost 2003 p.63. Shelburne Papers vol.161 Item 20

1379 Buschman 2014 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi September 26, 1766 AHN, Estado 4271, vol.1.*

1380 *Masserano a Grimaldi septiembre 26, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad De Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.7-13

Charge d'affairs Durand, also writes to inform Choiseul.

> *"I see by now that the English Ministry wishes to maintain itself in the Falkland Islands, which it says are the same as the Malouines; that he (Shelburn) intends to give a forced meaning to the Treaty of Utrecht, that navigation, which must remain on the footing on which it was at the time of Charles II, only regulates that of the Subjects, or of the individuals of each Nation, and not that of the Powers: that he treats as absurd the pretension of wanting to prohibit Great Britain not only the course of the Atlantic Ocean, but even that of the South Sea; that he is not shaken by the objection made to him that the French, the Dutch, and the Danes could, in the same way as the English, establish themselves in South America, and that, without regard to the consequences, the present Ministry will expose itself to everything, rather than depart from a project too advanced to be abandoned. ... My Lord ... always protesting against the Idea of giving limits to the Navigation of the Crown of England, asking where were the limits of Spanish Possessions, saying that it was up to Spain to prove her right to the Falkland Islands, ... the die is cast,...."* [1381]

September 27th, in Spain, from the Court at Ildefonso, a Royal Order commands that a detachment of 25 artillery men, with an officer and engineer are taken aboard the frigates *Leibre* and *Esmeralda*, for a voyage to the Malouines. [1382]

September 29th, in Madrid, Minister Grimaldi notes receipt of the correspondence from Ambassador Fuentes with regard to Choiseul's concerns over Masserano's instructions.

Also a proposal that Spain should despatch a squadron to search for Port Egmont.

"... there are at present two vessels of seventy guns and two frigates at Montevideo and nearly four thousand Spanish troops at Buenos Ayres, which [puts] His Catholic Majesty in a state of to oppose with superior forces the establishments planned by the English, or even to expel them from those which they might have already begun, either in the South Sea or in the Straits of Magellan." [1383]

France's Ambassador d'Ossun also speaks to Grimaldi. He raises the issue of Bougainville's accounts, which are taking so long to be approved that the Frenchman may be delayed, and not reach Montevideo in time for the proposed handover date of January 1, 1767. Bougainville's accounts are proving problematic.

> *"In accordance with Your Majesty's order, we have examined the statement submitted by Mr. de Bougainville of the expenses incurred by his Company in establishing the Malouines Islands, which are substantially those of three expeditions made from San Malo, and amount to 618L 108s 13d and 11d, which he requests to be reimbursed as a result of the negotiation with your Court; and we find that it is impossible to verify the items, because even if he were to present (as he has proposed) all the documents, who would be responsible for finding out whether they or the signatures were in good faith, which for the sake of precision must be assumed. In this supposition, we are of the opinion that Your Majesty, using the generosity that is natural to him, has ordered that the State presented by Bougainville be approved, and that the 618L 108s 13d and 11d be delivered to him in the manner that he agrees with his Minister of Finance, who will take from him the corresponding Safeguard, so that at no time will they have to ask for it, and that all the effects, wood, Vessels built there, (and those used in the expedition, and finally everything belonging to the company and to the Most Christian Majesty, should remain as yours, the first as included in the Account that is satisfied; and the second by the voluntary Transfer of His Most Christian Majesty ([which has been referred to]) (of those that*

1381 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.340-342
1382 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.14-15
1383 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.374

correspond to him from, etc.) … [breakdown of the three expeditions] *… This account does not include the cost of arming His Most Christian Majesty's ship, Estrella, nor the provisions and effects that it brought to the Maluinas. Nor does it include the interest on the cost of disarming the 3rd Expedition, which will be shown in the final payment, etc. This Report is referred to documents and includes the items succinctly and without further expression; therefore, without them, it is not possible to come to an understanding of what may have to be added. It does not deal with the effects that will benefit Spain, nor with whether the Frigate and the Corvette should be delivered, since the cost of theor purchase is charged. It is not said either if there will be any debtors of the advances that are charged, nor are discounts made for surpluses, etc. A certified unification of the Interested Parties Bougainville and D'Arboulin is provided, for themselves, and in the name of Bougainville de Nerville, Commander of the Maluinas.*

Other.

This is what can be reported for the moment, and without special speculation; and that the items have not been added due to lack of time, and the duty without loss to deliver this Report. In addition to the 5% referred to for Interest, a 2% is placed for the owner of the Expedition in each one of them; and a small amount for forgotten money.

Other.

At the end of the Report, the Salaries and Rations of the current State of the Colony are included (which consists of 128 People) and amount to 41,381 Libras, and 15 sueldos." [1384]

"… it was impossible to verify the expenses – since no one in Madrid could testify whether the amounts contained in the vouchers were authentic…" [1385]

King Carlos III steps in to resolve the issues; *"The affair of M. de Bouguainville, Sir, is over. His Catholic Majesty has ordered that the account he presented be paid without any examination of the supporting documents. He will now receive two hundred thousand francs in Paris, and the remainder will be paid in Montevideo; all as he requested."* [1386]

In Paris, Spain's Ambassador Fuentes meets with Lt. de la Giraudais, recently returned from Fort St. Louis in the Malouine Islands aboard *Etiole*.

"Mr. de la Giraudais assures, and it is partly confirmed in his Diary, that the establishment left by Mr. de Bougainville on Maluina Island was in very good condition in the month of July of this year, and that he continues to prove experience the goodness of that Climate, and terrain: Having asked him if before his departure he had seen, or had news of the establishment, which the English people are said to have done, or attempted to do, in the Island, which they call Flackland, and we Maluina , he told me that he did not, and that it seemed impossible to him that they could have executed him, without the French of the Island having had news: That Giraudais himself had made an almost complete tour of the Coasts of the Island in the month of June this year, that is, a few days before his departure, and that he had not seen, nor recognized the slightest appearance of an establishment, nor arrival of such Englishmen; that consequently he considered absolutely false whatever could have been said about this establishment in Flackland Island; that what could very well have happened was what had been made on some island in the South Sea on the other side of the Strait of Magellan. …

1384 *Colección De Documentos …*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp. 52-54. Arriaga's clerks were disputing everything, including the signatures on the various receipts.

1385 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.107.

1386 *Marquis de Ossun to Choiseul September 29, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas (1766-1767)* Universidad de Buenos Aires vols.2-3 1961 pp.17-19

I only think it appropriate to add, as regards the main business with Mr. de Bougainville, which seems to me to be very important in the final settlement of accounts that is made with him, that it be said that ***it is a pure purchase that the King makes of the effects that are on the Island****, and a payment of the expenses that Bougainville has made in the management of the Families for the sole reason that the King wants to make an establishment on an Island and territory that belongs to him, so that it never sounds like compensation for the work of the establishment, and* ***much less like a sale that Bougainville or France is making to us of the territory****, because tomorrow, when the English, reduced to reason, agree to abandon the establishment that they have made in the South Sea, they will use the example of Bougainville to try to make us pay for everything they have spent on it. "* [1387]

September 30th, a letter from Madrid, informs the Governor of Buenos Aires that Bougainville, when he arrives at the Rio de la Plata, should be received with the "*greatest civility and attention*." [1388]

October 1st, in London, Masserano speaks again to Lord Shelburn, after which he writes to Minister Grimaldi.

"It may also be that the idea of this Ministry is only to frighten us into concluding the Manila affair, and that, having achieved this, instead of doing ourselves justice, to continue the other enterprise, and if necessary to support it with arms." [1389]

October 2nd, from Paris, Choiseul again writes to Grimaldi to urge a caution in Spain's dealings with England.

"The second (issue) is the new establishment of the English either in the South Sea, or on this side of the Strait of Magellan in the Islands that the French call the Falklands and the English call the Falklands; I have always believed that it was necessary to know very positively the place of this establishment before complaining about it; and that is why I proposed four months ago to Spain to send four line-of-battle ships into these seas to see for themselves this establishment and if it was in such or such a position to destroy it in its beginning, because there is more advantage in discussing a possession destroyed, than on a possession to be destroyed.

I will frankly admit to you that if the English establishment is in the Fackland Islands and consequently outside the South Sea, ***I do not believe that Article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht is contrary to it unless it is proven that there were Spanish possessions in these Islands at the time of Charles II****. Let us read Article 8, my dear Brother, with attention, and if you were neutral and obliged to judge this question I believe that you would be embarrassed to appropriate it to the Fackland Islands unless you were presumed to have the Titles of ownership of the time of Charles II. ...*

There is another thing to consider, it is necessary to be very certain of the harm that this establishment on this side of the strait can do to Spain, and to calculate if this harm is comparable to the harm that a successful war always does to a state. The sovereigns must have two objects, justice and the interest of their state; Justice can be determined by the meaning of the Treaties, it is the calculation which determines the interest, and in this second case, if it is calculated that the establishment of the English in the Fackland Islands causes a notable prejudice to Spain and greater than that of war, it is necessary to prepare to make war in eighteen months for this sole object: If on the contrary the harm of the establishment was imaginary, or only concerned distant and easy to prevent consequences, it is then that justice and the meaning of the Treaties must determine our conduct. It is not the same for an

1387 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.16-17. My emphasis.
1388 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.107.
1389 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.38-41

establishment in the South Sea which I would believe to be contrary to the Treaties and to the true interests of Spain;... "[1390]

"... the true object of the letter of Choiseul to the Spanish Minister of State was to make him see the difficulties that France will encounter in providing effective support for Carlos III, and, consequently, show his desire to achieve a peaceful settlement of the incident ... Choiseul does not, of course, ask for the suppression of defensive precautions. Just to try to avoid adopting those that, because of their bellicose nature, can cause a conflict, ... There was no doubt that Choiseul was looking for a peaceful settlement at all costs. But could it be the basis of a friendly negotiation with Britain? ... Choiseul knew how to find the solution. When the English conquered, in 1762, the capital of the Philippines, the archbishop, wishing to avoid the horrors of looting at his metropolitan headquarters, promised to pay Brigadier Draper a sum if he avoided it. ... In such circumstance Choiseul chose it as the means of resolving Anglo-Spanish differences, proposing the payment of the Manila Rescue in exchange for abandonment of the British establishment in the Falkland Islands." [1391]

"Choiseul summed up the situation in a letter of 2 October to the Spanish minister,... Already there were signs that an impasse was developing; Britain seemed determined not to yield her claim to a settlement on the Falklands, yet France was bound by the Family Compact to support Spain if war threatened, and Choiseul saw a very real danger of war in the present instance. He therefore urged Grimaldi not to submit any provocative demands while doubt still remained as to the precise location of the islands in question. Unless Spain could furnish proofs that there were Spaniards on the islands in the time of Charles II, he doubted that the eighth Article of Utrecht would apply. Above all he urged the avoidance of any rupture with Britain for at least the next eighteen months, for neither France nor Spain was yet sufficiently prepared for war." [1392]

"... if the settlement was on the Falklands and not in the South Sea, it was not prohibited by Article 8, unless it could be shown that there had been a Spanish presence on the Islands at the time of Charles II of Spain." [1393]

"As for the Treaty of Utrecht, the British simply did not regard it as applicable. In this, amusingly enough, they were at one with the French minister Choiseul, who had told the Spaniards as much." [1394]

"In... (Port Egmont) we (the British) were, upon every principle of the Law of Nations, and upon the established usage in all similar cases, the First Settlers; we had the exclusive right to that establishment, and to the island on which it was situated. Nor did the subsequent cession of the French settlement to the Spaniards in the year 1766, in any degree diminish the right of the English. Spain ... could derive no more from the French than they had to bestow. ... The Spanish therefore stood exactly in their place; but could not, by any mode of reasoning, acquire a title, which did not belong to those from whom their settlement itself was derived." [1395]

In Spain, from the Spanish Court of La Granja de San Ildefonso, a Royal Order is despatched for the Viceroy of Peru, Manuel de Amat, to inform him that Capt. Phelipe Ruiz Puente has been appointed Governor of the Malouines and that he will be dependent upon the government and Captain General of Buenos Aires, Francisci Bucarelli. [1396]

1390 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.342-345. My emphasis.
1391 Munilla 1948 pp.46-47 citing *Choiseul a Grimaldi: October 2, 1766 (Aff. Étrang. Espagne, 547).* Also Louis Blart: *Les rapports de la France et de l'Espagne après le Pacte de Familie 1915* p.88
1392 Rice 1973 p.422 citing *Choiseul to Grimaldi October 2, 1766*. Also *Archivo General de Simancas, Ingl., legajo 6962*
1393 Greig 1983
1394 Calvert 1983
1395 Burgess 1790 p.9. *cf.* 1762 & 1763
1396 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.31-32

A message in a similar vein is sent to Bucarelli in Buenos Aires.

> *"... until the number and classes of the French established in those Islands who want to stay there are known, His Majesty does not determine the sending of the Families, and Workers that are necessary; it is his Royal intention that a detachment of 20 men from the natives of that Province go with the new Governor, as accustomed to almost the same climate, and that if the Married Men wish it, they may take their Families."* [1397]

October 3rd, in San Ildefonso, Grimaldi confirms with his King that the Bougainville compensation is agreed.

> *"In accordance with Your Majesty's order, we have examined the statement submitted by Mr. de Bougainville of the expenses incurred by his Company in establishing the Malouines Islands, which are substantially those of three expeditions made from S. Malò, and amount to 618 thousand 108 litres, 13d and 11d, which he requests to be reimbursed as a result of the negotiation with your Court: and we find that it is impossible to verify the items, because even if he presented (as he has proposed) all the documents, who would be able to find out if they or the signatures were in good faith, ... we are of the opinion that, using the generosity that is natural to you, Your Majesty has ordered that the Account presented by Bougainville be approved, and that the 618 thousand 108 livres. 13 sous and 11ds. be delivered to him, in the manner that he agrees with his Minister of Finance, who will take from him the corresponding receipt, ... and that all the effects, wood, vessels built there, and those used in the Expedition, and finally everything belonging to the Company and to His Christian Majesty, shall remain as your own, the first as included in the account that is satisfied; and the second by the voluntary transfer by Your Christian Majesty of those that correspond to him of Artillery etc."* [1398]

> *"By virtue of the negotiation we have pursued with the Court of France, against the intrusion made by the French in the Malouines Islands, **the Most Christian King** has agreed to order a **Company of Saint-Malo** which had undertaken and realized (establishment), to abandon it, or to yield to the King of Spain all that belonged to him, **His Catholic Majesty refunding all the expenses** which this establishment occasioned,... consequently Colonel de Bougainville, principal interest in the Company of Saint-Malo, gave me the orders which His Most Christian Majesty had bestowed upon him for himself and his company so that they may yield to the officer to be appointed by His Majesty their settlements in the Malouines Islands, with all that they contain, which belonged to the Most Christian King and the Company of St. Malo. He informed me jointly of the expenses which the various expeditions had caused to this company in order to found the establishments, soliciting His Majesty to reimburse to him the 618 thousand, 108 livres, 13 sous, and 11 deniers to which these expenses amount. His Majesty considered the said statement to be a good one and decided to pay Mr. Bougainville the sum mentioned above, against a receipt in which it will be specified that, in return for this payment, his company or any other interested person may not claim what to the Royal Treasury, neither to ask for any sum nor any other compensation, and, moreover, that, with this payment and in conformity with the orders of His Most Christian Majesty, he undertakes to deliver to Spain these establishments with the families, the houses, the boats that were built and used in the expeditions, and finally all that belonged to the Company of Saint-Malo and which is included in the account as coming from His Most Christian Majesty, in because of the voluntary assignment he made."* [1399]

1397 *Ibid.* pp.82-83

1398 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.44-45. Signed by Grimaldi, Muzquiz and Arriaga.

1399 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.376 citing *Simancas, Estado, Leg. 6.957.* Also in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.139-140

"... paying only for the cost of the failed colonisation. Nothing in the agreement could imply that France was selling the islands to Spain, as this would suggest that the original Spanish ownership was in doubt." [1400]

"... Bougainville received about £27,000 in money of the day." [1401]

"The French treasury received nothing. Spain did not purchase the Falklands from France." [1402]

In obedience to a Royal Order,[1403] Indies Minister, Julian Arriaga, prepares instructions for Buenos Aires.

> *"In addition to what is notified in separate orders to Your Excellency over the Malouines, the King has decided that in the frigates Liebre and Esmeralda embark, to be transferred to Europe, families and other French individuals who do not agree to stay in those islands. That your Excellency determines with the Governor, if it is necessary that one of the frigates be kept there for the time being, or if attended to the expenses that this attracts, it would be enough to leave the frigate the French Eagle, for the men of that colony, for its use, with the smaller vessels that are in it, for its communication with Montevideo, and the objects that on the reconnaissance of the Strait, ...*
>
> *That D. Miguel de Bernazani, who is Minister in the aforementioned frigates, must remain in the Malvinas to take charge of the objects belonging to the Real Treasury, under the orders of the aforementioned Governor, since it is necessary to receive from the French how much there exists: and also for the subsequent administration of cattle, provisions, and other effects that correspond. That the cattle that are embarked in Montevideo, and the others that later are sent, are to establish herds, of cattle of account of His Majesty, and (the) subsistence of that population. ... That the two surgeons of the navy, who are supernumeraries in the frigates, remain in the Malouines with the two boxes of medicine that they carry, in addition to those of their staff, ..."* [1404]

October 4th, Bougainville submits a manifest of those 128 people at Fort St. Louis, their wages and ration entitlement (below right and next page).[1405]

He then writes out, and signs, a receipt on behalf of the *St. Malo Company*.[1406]

> *"I, Monsieur Louis de Bougainville, Colonel of the Army of his most Christian Majesty, have received six hundred and eighteen thousand one hundred and eight livres, thirteen sols, and eleven deniers, being the amount of an estimate that I have given in, of the expenses incurred by the St. Malo Company in expeditions sent out to found establishments in the Malouine Islands, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, in the following manner:—* [1407]

/Etât actuél de la Colonie des Îles Malouines.

Etât Major.

Mrs.	Appointements.	Rations
de Bougainville de Nerville Comandant	6000.	4.
D'Eperriers Lieutenent du Roy	1500	3.
Denis de St. Simon Capne. Aidemaior	1500	3.
De Remainville Lt. d' Infrie. Ingenieur	800	2.
de Calamand Commissaire d'Artilerie	800	2.
Lavarge le Roy Capn. de Port	1500	3.
St. Mars Patron de Gouelette	800	2.
Etât Maior Civil.		
Martin Esivain Gardemagarin	1500	3.
Desertos da Guerrard premier Aumonier	800	3.
Vn second Aumonier	600	2.
Baslè chirurgier Maior	1500	3.
Macè de Redde Second Chirurgier	800	2.
Beaumont Commis au Magarin	800	2.
Louise Sire Acoucheuse	600	1.
François Gouels infermier	180	1.
Le St. Réné aury Administr. des proprietaires	1500	3.
Vn Commis	600	1.
Jacques Rouré dt. la Verdure Invalide tambour à 3tt. par mois de haute paye	135	1.
Louis houort dit Lusignaut soldat Invalide 12tt. par mois	144	1.
Matelots, Ouvriers, appointés.		
Julien Brord Mre. Charpentier	540	1.
Laurent Bacques Mre. Voilier	480	1.
/Jean Bethuel Calfat	432.	1.
Guillaume Guichard, sa femme & Enfant Calfat	432.	3.
Pierre Quesnel Mre. Jonnelier	432.	1.
Joseph Sire Matelot	360.	1.
Jean Carrier idem	120.	1.
Louis Cadet idem	120.	1.
Louis Boucher idem	120.	1.
Julien Berguin idem	120.	1.

1400 Dunmore 2005 p.143 citing a conversation between Bougainville and the Spanish Ambassador to Paris two weeks after the receipt was signed. See October 18, 1766.

1401 Pascoe 2020 p.34 fn.3

1402 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.200

1403 Munilla 1948 p.52 citing *Real Orden Grimaldi to Arriaga: October 3, 1766. A. G. I., Buenos Aires, 552.*

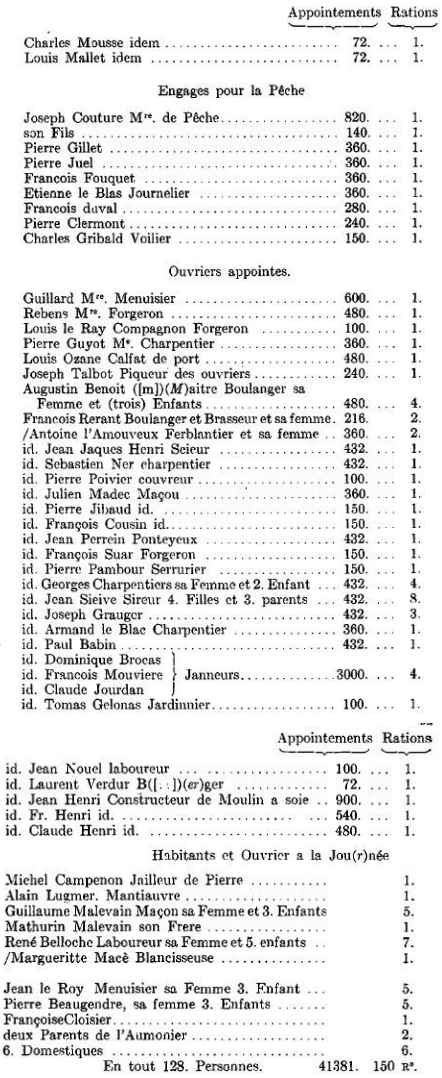
1404 *D. Julian Arriaga a Sr. D. Francisco Bucareli 3 de Octubre de 1766* quoted in Angelis 1852 pp.18-19

1405 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.56-58

Forty thousand livres delivered on account to me in Paris, by his Excellency the Count de Fuentes, ambassador of his Catholic Majesty to that court, for which I gave the proper receipt.

Two hundred thousand livres, which are to be delivered to me at the same Court of Paris, according to bills drawn in my favour by the Marquess of Zambrano, Treasurer-General of his Catholic Majesty, upon Don Francisco Ventura Llorena, Treasurer-Extraordinary of the same; and sixty-five thousand six hundred and twenty-five hard dollars, and three-fourth parts of another, which are equivalent to the three hundred and seventy-eight thousand one hundred and eight livres three sous and eleven deniers, at the rate of five livres per dollar, which I have to receive in Buenos Ayres, on account of bills which have been delivered to me, drawn by His Excellency the Baylio Fray, Don Julian Arriaga, Secretary of State for the general department of the Indies and navy of his Catholic Majesty.

In consideration of these payments, as well as in obedience to his Most Christian Majesty's orders, I am bound to deliver up, in due formality, to the court of Spain, those establishments, along with the families, houses, works, timber, and shipping built there, and employed in the expedition; and, finally, every thing therein belonging to the St. Malo Company, as included in the accounts which are so settled, and to his Most Christian Majesty, in consequence of his voluntary cession, making void for ever all claims that the company, or any person interested therein may have, or might produce, upon the treasury of his Most Catholic Majesty; nor can they henceforth demand more pecuniary, or any other compensation whatsoever. In testimony whereof, I set my name to this present instrument and voucher, as one principally interested, as well as authorized to receive the whole of this sum, agreeably to a registry in the department of state in St. Ildefonso, 4th October, 1766." [1408]



	Appointements	Rations
Charles Mousse idem	72.	1.
Louis Mallet idem	72.	1.
Engages pour la Pêche		
Joseph Couture M^re. de Pêche	820.	1.
son Fils	140.	1.
Pierre Gillet	360.	1.
Pierre Juel	360.	1.
Francois Fouquet	360.	1.
Etienne le Blas Journelier	360.	1.
Francois duval	280.	1.
Pierre Clermont	240.	1.
Charles Gribald Voilier	150.	1.
Ouvriers appointes.		
Guillard M^re. Menuisier	600.	1.
Rebens M^re. Forgeron	480.	1.
Louis le Ray Compagnon Forgeron	100.	1.
Pierre Guyot M^e. Charpentier	360.	1.
Louis Ozane Calfat de port	480.	1.
Joseph Talbot Piqueur des ouvriers	240.	1.
Augustin Benoit ([m])(*M*)aitre Boulanger sa Femme et (trois) Enfants	480.	4.
Francois Rerant Boulanger et Brasseur et sa femme	216.	2.
/Antoine l'Amouveux Ferblantier et sa femme	360.	2.
id. Jean Jaques Henri Scieur	432.	1.
id. Sebastien Ner charpentier	432.	1.
id. Pierre Poivier couvreur	100.	1.
id. Julien Madec Maçou	360.	1.
id. Pierre Jibaud id.	150.	1.
id. François Cousin id.	150.	1.
id. Jean Perrein Ponteyeux	432.	1.
id. François Suar Forgeron	150.	1.
id. Pierre Pambour Serrurier	150.	1.
id. Georges Charpentiers sa Femme et 2. Enfant	432.	4.
id. Jean Sieive Sireur 4. Filles et 3. parents	432.	8.
id. Joseph Grauger	432.	3.
id. Armand le Blac Charpentier	360.	1.
id. Paul Babin	432.	1.
id. Dominique Brocas id. Francois Mouviere id. Claude Jourdan } Janneurs	3000.	4.
id. Tomas Gelonas Jardinnier	100.	1.

	Appointements	Rations
id. Jean Nouel laboureur	100.	1.
id. Laurent Verdur B([..])(*er*)ger	72.	1.
id. Jean Henri Constructeur de Moulin a soie	900.	1.
id. Fr. Henri id.	540.	1.
id. Claude Henri id.	480.	1.
Habitants et Ouvrier a la Jou(*r*)née		
Michel Campenon Jailleur de Pierre		1.
Alain Lugmer. Mantiauvre		1.
Guillaume Malevain Maçon sa Femme et 3. Enfants		5.
Mathurin Malevain son Frere		1.
René Belloche Laboureur sa Femme et 5. enfants		7.
/Margueritte Macè Blancisseuse		1.
Jean le Roy Menuisier sa Femme 3. Enfant		5.
Pierre Beaugendre, sa femme 3. Enfants		5.
FrançoiseCloisier		1.
deux Parents de l'Aumonier		2.
6. Domestiques		6.
En tout 128. Personnes.	41381.	150 R^s.

Researcher's Comment*:* A receipt, signed on behalf of the St. Malo Company by its senior shareholder. Not a treaty, nor a convention; nor did Bougainville have any Ministerial position, diplomatic character or carry an authority to represent the French Crown. Bougainville accepted compensation for the expenditure of the company that he had founded, and in which he maintained the '*principle interest*.'

1406 French original quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.377-378. English translation in *PRO FO 6/499.* Spanish language version in *Colección De Documentos ...*University of Buenos Aires 1957 vol.1 pp.140-141

1407 A translation of the first paragraph, as provided by Minister Moreno to the British Government in 1833, stated; *"I, Monsieur Louis de Bougainville, Colonel of His most Christian Majesty's army, have received six hundred and eighteen thousand one hundred and eight livres, thirteen sols, and eleven deniers, being the amount of an estimate, that I have given in, of the expenses incurred by the St. Malo Company in equipments for founding their intrusive establishments in the Malvina Islands, belonging to his Catholic Majesty, in the following manner..."* Two weeks after signing this receipt Bougainville would deny that the St. Malo Company existed. See October 20, 1766.

1408 Martin-Allanic (1964 p.377) describes this as *"... l'acte de cession de son etablissement des iles Malouines"* which I translate as *"... the act of cession of his establishment of the Malouines islands."* Dunmore (2005) as a '*handover document*.'

"... for although the ancient maps mark iſlands, none of them I have ſeen, deſcribe iſlands of ſuch extent as the Falkland iſlands are; and it is well known, that iſlands detatched in the ocean are gene rally delineated of a greater, never of a leſs extent than the truth. However, an obſolete diſcovery ſeems to be a very weak claim at any rate, although our miniſtry, by urging it on our ſide, have given it weight when retorted by the Spaniards, if they can clearly make out our claim. Indeed the Spaniards ſeem to be conſcious of the futility of this pretenſion, as they have purchaſed from the French their right of poſſeſſion of the eaſtern iſland, which muſt be acknowledged to be a much better plea than any thing to be deduced from unoccupied diſcovery." [1409]

"... desirous (if possible) to recover the money laid out here, they represented, their new acquisitions in so favourable a manner to the Spanish Court, that the King of Spain agreed to pay five hundred thousand dollars (some say eight hundred thousand, and others enlarge the sum to a million) for their ceding them to Spain: whereof the King of France was to receive a part, and the rest to go to Monsieur Bougainville ..." [1410]

"Falkland's Islands, or, as the Spaniards and French call them, the Malonie (sic) Islands, are situated between the latitude of 52° 26 and 51° 6 S. ... The largest is the easternmost island, and on the eastern side the Spaniards had a settlement, which the Crown of Spain purchased of M. Bougainville, who on his private account, had formed a settlement in the year 1764,..." [1411]

"... the French king ceded all his rights to His Most Catholic Majesty. If the Spanish doctrine is correct and no title can be acknowledged in favour of France, then said cession must be reputed null, and it is also a fact that such was the appraisal of Spain who relied solely upon her original claim in her dispute with Great Britain."[1412]

"Bougainville had undertaken the colonization project of 1764 at his own expense, and in surrendering his rights he was compensated with a sum equal to about £24,000." [1413]

"The die is cast.... It is indeed "by submission to the orders of His Most Christian Majesty" that he declares that "his establishments" were "illegitimate" and that the Malouines Islands belonged to His Catholic Majesty; in his heart of hearts he does not believe it; he thinks, on the contrary, and he thinks all his life, that the Malouines, by their position, belonged to no one, res nullius, and should belong to the first effective occupant. He is determined to make a loyal assignment, however, there is no illusion about their future as long as they are in the hands of the Spaniards. But are they not destined to fall one day or another into the hands of the English? ..." [1414]

"Louis Antoine de Bougainville, Colonel of the Armies of the Christian King, issued, on behalf of the Company of Saint-Maló, a receipt for the total amount of the sum, and delivered an Etat actuél de la Colonie des Iles Malouines." [1415]

"... At first sight the transfer of the French rights in the islands to Spain... seems to have been a straightforward act of cession, enabling Spain thereafter to assert title in the islands, and to reinforce it by their own act of

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1409 *A clear and concise relation of what has passed concerning the Falkland Islands* by *A Friend to this kingdom* December 6, 1770 in *The Scots Magazine* January 1771 vol.xxxiii p.27

1410 Falkner 1774 p.94

1411 William Clayton, Military Administrator at Fort George from February, 1773 to May, 1774. Speaking to the Royal Society in London on January 1, 1776, quoted in the *Caledonian Mercury* August 6, 1776

1412 US Envoy Baylies in 1832 quoted in Peña & Peña 2018 – citing *Documentos Oficiales con que el Gobierno Instruye al Cuerpo Legislativo de la Provincia del Origen y Estado de las Cuestiones pendientes con la Republica de los E. E. de America sobre las Islas Malvinas* 1832. My emphasis. Spain's '*original claim*' being the *Inter Caetera* of 1493.

1413 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490.*

1414 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.378

1415 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.107-108. *Etat actuél de la Colonie des Iles Malouines* translates as *Current state of the Colony of the Malvinas Islands.*

occupation... the facts are not so simple, for Spain did not choose to regard the actions of 1767 (sic) at the time as an act of cession... The agreement between France and Spain for the release of the islands does not confirm that France accepted the grounds for the Spanish claim,..." [1416]

"In the agreement the French settlement is called "établissemens illégitimes dans le Iles Malouines appartenant à Sa Majesté Catholique". Here the Spanish tried with success to claim that the islands had always been theirs. But it was not even a treaty between the Spanish and French crowns, only an agreement with Bougainville, who was more interested in getting his money than in maintaining a legal position, the results of which he was going to renounce anyway. The clause had of course no bearing on the legal situation between Spain and Britain and all other states." [1417]

"... it was public knowledge that France had settled on the islands before anyone else. Spain's purchase of the islands gave it the legitimacy France's title had enjoyed because of first settlement." [1418]

"In fact, the Spanish Crown compensated the company founded by Bougainville, his uncle and his cousin for the expenses incurred." [1419]

"The interpretation of some authors that France then acknowledged the Spanish claim and disavowed its own does in fact strengthen the British position. Under the principle that nobody can transfer a better title that he possesses 'nemo plus iuris transfere (ad alium) potest quam ipse habet', France's disclaim of its own title would turn illegitimate and null any cession of rights to Spain... the disavowal of prior French rights to the islands would place the Argentine claim in dire straits because it would imply a gap in the chain of succession of the sovereignty titles. Indeed, if the French title were to be denied and the Papal Bulls and Tordesillas were to be declared insufficient to sustain the rights of Spain to the Islands, the question would arise as to what the Spanish title would be, on which the Argentine claim is founded." [1420]

"... the establishment was delivered to the Spanish crown in exchange for a sum of money in favor of a colonizing company of Saint-Malô." [1421]

"... Bougainville had no choice then to admit that the installation had been, in reality, what he himself called an intrusion, promising to vacate Port Saint Louis and leave the archipelago without conditions. However, he managed to negotiate in favor of the Saint Maló Company (established to finance the company and exploit the island's resources) a payment in compensation for the value of the boats, weapons and ammunition, merchandise and food existing in the establishment of Isla Soledad, which would be left there for the benefit of the claimants." [1422]

"Bougainville ... was ordered to hand over the establishment to the Spanish crown at exchange of a sum of money in favor of the Saint-Malô Company. ... However, long before the signature of the receipt by Bougainville, ... the Malvinas affair was the subject of intense exchanges between the ministers who occupied the secretariats closest to the Spanish king." [1423]

1416 Calvert 1983
1417 Fisch 1983 p.119
1418 Gustafson 1988 p.11
1419 Martínez 2017
1420 Peña & Peña 2018
1421 Barriera 2019
1422 *Malvinas: Hombres, Ganados y Technologia Rural Criolla (Siglos XVIII y XIX)* Juan Francisco Jiminez, Sebastian Leandro Alioto & Daniel Villar 2018
1423 Barriera 2020. A reference to September 3, 1764

"... Bougainville's formal statement of 4 October 1766 acknowledging receipt of the sum of 618,108 livres, 13 sous and 11 deniers, in the French currency of the day, the livre tournois, paid to him by Spain in compensation for his private expenses,.. He also emphasised that the handover to Spain was voluntary" [1424]

Researcher's Comment: So many column inches expended upon a relatively simple arrangement. Spain insisted that it had been the owner of the archipelago, as everything else in that region, for more than 200 years before Bougainville landed in 1764. France, not willing to fight over those far-flung, desolate, islands, agreed to leave and negotiated compensation for Bougainville's expenditure. That was it. No cession. No transfer of sovereignty. Just an agreement that the French would move on.

On the same day, King Carlos III signs a *Royal Charter* addressed to Phelipe Ruíz Puente.

> *"... there is agreement with His Very Christian Majesty to evacuate them because of my royal right. I have resolved that you should go with the frigates Liebre and Esmeralda under your command to the referred islands which will be handed to you by the Governor who is there, by virtue of orders from that other Sovereign which with you are being sent, and having been aware of your services, judgement and credited good conduct I have decided to choose you and name you as commander and consequently of those Islands as their Governor, and for this I order that you sail to Montevideo to provide yourself with food and water and other items which have been named under a separate order ..., and agreed with the Governor and General Captain of the Province of Buenos Aires to whom you will report. I state that from now the government of the referred ... Islands depends on that General Captaincy for the future arrangements and communications that need to be established. ... as soon as you get there present to the present Governor the orders which you carry from His Very Christian Majesty for him to hand over the said possession, and recording this act carry out what has to be done concerning this.*
>
> *Also I give you warning that all individuals that are there of any trade or occupation or condition that they have and which wish to remain under my Royal Rule, you are to admit them under the same contractual and remuneration conditions as they are now, and you should make available the above frigates for embarkation of all those who are to be transferred to Europe which do not wish to remain ... I order all officers, ministers, sergeants, corporals, and other dependents of the named Islands who are or may be in future be on them, that they respect you and recognise you as their Governor, obeying the orders that you issue in writing, or by word of mouth, ... and which they shall obey without complaint or delay, and that they hold you with respect and treat you with deference and grace which corresponds to you, this is my will."* [1425]

"On the 4th (an) order was given to Captain Felipe Ruiz Puente that, when taking charge of the Colony, he should deal "on the same terms, contracts, destinies and salaries" with the French who were there. It was also arranged that the Spanish frigates would accommodate French families and colonizers who did not agree to remain on the islands under the Spanish flag." [1426]

"On October 4, 1766, was ordered the captain Felipe Ruiz Puente ship to leave "... from Ferrol with the two frigates of his command to take possession of the mentioned Falkland Islands and exercise the government of them under the orders of Buenos Ayres as dependent on that Captaincy General"..." [1427]

1424 Pascoe 2020 p.34

1425 *AGN Sala IX-642 Coleccion Colonia.* Also Munilla 1948 p.52 citing *Real Cédula: October 4, 1766. A. G. I., Buenos Aires, 552.*

1426 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.107

1427 Barriera 2019 citing *AGS, E. 6962, 53*

"The district entrusted to Phelipe Ruiz Puente was subordinate to another, to that of Buenos Aires, and therefore the quality of his governorship had the same condition, ... a subordinate governor..." [1428]

October 5th, from San Ildefonso, Minister Julián de Arriaga forwards a copy of Bougainville's receipt to Governor Francisco Paula de Bucarelli y Ursua in Buenos Aires. [1429]

October 6th, Bougainville leaves Madrid, bound for Paris.

From the Spanish Court, a Royal Order is despatched to Buenos Aires regarding the monies that are to be paid to Bougainville there. [1430] Instructions are also sent to Ferrol, ordering Phelipe Ruiz Puente to depart with the frigates *Liebre* and *Esmeralda* for Montevideo; to await the arrival of Bougainville.

Minister Grimaldi writes to Ambassador Masserano in London, to confirm that he is to continue with the softer approach towards English Ministers, as suggested by Choiseul. [1431]

> *"Mr. Marquis de Grimaldi, Sir, seemed to me very satisfied with the private letter that you addressed to him by the courier of Mr. de Fuentés, I know that he must answer it and enter into the most friendly explanations with you; the King of Spain did me the honor of telling me, that he did not doubt that Mr. Prince de Masseran would conform to the advice of His Majesty and his Council, relative to the conduct that this Ambassador must hold towards the British Ministry, in relation to the alleged establishments of the English towards the Strait of Magellan or in the South Sea. His Catholic Majesty has noted the justice and prudence of the form proposed by France, and this Monarch has observed that it would at least give time to the two Crowns to prepare for war, if it becomes inevitable, and without in any way injuring the dignity of Spain."* [1432]

Grimaldi also writes to Ambassador Fuentes in Paris, asking why the receipt provided by Bougainville mentions the St. Malo Company, and whether it is of sufficient formality. A question raised by King Carlos III. [1433]

October 9th, in London, Ambassador Masserano speaks to Lord Shelburn.

> *"I have spoken to Mil. Shelburne again today about the expedition which this Government has sent to the South Sea, and he has again explained to me as before, claiming that the Falkland Islands belong to this Nation; that they can navigate in those seas, and that we have no right to prevent it, although protesting that they do not intend thereby to commit hostility, and asking me to show the titles of our possession, as they do not wish to seize possession of anything that belongs to another. I replied to him with the same reasons as before...*
>
> *I again cited the Treaty of Utrecht and the later ones as the best and sufficient titles; and Your Excellency having shown me a copy of articles 8 and 15 of the treaty of 1670, I told him that I did not see in this either anything that was not in our favour... I told him that if England was not going to pay attention to the treaties or was going to give them such sinister interpretations, it was useless to do so; and I pointed out to him the very serious consequences that this business could have. He told me that,*

1428 Barriera 2020. In a footnote, this author compares the status of Puente to that of a Mayor.
1429 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.64
1430 *Ibid.* pp.67-68
1431 *Ibid.* p.71
1432 *D'Ossun to Choiseul October 6, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.64 p.74
1433 Carlos must have started to wonder if he had not been too hasty. In any event, he asked to see the accounts and asked what the St. Malo Company, named on the receipt, was. See October 20, 1766.

not wanting to trust only to his way of thinking, he had consulted Milord Egmond, and that he had told him that His Excellency could not doubt that those Islands belonged to England,…"[1434]

October 15th, in Paris, Bougainville arrives with letters from the Marquis d'Ossun, and Minister Grimaldi.

October 16th, in London, a cabinet meeting considers the current situation with Spain.

"On October 16, 1766, during a meeting held by the members of the British cabinet, the possibility of linking the payment of the Manila ransom with the existence of the British establishment in the Maluinas or Falkland Islands was raised. Shelbourne soon sent this suggestion to Masserano,.." [1435]

Ambasador Masserano speaks to General Conway.

"I told him that I am awaiting the King's orders regarding the strange pretension of this Court to appropriate what has always belonged to Spain. He told me that if it is proven to be ours, England will immediately desist from it, and he quoted to me, as Lord Shelburne did, the treaty of 1670, which says that the English cannot carry merchandise or sail to our Ports and Bays, Cities, or Castles, but which does not specify which these are; that the South Sea is not all ours, and that it must have its limits. …

I told him … that I would like for the sake of peace that the English did not stay there, and that they had never had the idea of going to that place. He answered me by saying that this object did not merit a war, that it suited neither one nor the other; and that he hoped that a way would be found to settle the small things that kept both Courts busy. I replied that I could not call them small, particularly this one, since it involves breaking treaties, and committing hostility by seizing our territories, and everyone would consider it a breach. …" [1436]

At the Palace of Versailles, Choiseul receives Bougainville to hear of his experiences in Spain. The Minister tells Bougainville that he has done well in the agreement with Spain, and that preparations for the voyage to the Malouines are proceeding as planned. Secrecy was necessary however, as Spain would be unhappy if it knew of Bougainville's intended circumnavigation. [1437]

Choiseul also talks about the situation with regard to the English establishment in the Malouines, and the Treaty of Utrecht.

"For Bougainville, these various discussions are quite disappointing. How can the Duke of Choiseul, taking Article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht, think that if the settlement of the English in the Falkland Islands is not in the South Sea, the Spaniards can not claim it "unless it is proved that there were Spaniards in these islands in the time of Charles II". The question posed by the establishment of the French in the Malouines Islands was exactly the same. … It is not therefore a reason of law which has so easily yielded the Duc de Choiseul to the arguments of Count de Fuentes and the Spanish court, but reasons of State." [1438]

On the same day, Bougainville refunds 15,000 livres to Fuentes; from the sale of *Sphinx*. [1439]

1434 *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.64 pp.76-78
1435 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.132
1436 *Masserano a Grimaldi octubre 17,* 1766 in *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.101-103
1437 Dunmore 2005 p.143
1438 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.448
1439 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.108

October 17th, from the Spanish port of Ferrol, Phelipe Ruiz Puente sails for the Rio de la Plata, carrying a Royal Order requiring Governor Bucareli in Buenos Aires to consider setting up a port or colony on Tierra del Fuego; for ships that are unable to pass through to the Pacific, or round the cape. [1440]

October 18th, in Paris, Bougainville visits the Spanish Ambassador.

"Fuentes ... was ... making it quite clear that Spain was paying only for the cost of the failed colonisation. Nothing in the agreement could imply that France was selling the islands to Spain, as this would suggest that the original Spanish ownership was in doubt. Fuentes was even uneasy about the mention of the 'Compagnie de Saint-Malo in the (copy?) receipt (Bougainville) gave to him." [1441]

"In Paris on 18 October Bougainville called on the Spanish Ambassador Fuentes, who stressed that the king of Spain had made a "pure purchase" of the goods remaining in the islands and had paid Bougainville his expenses solely because Spain desired to set up an establishment in a territory which belonged to her; there was no question of any sale of the territory itself to Spain." [1442]

With regard to the location of the English base, Bougainville confirms that he believes it; *"... huddled, like his own establishment, in some deep bay, hidden by some cape and by islets, in the west part of the islands that the French have not yet reconnoitred."* [1443]

October 19th, in Paris, Choiseul speaks to Britain's Lord Hertford, who is in the city on private business. [1444]

> *"... I was sitting with my old acquaintance, the Comte de Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador at this court. The Duke came in and sat between us... M. de Choiseul then said, that he had taken that opportunity of talking to me, because he wished that my friend, the Comte de Fuentes, should be privy to what he said upon the establishment we were going to make in the Isles Maloines, and the just jealousy that Spain entertained upon our expedition into the South Sea. He said this matter was of so serious a nature, that he had already, by his own influence with the Spanish ministers employed at Paris and London, prevented a memorial being presented at the court of London, which was little less than a declaration of war, and that he had sent a messenger to Comte Guerchy relative to this matter, till time could be given for the two courts to know better upon what foundation these expeditions were made. He then told me, in the presence of M. de Fuentes, that when M. de Bougainville had made an establishment there for the court of France, it had given such offence to the Spanish court, that they were immediately obliged to desist from any further attempts upon it, without interrupting the harmony which at present subsisted between them; though there was not the same reason for jealousy whilst that intimate connection lasted, as there would naturally be with a power so formidable at sea as England was. To this matter I could properly make no other answer, than that commercial nations were desirous of trading and knowing the coasts of all parts of the world, and that if peace was to be preserved, the continuation of it was more likely to be obtained by confidence than by unreasonable suspicion; and that if the matter was thought of so serious a nature to the court of Spain, I took it for granted M. de Masserano would talk to the English ministers upon it. ... The world at Paris is, I find, in possession of the uneasiness of the court of Spain, and with their usual quickness have determined that we shall soon have a war."* [1445]

1440 Munilla 1948 p.51 citing *Real Orden Arriaga a Bucareli: October 17, 1766. A. G. I., Buenos. Aires, 306.*
1441 Dunmore 2005
1442 Pasco 2022 p.199
1443 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.450
1444 Lord Hertford was an ex-Ambassador, but held no official position at this time.
1445 *Hertford to Conway October 20, 1766* in Fitzmaurice 1876

In a further conversation with Hertford, Choiseul suggests that if Britain agrees not to establish itself in the South Seas, then France will act as arbitrator over the outstanding ransom amount. [1446]

October 20th, in Paris, Fuentes summons Bougainville to ask why the receipt signed in Madrid refers only to the *Compagnie de Saint-Malo*.

"Bougainville replied by assuring (Fuentes) that he did not know why the name of Compagnie de Saint-Malo had been added to his receipt, since such a company did not exist. There are other people in this affair other than himself, his uncle and his cousin who remained in the Falklands. It is he (Bougainville) who (holds) the main interest and, if the ambassador desires, he will sign another receipt similar to the one he signed in Madrid and will (get) it signed by his uncle and cousin. The Count de Fuentes does not consider the thing useful for the moment, but he is not satisfied." [1447]

Spain's Ambassador writes to inform Minister Grimaldi.

> *"In reply to Your Excellency's letter of the 6th instant, in which you are pleased to tell me that the King has generously resolved to go through the Accounts presented by Mr. de Bougainville, and that he has made a receipt in favor of the Royal Treasury for the amount paid and issued (of which this Officer brought me a copy), advising me at the same time that Your Excellency should ascertain whether such a receipt is sufficient for the due formality with respect to signing for the San Malo Company, I must explain to Your Excellency that having spoken about this matter today with Mr. de Bougainville, he has assured me that he does not know why the name of the San Malo Company was included in the receipt, since there is no such Company, nor any other interested parties in this business than himself, an uncle of his, and a cousin whom he has left in the Maluinas Islands; that he is the main interested party, and that if desired, they will sign another receipt equal to the one left in Madrid by him, his uncle, and his cousin's attorney. Tomorrow I will speak about this with the Duke of Choiseul, and if he believes that greater caution is necessary in the reception for our safety, everything that is deemed convenient will be done."* [1448]

From Spain, Minister Grimaldi writes to Ambassador Masserano in London.

> *"The King approves of the conduct that his ambassador has had in the matter of the English establishments, and he is ordered to repeat his word to the English Ministry that His Majesty, desiring to continue to live in the most perfect understanding with England, and not wishing to embitter minds with memoirs on the matter in question, asks again, if England still intends to form establishments on the continent, or in the Islands of the South Sea against the exclusive right of Spain recognized by the treaties. The Ambassador will say that the King, his master, flatters himself, that in the event that the said enterprise has begun, His Brit. Maj., reflecting on the harm that results from it, will wish, in imitation of the King, his ancestor, to desist from it. If Mr. Prince de Masseran sees that the presentation of a memorandum is useful to us, or if (they) ask him for it in writing, then he will present the one whose draft we send him.*

1446 Rice 1980

1447 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.251. Intriguing. Bougainville wrote out the receipt in Madrid with his own hand, so he was the person to add the name of the company that he had founded in order to fund the first expedition in 1763. However, the company's existence does not seem to have been mentioned in any of the negotiations. King Carlos having raised the question, the Spanish were beginning to wonder what they'd purchased, and from who.

1448 *Fuentes a Grimaldi octubre 20, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.113

Mr. de Masseran is expressly warned not to be the first to propose that we will not establish ourselves in the uninhabited Islands, so that the English do not establish themselves there either; but he is ordered at the same time not to refuse this convention, if it is proposed to him by the English. He will make them feel that the sacrifice that the King would make in accepting this proposition is very considerable, but that His Majesty would not be far from acquiescing in order to put an end to the dispute, and to avoid the matter becoming more serious." [1449]

October 21st, from Spain, Grimaldi writes to Fuentes to inform him that Ambassador Masserano, in London, has learned that the French will not be dragged into a war over the Falklands. [1450] Spain's Chief Minister also emphasises; *"It is important, Your Excellency, that in the instruments of purchase of the goods that you are delivering to Bougainville you* ***take care not to state that (he is) selling us the ownership of the Island****. ..."* [1451]

In Paris, Bougainville holds a number of meetings with government officials and hopeful adventurers regarding his planned excursion into the southern Pacific Ocean (South Seas). [1452] Still concerned about the receipt signed by Bougainville, Ambassador Fuentes speaks to Choiseul.

"The next day he presents the affair to the Duke de Choiseul, and asks him if, for the safety of the Spanish Ministry, it is necessary to obtain stronger guarantees. The Duc de Choiseul laughs and assures the ambassador that he can sleep in peace." [1453]

October 23rd, in London, Masserano speaks again to Shelburn; *"I will not tell Your Excellency anything but the essential part of the conversation I had yesterday with Milord Shelburne because most of it was reduced to arguments and comparisons that we have used many other times, and which are of no use to the substance of the issues being discussed which were Manila and the establishment in the South Sea."* [1454]

October 26th, the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, de Guerchy, assures Southern Secretary Lord Shelburne that, despite a wish for peace, France will support Spain in any dispute over the Falklands.[1455]

In France, at the Palace of Versailles, Foreign Minister Choiseul is sent Bougainville's intended circumnavigation plan by Praslin, of the Department of Marine.

"... Bougainville goes to La Plata River to join two frigates which His Catholic Majesty has sent from his ports in Europe and which wait for him in said river. When he has joined the two Spanish frigates, he will take them to the Malouines Islands and he will hand over these islands to the officers of His Catholic Majesty, in accordance with the orders which have been addressed to the French Commander of the said islands, of which he will be handed a copy by Bougainville. During the stay that Bougainville will make in the Malouines Islands, he will command the French (people). After Bougainville has put the Spaniards in possession of the Malouines Islands and ... Etoile .., he will leave with his two vessels and will go to China by the South Sea." [1456]

1449 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.111

1450 Munilla 1948 p.50 citing *Grimaldi a Fuentes: October 21, 1766. A.H.N., State, 2.841*. Masserano's informant had been the French *charge d'affairs* – Durand.

1451 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.114-115. My emphasis. Such would have amounted to recognition of French rights of sovereignty.

1452 Dunmore 2005 pp.143-146

1453 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.251

1454 *Masserano a Grimaldi octubre 24, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.121-123

1455 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.922

1456 *Memoire of the King* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.475

That same day, the proposal is presented to Louis XV who signs the final instructions. Except in an emergency, Bougainville is to avoid all contact with Spanish ports once he has passed through the Magellan Strait. [1457]

"During the crossing of the Pacific, (Bougainville) would look for various little known or merely suspected land... He would have the option of taking possession of any empty or new land he came across, 'being careful to erect poles bearing the arms of France'..." [1458]

Now that the matter is decided, Bougainville is authorised to inform the Spanish Ambassador; *"Fuentes read (Bougainville's) copy with growing disapproval... if his government had suspected that Bougainville planned to open up a new route to the East by way of the Pacific, his reception in Madrid might have been much less friendly."* [1459] Fuentes ends the interview curtly by stating that he will discuss the matter directly with Choiseul.

October 27th, in Paris, during a difficult meeting, Fuentes asks Choiseul to change Bougainville's orders. To require him to sail, after the Falklands hand-over, to the East Indies but without identifying the route. Fuentes adds that he must seek the advice of his Court. Recognising that it will take time before the Ambassador can receive a reply from Madrid, Choiseul exhorts Bougainville to sail as soon as possible; and without further contact with the Spanish Ambassador.

November 2nd, at Versailles, Britain's new ambassador to the Court of France, Lord Rochford, presents his credentials to Minister Choiseul; before being shown into the audience chamber of the King.

"Louis XV must surely have been glad to see as British Ambassador a career diplomat, experienced, polished, and fluent in French, after the arrogance and ineptitude of Hertford and Richmond." [1460]

After the ceremony, Rochford dines with Minister Choiseul; *"He had hoped to avoid at first "any business that might occasion the least altercation," until he had had time to settle into his new post; but this was a vain hope, for Choiseul immediately plunged him into the deepest of business on the very day of his first audiences at Versailles."* [1461]

Choiseul suggests that the cancellation of Anson's proposed expedition of 1748 was in recognition of Spanish rights in the South Atlantic. Rochford denies this, reasserting Britain's right to claim unexplored lands; unrestricted by *Article 8*. Changing the subject, Choiseul then suggests that, if both the Spanish and English Courts left it to them, the two Ministers could reach an accommodation regarding the *Manila Ransom*, within *"... half an hour.."* Rochford declines to comment, but says that he will refer the issues back to London.[1462]

"Rochford had evidently been warned by Shelburne before leaving London not to become entangled in the details of the Falklands issue without prior instructions from home, so Rochford "waived entirely entering with him [Choiseul] into a Discussion of this Matter," and merely observed in passing that to his knowledge that right had never been yielded, and it was ridiculous of Spain to pretend that British ships had no right to navigate and make discoveries in any part of the world. Choiseul fell silent at this, and after some time murmured, "but not in the South Seas."..." [1463]

1457 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.479-480

1458 Dunmore 2005 pp.143-146 & 149. An example of leaving '*marks & signs*' to indicate sovereign possession? See 1774

1459 *Ibid.*

1460 Rice 1973 p.380. Rochford had arrived in Paris on October 28, his embassy delayed by a further bout of illness.

1461 *Rochford to Shelburne November 2, 1766* in *SP 78/271 f.114.* Full report in the *Shelburne Papers vol.23*, which are held at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan. There is apparently no copy in the British archives.

1462 *Rochford to Shelburne, Nov 5, 1766* quoted in *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquis of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his papers and correspondence* E.G. Fitzmaurice 1876 (vol.2 p.12) & 1912 (2nd edition)

1463 Rice 1973 p.424 citing *Rochford to Shelburne November 5, 1766* (*Shelburne Papers vol.23* University of Michigan).

In London, Lord Hertford reports his conversations with Choiseul to Lord Shelburne, relating the proposal of an exchange of the Falkland Islands for the Manila ransom which, if agreed, would have the Spanish Court settling its debt in January 1767. Importantly, he fails to mention the prospect of the French acting as arbiters nor the recognition, by Britain, of Spain's interpretation of *Article 8*.

November 4th, at Versailles, Ambassador Fuentes, speaks to Choiseul regarding further instructions to be sent on to Masserano in London, relating to the presentation of Spain's protest.

"As a conclusion, the King of Spain instructed his ambassador to make the most solemn protest against the King of Great Britain, "his friend," against such establishments and to demand their abandonment. The complaint was (to be) made in a friendly manner, in confidence in the spirit of justice of George III, who could do no other in similar circumstances." [1464]

Minister Grimaldi has attached the detailed arguments that Masserano may need to use. These include an interpretation of *Article 8* as recognising the ownership of the whole of South America and the "*common opinion*" that adjacent islands were included.

"*And the minister said: "Any island near the continent, although uninhabited, is supposed to depend on the master of the same continent and belong to him ..." and in these huge countries, everything must be proportionate, the distance of 60 or 80 leagues must be looked at as we look in Europe at ten or twelve, the effects being the same. However, (if) these were islands situated at greater distances, "for example 300 leagues and more," the property rights given to Spain by the Treaty of Utrecht would not apply. In conclusion, the Minister of State considered that the treaty guaranteed to Spain "the property of the whole continent of South America as far as Cape Horn, to the islands which are at a marked distance from the said coast, and very clearly to all those of the South Sea, and therefore to the Malouines who are of this number" (in the first category, adjacent islands).*" [1465]

November 5th, Rochford reports his conversation with Choiseul to London.

November 6th, in London, the French Ambassador again asserts his country's support for Spain in the matter of any British establishment on any islands adjacent to the Americas. Lord Shelburne responds that Spain cannot oppose navigation through the Atlantic Ocean.

"This remark suggested (to) our ambassador that since the Secretary of State did not speak of the South Sea, the English establishment was to be in the Atlantic." [1466]

Spain's Ambassador Masserano is next to speak to Shelburne.

> *"I told him that although we had talked a great deal about the expedition they had made to our southern seas, His Excellency had still not told me on which islands they wanted to establish themselves; that we are disputing and exposing ourselves to unrest over an object that perhaps does not interest Spain, because if in fact this Government wants to establish itself in some islands that do not belong to us or because we do not know them, or because they are not adjacent to our coasts, we should not have anything to do with it. He agreed with me on this, but asked me with surprise if I did not know where it was. I answered that I did not, because I have heard of some new islands, and if they are, I cannot know them. I could not get him to name the island or islands where they have gone, although he presented me with a map so that I could indicate the ones we know, and those that I understood to be adjacent.*

1464 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.922-923 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 547 f° 501 a 506*
1465 *Ibid.* p.924. For a discussion on the term 'adjacent' see 1790.
1466 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.926

*I pointed out to him the Malouinas and those of Pepys and in general all those indicated on the maps, explaining to him that by adjacent we mean all those that are not more than a **hundred leagues** from our coasts in the Atlantic Ocean. He was surprised at such an explanation, and I told him that the distance expressed, although for Europe it is very large, is very short relatively to the extension of the continent of America, where a league of our European states corresponds to … twenty miles here. …"*[1467]

*"… in London, Guerchy and Masserano had continued their attempts to persuade Shelburne that Britain had no business setting up a colony on a Spanish possession, and Masserano like Choiseul made use of the cancellation of the **1750** expedition to show that Britain recognized Spain's claims under the Treaty of Utrecht, but Shelburne denied that any such conclusion could be drawn, and maintained that Britain had on the contrary fully asserted her right at that time, merely deferring the expedition to a more propitious time."* [1468]

*"Realizing that Spanish right to the Pacific Ocean would be best defended when attached to their century-old claim to the Americas, Masserano went on the offensive. The islands that Byron had encountered, he argued, were well within the Spanish realm, since they were adjacent to the Spanish Americas. Amused by such claims, Shelburne asked the Ambassador to further define what he meant by the term "adjacent." Masserano retorted that all islands within a **hundred leagues** of the Americas could be considered such. Sensing the surprise in his British counterpart, Masserano continued his argument. While such a distance might seem vast for the European continent, their application to the Americas was a different matter altogether. Given the comparatively close proximity of population centers in Europe, a league amounted to an agreed upon distance in this familiar continent. Yet in the Americas, with vast distances separating the main cities, one had to apply several times the equivalent of a short distance in Europe. Shelburne … retorted that a league was still a league no matter in what continent or hemisphere."* [1469]

November 9th, Bougainville arrives at St. Malo to take command of *Boudeuse*.

November 10th, at Port Egmont, Capt. M[c]Bride sends out boats to continue the survey work. [1470]

November 13th, from London, Masserano writes to Madrid to inform them that it has been asserted to him, that; *"… a sea cannot be entirely closed to a maritime power."* [1471]

From France, on the same day, Bougainville departs in *Boudeuse*. *Etoile* is instructed to follow when able. Almost immediately beset by bad weather, Bougainville makes for Brest. [1472]

"I received orders to hand over our Establishment to the Spanish and then to go to the East Indies, crossing the South Sea between the tropics." [1473]

1467 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 6, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.133-138. See footnote to May 4, 1493, above.

1468 Rice 1973 p.425 citing *Guerchy to Choiseul November 7, 1766.* My emphasis. See November 17, 1766.

1469 Buschman 2014 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi November 7, 1766 AHN, Estado 4269, vol.2.* My emphasis. See 1790

1470 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*

1471 *Ibid.* citing *Masserano to Grimaldi November 13, 1766 AHN, Estado 4271 vol.1*

1472 Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.110) gives the date as the 15th. Encountering poor weather conditions revealed some faults in the ship's design, which would need to be dealt with before a crossing of the Atlantic could be safely undertaken; requiring a further 3 weeks in port. This was achieved in secret – the journals believing that Bougainville had sailed.

1473 Bougainville quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.109 citing *Voyage autour du Monde, par la frégate du Roi "La Boudeuse", et la "L'Etoile", en 1766, 1767, 1768 1769* Bougainville Paris, 1772 séconde edition, augmentée, t.I, p.2. See *A Voyage Round the World performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* Bougainville (English 1st edition) 1772

"... shortly before the French expedition set sail, Choiseul placed in his hands the instructions to which M. de Bougainville would be subject. The main object of this new expedition was "to search with the greatest accuracy for a way through the South Sea to the East Indies"." [1474]

Ambassador Fuentes writes from Versailles to inform Grimaldi that, after leaving the Malouines, Bougainville intends to pass through the South Sea to China and the Philippines. [1475]

November 15th, in London, Britain's Cabinet meets to discuss the proposal as reported by Hertford. The decision is to proceed with a negotiation, but to avoid any French involvement. Ambassador Rochford is to reinforce to Choiseul that *Article 8* of the *1713 Treaty* does not restrict Britain's rights in the South Seas.

> *"... the Spaniards' Romantick and absurd Notions to the Contrary not withstanding."* [1476]

"... the Earl of Hertford agreed to continue his good offices in the hope of obtaining a settlement solution: payment of a sum for the ransom of Manila, on the one hand, and withdrawal of the settlement of the Falkland Islands, on the other hand, without reference to the Treaty of Utrecht." [1477]

November 17th, Lord Shelburn meets with Masserano.

> *"He repeated to me many times this claim of free navigation, and of the possession in which they are of the Falkland Islands, claiming to have discovered them, expressing to me that the Minister of the King of England who advised him to renounce such a right would deserve to be dogged; and that despite always being a lover of peace he would be the first to advise that I hold on even at the cost of a war.*
>
> *I replied that the Minister who advised the King of Great Britain to expose himself to it in order to claim a right which he does not have would deserve to be beaten for this very reason; and that for my part I would not advise Our King to allow himself to be deprived of what belongs to him, even if it were necessary to make war to defend it. I denied that there were any such islands known, since even the English maps call them Malouines, and only give the name Falkland to a passage or channel that crosses them, as I once again pointed out to him the examples that we have of England itself having already made another attempt at this project, ... and as I was referring to the treaties of Utrecht and 1763 that he had on the table, he showed me a bundle of papers that he told me were treaties and correspondence of the Ambassadors in Spain since the year 1670.*
>
> *He read me the end of a dispatch from Caviero Godolfin, who signed the treaty of said year of 1670, which concluded by saying "that he has done everything possible to assure this Crown the incontestable right of free navigation in the southern seas, and that he hopes that His British Majesty will be well served by his work."*
>
> *He confessed to me that he had found among those papers the case that occurred during the time of Don Ricardo Wall, of which he had told me the other day that he was not aware. ...*
>
> *He took a dispatch from the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Keene from the year **1750**; and translated the following words to me: **"We will suspend the project, but we reserve the right to the Falkland Islands and to free navigation in the South and Atlantic Seas"**.*

1474 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.109-110
1475 Noted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.930. Quite why the Ambassador waited so long is not clear.
1476 *Shelburne to Rochford November 17, 1766* quoted in Rice 1980.
1477 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.927 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 471 f° 328 -352*

I told His Excellency that I do not rely on manuscripts or dispatches; that the King's right is based on treaties printed and signed by his Royal hand, and by Queen Anne of England. This is the most essential thing on this point." [1478]

Earl Shelburne writes to Rochford in Paris, expressing; *"... his willingness to treat the two questions of the ransom and the settlement of the islands together, if by that means an agreement could be more easily reached."* [1479]

"Rochford was therefore to encourage Choiseul to use his influence with (Spain's) Ministers, to bring them to meet Britain's just claims. In so doing, Rochford was to be very careful not to say "anything that can contribute to confirm a Union that we can never approve, or suffer the French to take Possession of the Negotiation under the Pretence of Mediating, or under any other Name."... In short, Shelburne stressed that Britain upheld her original claim to "the Islands of Faulkland, improperly & affectedly called of late, by the French, the Isles Malouines," and that Rochford must remind Choiseul that Britain would never yield her undoubted right to navigate freely in the South Seas,... As for the eighth article of Utrecht .., Shelburne argued that this turned on the commerce between places actually occupied and possessed at the time, and covered by the American Treaty of 1670, and applied moreover to individuals wishing to trade with Spanish territories; "it was never held to prohibit other nations from navigating in the southern oceans."..." [1480]

From Versailles, Ambassador Fuentes writes to inform Minister Grimaldi that Bougainvile has already sailed. Having expected Bougainville to speak to him before departure, Fuentes describes this as "*quite strange*."

November 21st, at anchor in Brest, with repairs needed to his ship, Bougainville writes to the Ministry of Marine to suggest a slight change in his plan. Instead of employing the *Boudeuse* for the voyage to China, with *Etoile* acting as storeship, Bougainville suggests that *Etoile* is better suited for the journey and he should use that ship alone once the Falklands' settlement has been handed over to Spain. [1481]

November 22nd, in London, during a meeting between Lord Chatham (William Pitt) and the French Ambassador, the comte de Guerchy (Claude-Louis-François Régnier), it becomes apparent that Lord Hertford has not accurately reported the details of the French proposal.

"When however, the question was further gone into, Gruerchy declared that what Choiseul had meant was that if the settlement on the Falkland Islands was abandoned by England, the Manila Ransom might be paid subject to the arbitration of France as to the amount,.. Shelburne refused arbitration on the amount of the payment, as his predecessor had on the whole question." [1482]

1478 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 21, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.158-167. My emphasis.

1479 *Life of William, Earl of Sherburne, afterwards First Marquis of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his papers and correspondence* E. G. Fitzmaurice 1876 p.12 citing *Shelburne to Rotchford November 17, 1766.* For two years, after Bougainville's settlement in the Falkland Islands had become public knowledge, Spain had argued that its rights to the archipelago had been recognised by Britain in 1750 and that if Britain acknowledged such, then so must France. In 1749 (not 1750 – see above), Britain had been preparing an expedition which was to visit the Falklands, among other objectives. Spain protested, leading to an exchange of views. Britain's Ministers concluded that it would be better to postpone the expedition until a new treaty was agreed concerning the valuable Asiento contract. Postponement, not abandonment. However, Spain took this decision as a major political victory. Rather more than the British appear to have realised. As a result, this argument was repeated often by both Grimaldi and Masserano, although the latter never produced any documentary evidence to support his assertion. That Shelburn was able to produce evidence that favoured the British, must have come as a serious blow.

1480 Rice 1973 p.426 citing *Shelburne to Rochford November 17, 1766* (*Shelburne Papers* University of Michigan).

1481 Dunmore 2005 p.155. *Boudeuse* appears to have had some major design flaws.

1482 Fitzmaurice 1876 p.13 citing *Shelburne to Rotchford November 29, 1766 & December 12, 1766*

"On November 22, Pitt suggested that only after payment of the ransom and receiving the Hispanic promise to agree to freedom of navigation in the South Sea would Port Egmont be evacuated." [1483]

In the Falkland Islands, at Port Egmont, following months of delay, the storeship *Florida* finally arrives.

> *"... on the 22[d] the Florida Storeship Joyned (sic) me, having been detain'd by contrary winds, upon the Coast of Brazil for Eight(y)three days – She brought a verry (sic) Seasonable Suply (sic) of provisions, having been under the Necessity, to order the People Short Allowance, soon after the Experiment saild (sic)."* [1484]

"Lieutenant Robert Deans, master of this ship, explained his misadventures. Departing the Dunes, January 22, he had been made prisoner February 1, off Portugal, by a pirate of Algiers which had forced him to follow him in this port. He had been released on the 14th, and his cargo had been returned to him. He had left Algiers on the 20th to come to Gibraltar, where he had remained from February 26th to May 5th, to await orders from the Admiralty. The Grace sloop had brought them to him: he was instructed to continue on his way and was given new dispatches for Port Egmont. The Admiralty ordered Captain Mac Bride to keep the Carcass at Port Egmont, if that ship had not left (before) the arrival of Florida. The Jason and the Carcass will be relieved by a frigate and a sloop whose departure from England was planned for the end of August or the beginning of September. In addition, Captain Mac Bride will receive provisions from the Experiment, which is designated to accompany the Dolphin and Swallow to the Strait of Magellan, these two ships going to the South Sea. He will have to return to England, the two corvettes Florida and Experiment, after they are unloaded. (The) Lieutenant brings much more news: the Admiralty confirms that the French are settled somewhere in the archipelago and orders (action) in accordance with the instructions already given to Captain Mac Bride on his departure from England. In addition, the King of France has just sold the islands to the King of Spain and it is likely that when the Spanish have replaced the French, the English will follow and evacuate." [1485]

November 24th, from Paris, Choiseul writes to Grimaldi regarding Spain's interpretation of *Art.8* of the Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

> *"The English minister points out that it is not tolerable to pretend that one of their vessels is prevented from crossing the South Sea and they will add that, as in Article 8 of the Treaty of Utrecht, they are prohibited by the word "navigation and commerce" (from refreshing) in Spanish possessions, (then) they are forced to obtain refreshment (by) forming a possession in a place close to the South Sea, provided that the place of refreshment is not one which has been possessed by Spain (since) the time of Charles II. If the one they have chosen is (such), and Spain gives proof of it, they will abandon it and seek another. If, on the contrary, Spain, without proof, claims to have possessed and possessed all of America, they can not authorize, by their consent, a pretension so prejudicial to the English nation."* [1486]

"Privately, the Duke supported the point of view of the British Ministry. It was a question of securing the freedom of the seas and no longer accepting an obsolete obedience to the provisions of Pope Alexander VI's bull, to which Spain continued to refer as an act of faith, and to give a tendentious and probably false interpretation, as Bougainville (had) asserted. The Duke of Choiseul had only tolerated the abandonment of the Malouines for reasons of State; it was also for reasons of State that he supported the request for withdrawal

1483 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.132

1484 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*

1485 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.522-523 citing *PRO Adm. 51/3.838.* Elsewhere (p.937) this author gives the date as the 26th. *Florida* had sailed from Gibraltar on May 5, 1766, before news of the French/Spanish agreement had leaked. Delayed by bad weather, the news of the agreement clearly caught up with the ship somewhere.

1486 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.927 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 471 f° 377, 24 nov. 1766*. Not an easy translation. For "*possession*" read "*occupation*". And that during the reign of Carlos II of Spain (1665-1700).

formulated by Spain and a logical continuation of our own abandonment, but he had authorized travel around the world, despite the prejudices of our ally." [1487]

In London, Ambassador Masserano has an interview with Lord Chatham.

> *"I told him ... that at the same time His (Catholic) Majesty was so desirous of preserving good harmony, it is regrettable to see that this Government has planned, and even begun, an establishment in a possession of Spain to which it has no right; quite the contrary, breaking with this act the most solemn treaty that exists between the two Powers: the basis of the present government of both; the literal meaning of which leaves no doubt as to the rights of Spain nor permits such an enterprise to England. ... (My) King had ordered me to ask His Majesty the Britannica to undo such an establishment, and return things to the state provided for in the treaties. ...*
>
> *He (Chatham) replied ... when two Powers really want peace it is very easy to understand each other and come to an agreement if any dispute arises. But that in the matter of which I had spoken to you, we wished to dispute with England the right of free navigation, which belongs to it as to any maritime power, and which it cannot renounce under any circumstances. That it also has the right to the Falkland Islands, which we call the Malouines, which is a question of name: that although it is true that out of pure complacency towards the Court of Spain it had suspended this same project on another occasion, it had not ceded its rights, as is evident from the dispatches of Mr. Bedford, Secretary of State at that time.*
>
> *That as long as English ships do not enter our ports and populated places, nor do they trade with the subjects of Spain, they cannot be prevented from navigating in any sea. And that the Treaty of Utrecht cannot be interpreted against such rights, but rather confirms them, renewing the previous treaties, especially that of 1670. ... There is a principle that they cannot give up their rights;and he repeated that phrase to me many times...*
>
> *I told him that if this Government really desires peace, and does not wish to deprive itself of the rights that it can rightly maintain, it should not make an effort to go to seas whose ports it cannot enter. ... (Chatham) repeated that there could be some way to arrange it while each retains his rights, which no English Minister could give up without losing his head."* [1488]

The *Caledonian Mercury* reports.

> *"We are assured that the King of Spain will reimburse M. de Bougainville all the expences (sic) he has been at in forming a settlement at the Malouine Island, on his own simple account, and without requiring any vouchers; and this is all the advantage the M. de Bougainville is like to reap from his expedition, the island being claimed both by Spain and England; consequently he is going to embark for Rochfort, where his vessels are fitting out, in order to bring back the Frenchmen who are at the Malouine island, and who are to be replaced by Spaniards that will be sent thither by his Catholic Majesty."*

November 25th, in France, at the Palace of Versailles, Britain's Ambassador Rochford asserts to Choiseul that Spain's interpretation of *Art. 8* is "*abusive*." However, Rochford suggests that the problem of the Falklands could be resolved if both Spain and Britain desisted from establishing themselves there, and there was an agreement by Spain to settle the outstanding ransom amount. A negotiation that could be conducted in Paris between Rochford and the French Ambassador.

1487 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.928

1488 *Masserano a Grimaldi noviembre 24, 1766* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.187-192

"(Choiseul) hastened to talk to the Count de Fuentes, whom he found very reluctant; the Spanish Ambassador feared that tranquillity obtained in this way would be only momentary. A withdrawal not based on the Treaty of Utrecht would be illusory, because England will soon be tempted to try again and the threats of conflict will rise again; a payment without arbitration was contrary to the dignity of Spain. The money paid would be used to build warships." [1489]

In the Falkland Islands, on that same day, one of M[c]Bride's surveying parties lands in Jordan's Bay on the eastern side of Carlisle Sound (Falklands Sound). They ascend a mountain just north of an isthmus before returning to Port Egmont. [1490]

> *"... the boats, having finished the Survey of the West end of the Islands, returned to me through Carlisle Sound, and having in the Way, landed on the eastern side of it, upon the Mountain marked, B, in the* ***General Draft*** *... the officer found a Bottle containing the enclosed paper which had been left by some French officers, and others, who had been on that part of the Islands in the beginning of the year 1765, and by what was written on the back of that Paper, it appeared that other Frenchmen had lately been there. This, together with the account I had received by the Florida Store Ship, inclined me to believe, that the French might be Settled upon the Eastern part of the Islands, and therefore determined to sail from Port Egmont, in order to Satisfie (sic) my self in that particular, as well as to examine the eastern Parts of the Islands."* [1491]

"The English declared of their own accord that in October 1766, they had sent their (surveyors) to the island where we live and that they had brought back a bottle found on one of the highest mountains of this island, located in the SW of the dwelling. There were indeed in this bottle the names of several officers and French inhabitants who had been until then, but it was not, as the English believe it, the act of Possession.." [1492]

"... a bottle with, inside, a paper bearing on one side the names of the officers who had come out on Bougainville's first expedition and, on the reverse, the names of some who had come out subsequently. McBride (sic) sailed off at once..." [1493]

"... To McBride and the British government the French were interlopers on British territory, and the paper in the bottle proved it, so McBride decided to look for them" [1494]

1489 *Ibid.* p.929

1490 Cawkell (2001 p.30) dates this to November 23, 1766 and places it "*in the northern part of East Falkland,*" while Dunmore (2005 p.139) states that this discovery had occurred the previous September. Jordon's Bay appears in the Carrington-Bowles chart of 1770, but this name appears to have been forgotten. There is no current designation, although the bay is easily identified. The mountain is called Mount Usborne.

1491 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*. My emphasis. Brown (1922) concluded that the bottle was found on West Falkland Island despite the quote clearly identifying that the survey party had landed on the east side of Carlisle Sound (now known as Falklands Sound throughout its length). The bottle had been placed on the mountain near the isthmus that joins the two parts of East Falkland Island by a Bougainville-led party in January, 1765. The highest mountain on East Falkland (and indeed in the whole archipelago), Mount Usborne is less than a day's trek from Jordan's Bay. A second French party had climbed the mountain on March 20, 1765, and a third on October 22, 1766. M[c]Bride's own "**General Draft**" of 1767 (next page) shows the mountain marked 'B'.

1492 Martin-Allanic 1964 p521 citing Goebel 1927 pp.238-239

1493 Cawkell 2001 p.30. M[c]Bride was not with the boat party. See December 1, 1766.

1494 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.203

November 26th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Minister Grimaldi with his reflections on the negotiations with the British.

> *"The example of what happened in the year 1750 shows us that we should not expect anything else. Spain had just emerged from a glorious war; England did not want to upset her, but rather courted her, so to speak. But with all this* ***she did nothing but suspend*** *the project of establishing herself in the Malouines Islands without renouncing her dreamed right to them and to navigate in the South Sea.*
>
> *What she does today is nothing but continue that suspended idea, and it is very probable that she would not do so if she saw clearly that she did not have to wait to see an unfriendly Spain.*
>
> *In view of these considerations, and assuming that neither Spain nor France are at present in a position to expose themselves to the uncertain events of a war, nor do they desire it, it seems that what is advisable is to find a way to postpone the breakup by combining these two dependencies, saving the honor of Spain, the only object worthy of involving her in a war even in less favorable circumstances than the present.*

This means (our) only resource at the moment is the sacrifice of some sum of money. It can already be taken for granted that by this means the English Ministry will be satisfied with regard to Manila, and will suspend, as in 1750, the establishment in the South Sea. ...

Following these precedents, and agreeing first on an absolute condition (orally, because I do not believe that these Ministers will want to put it in writing) that England will desist from its establishment and withdraw the people and ships it has there, a convention could be made to end these differences, namely, that of Manila completely; and that of the establishment probably while this peace lasts; because we must always fear that the convenience of this nation or its interest will determine its Ministry to try it again some day; and therefore, if due to the circumstances of the times it should not come to fruition even in the course of the first war that breaks out, this point should be one of the first objects that Spain should keep in mind when it comes to making a new peace. ... we have no choice but to settle it amicably or with arms." [1495]

November 28th, from Paris, Rochford writes to Earl Chatham regarding the attitude of Minister Choiseul.

"The only essential affair that can disturb the peace of Europe is our disputes with Spain; and I here found him so sincerely terrified (if I may use the expression) at the court of Spain's taking some absurd step, that I am confident there is no reasonable proposal he would not come into, for accommodating the Manila ransom, and the affair of the islands of Falkland." [1496]

Spain's Minister Grimaldi sends a *memorandum* to Ambassador Fuentes in Paris, for transmission to Minister Choiseul. This paper raises the possibility of a war with Britain.

"It's not about (Britain) but about the attack on (Spain's) overseas possessions, the ocean empire, commercial interests and (about) setting limits to English ambition." [1497]

"Grimaldi's project represents the most serious moment of international relations, during the first stage of the incident. Peace or war were pending, in short, on the answer given by the French minister." [1498]

November 29th, in Paris, Spain's Ambassador writes to Grimaldi to complain that he had not approved of Bougainvilles plans to venture into the South Sea; and that Bougainville had now sailed anyway. [1499]

From England, Lord Shelburne writes to Ambassador Rochford; *"Shelbourne, for his part, told Rochford on November 29 that arbitration would not be allowed; but that, instead, the payment of the total sum owed (as a result) of the ransom of Manila would be accepted in exchange for the immediate abandonment of the islands."*[1500]

November 30th, in the Falkland Islands, on Saunders Island, another member of M^{c}Bride's crew, John Coulson, is buried. [1501]

December 2nd, in the evening, Capt. M^{c}Bride sails into Pembroke Sound (Port William). [1502]

1495 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.192-194. My emphasis.
1496 Quoted in *Anecdotes of the life of the Right Hon. William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham* John Almon vol.3 1792
1497 Grimaldi quoted in Munilla 1948 p.57 citing *Grimaldi project on war with England (in French) sent to Fuentes, to deliver it to the Duke of Choiseul: November 28, 1766. A. H. N., State, 2. 841.*
1498 Munilla 1948 p.57. Choiseul's response was not returned until March 15, 1767 – *"It is not possible to look at the project of war presented by Spain as a good project*." (*Memorial de Choiseul A.H.N., Estado, 2.841*)
1499 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.197-199
1500 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.133. No source cited.
1501 Cause of death, not recorded.
1502 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*

December 3rd, an officer is sent by McBride to find an observation point overlooking the area.

> *"... the next morning sent an officer upon the Top of a Mountain, that overlooked Bercleys (sic) sound, who returned at noon. With an account that he had discovered the French Settlement. I sailed in the Evening from Pembroke Sound..."* [1503]

December 4th, in the Falkland Islands / Malouines, Capt. McBride approaches Fort St. Louis. In bad weather he anchors some 4 miles from the settlement.

> *"On the 4th of December 1766, at about six o'clock in the morning, a ship appeared at the entrance to the bay, about a league out from it, which then seemed calm. At about eight o'clock, the wind rose from the north, although it was very weak until about 11 o'clock in the morning. Nevertheless, with the help of the tide, the said ship entered the large playa (?), ... we believed it to be French. Mr. Lavaria, captain of the port, was then sent in a canoe to go and see him into the port. About an hour after his departure, the said ship having approached, but which we had recognised by means of a telescope, had its flag, which was English, ...*
>
> *Afterwards we said that it might be a trick of Mr. de Bougainville, whom we were waiting for. But we were soon convinced that it was English when we realised that the said Lavaria, having approached it close enough to recognise it well, instead of going aboard, he turned aside and took advantage of the wind which was then to the west, to avoid it and wet it on the beach at Bomont, ...*
>
> *As the wind was then contrary to entering the Port, and they did not know the entrance, the English took the resolution to re-embark and to approach little by little from the Entrance, towards two in the afternoon they sailed about half a league from Isla Quemada, at that time Mr Lavaria arrived by land and made a statement to the commander that the ship that appeared to have flown the English flag, was armed with 30 to 36 pieces of cannon, and that it seemed to be newly careened, that having recognized it as such, he deemed it appropriate to (stay away) without another order.*
>
> *On this statement, the commander called his officers and asked them what should be done in such a case. It was resolved to send Mr Deperier (sic), captain of infantry, to ask the captain of said ship what he wanted, and whether something was needed. Mr Deperier went for this purpose at about 3 in the afternoon.*
>
> *(Deperier) boarded the said English frigate, in which there was an officer who told Mr Deperier that he was English, and that he was sent by order of his captain, to carry a letter to the commander of the place. Mr Deperier offered to go and carry the letter and bring him a reply on board. The English officer did not want to accept Mr Deperier's offer, telling him that there was an order to deliver it himself and also to bring the reply himself, ... from his captain. Then Mr. Desperier told him to accompany him; up to a distance of a quarter of a league from our establishment; having arrived, the said Deperier told this official "I have orders to disembark Your Excellency here, to remove your knowledge of our establishment, which cannot be seen from that place", The Englishman consented under the condition that Mr. Deperier would deliver him a reply within an hour at the latest, Mr. Desperier accepted this condition, and left immediately and brought a reply within three quarters of an hour."* [1504]

1503 *Ibid*

1504 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.201-206. The source of this report is not immediately clear. Nor are the circumstances, author or date. Written in Spanish, not French, with some attachments in English. The officer sent to see the British was D'Eperriers – mispelt in all languages.

"I sent an officer ashore with a Letter to the Commanding officer, desiring to be Informed by what authority he had Erected a settlement there …" [1505]

Titled *Jason Bercley Sound, Dec.r 4th 1766* the letter reads:

> *"Sir. As Falklands Islands were first discovered by the Subjects of the Crown of England sent out by the Government for that purpose, and of right belonging to His majesty, and his Majesty's having given Orders for the Settlement thereof, the Subjects of no other power can have any title to establish themselves therein, without the King's Permission. I therefore desire to be informed upon what Authority you have erected a Settlement upon the said Islands."*

"The letter was dated on board Jason on 4 December 1766 and signed by J. Mcbride, commander of S. M. B.'s ships in the Falkland Islands. In it he maintained that the islands had been discovered by the English, and that, therefore, "no subject of any power whatsoever has the right to settle without the License of the King"...." [1506]

D'Eperriers returns to the British officer, with a message from Bougainville de Nerville.

> *"Monsieur, the letter, which you did me the honor to write to me, was (given) to me under condition of only taking an hour to answer it. It was impossible for me to know the contents, not knowing the English language and having no one here to interpret it. I send you Sr Desperriers, an infantry captain, with an order to know from you, in the French language, what are the reasons that have induced you to enter and to anchor in this port, and what your needs might be. I have the honour to be... de Nerville Isle Malouine 4 Xbre 1766."* [1507]

D'Eperriers and the officer return to the British ship, where D'Eperriers is invited to dine.

> *"... he (D'Eperriers) told me that they would not permit me to enter the Port, or suffer any person to come on shore; I reply'd that I was Determin'd to enter the Port, as soon as I possible could, and, that if the Wind was not fair next morning, to land, and would bring a Party sufficient to defend myself, if attacked."* [1508]

"Mr. Deperier immediately left with the English officer, and arriving on board he forwarded the letter from the French commander. There was no one among them who knew how to read French. Mr. Deperier made them understand the tenor of the letter, and said further that his commander had charged him to tell them that his orders were not to let any strangers into the port, and that they should therefore comply. The English captain seemed aghast by these orders, and told Mr. Deperier that .., he would not respect our orders, and that he would take advantage of the first good wind to enter by force or will, although he begged to tell the commander that it was better that this be done amicably." [1509]

December 5th, returning to the settlement in the early hours, D'Eperriers reports to de Nerville.

"Mr. Deperier then took leave of him, and came to tell the commander what was happening at 11 o'clock at night. Seeing the ferocity of the English, he decided to prepare four 24-pounder cannons at night and not to

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1505 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767 in PRO Adm. 1/2116*
1506 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.91
1507 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.518 citing *Aff. étr. Espagne, 548 f° 341*
1508 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*
1509 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos* ... Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.201-206.

respond to him with a cannon shot, and to prevent him from entering if possible. They then began to arm the said cannons and in the morning at nine o'clock we had two armed." [1510]

"The first thing he told us when he got back was that we did not have time to waste and that we had to put on our 4 pieces of 24. It was then one-thirty in the morning. He added that he understood from the long conversation he had with the English that the intention of their crown was to support their rights to the property of the Falkland Islands, discovered by the nation during the reign of Elizabeth; … They had shown him a map of the country, ***more exact than ours****, as to what they said, and on this map, the point of their habitation, about 40 leagues from it, in the part of the E-ENE, with a 24-piece wooden fort…"* [1511]

"Desperriers … must have been keen to get back to the settlement and raise the alarm. He left the Jason after dinner, but he only got back to the settlement at 1.30 am on the 5th, since his boat had to pull four miles up Berkeley Sound against the wind. He told Nerville there was no time to lose, and that the guns must be mounted." [1512]

In the early light, watching the French settlers prepare their guns, M^{c}Bride sends another officer, with a further message for the French commander.

> *"Jason, December 5th 1766.*
> *Sir, I received the letter, which you did me the honour to write, by capn. Desperiers, to whom I explained the nature of my arrival here, and, when I have the honor to see you, shall be more particular upon that head. In the first place, I am to inform you that I am not come here with any hostile intentions.*
>
> *My orders are to examine these Islands accurately, which, you may do me favour to believe, I will most carefully comply with. The wind proving unfavourable, this morning, prevents me getting up. But I do propose sending a party with sufficient (arms) to defend itself, should any such attempt be made, but I should much rather execute this service in an amicable manner, which will rest entirely with you by allowing the officer who carries this freely to look over your settlement. From your answer I shall determine. I have the honour, etc."* [1513]

"I sent an officer ashore with another Letter to the Commodant (sic) acquainting him, of my resolution to Land, if he did not Permit the officer to Examine the Settlement. The Boat was met by a Launch with some soldiers in it, with their Bayonets Fixed, and Capt. Desperriers … told the officer that he would not suffer him to go on shore but took the Letter and said there should be an answer." [1514]

"The British boat was met by a launch containing a captain and soldiers, all under arms. The officer was not allowed to go on shore but the French captain took the letter saying that there would be an answer. …" [1515]

In the French settlement, a letter is prepared for M^{c}Bride.

1510 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos Relativos A La Historia De Las Islas Malvinas (1766-1767)* Universidad de Buenos Aires vols.2-3 1961 pp.201-206.
1511 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.518-519. My emphasis. The map being the produce of the British survey work.
1512 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.205
1513 Reproduced in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.519-520
1514 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*
1515 Cawkell 2001 p.31

"Sir, I have received your last letter, which I could not reply to, any more than the first, not knowing English. Mr. Deperier informed me of your attempts to enter this port. I have the honour to reiterate to Your Majesty that if you contravene the orders I have given not to enter this port, … Your Excellency will force me to shoot at you, and (your actions) will be regarded as aggression." [1516]

"Sir, I have the honor to send you the Sieur Desperiers Captain of Infantry to know your last intentions which I was unable to understand .., having no Person in good condition to interpret it, he gave me an account of the firm resolution that you seem to have taken to acquire a complete knowledge of the establishment formed here since 1764 by His Majesty. I charge him not to let you ignore my surprise. Of the attempts you made in this regard, having never imagined that the Crowns of which we are Subjects were at war. If you force us by coming to discover (our settlement) of which it is essential for us to prevent the knowledge (of), you will oblige us to think that you have not entered here as Friends, and to take all the necessary measures to support the rights of the King our master. In his present establishment and to find us at war with you since you seem to declare it to us. If things come to this point, you will be seen as the Aggressors." [1517]

"Then the Commander had everyone take up arms, and it seemed that in the resolution to prevent this Frigate from entering, all the Officers agreed on this way of thinking,..." [1518]

A little late, D'Eperriers prepares to set out. However, M^{c}Bride sees an opportunity.

'I waited an hour for it, to no purpose then the wind shifted, we ran the anchor up and in 10 minutes brought up abreast of the battery in 3 fathoms of water with a spring upon the cable. The French left their guns'..." [1519]

"As preparations were being made to send M. Deperier to carry the reply, the wind blew from the south, the Frigate set sail and took advantage of the wind ... and passed under our Small Caleria, seeing that M. Deperier was out to carry the reply, we did not want to shoot. On his return he told the commander that the English captain had said that he had not taken the first (shot), but that he was waiting impatiently for us to have started. Then the commander ... consented and (McBride) came to salute the commander and asked him in whose name the establishment was made, the commander answered him for the King. The English Captain then responded soft and respectful. He asked for permission to see our houses, which was immediately granted." [1520]

Four of M^{c}Bride's officers inspect the French settlement; discovering 1 stone house plus 16 others built of turf, with some 130 inhabitants. Also three schooners. Bougainville's commission granted by King Louis is produced as authority for their settlement. [1521]

1516 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.201-206.

1517 *Ibid*. p.205. Different version, but written in French and signed Bougainville de Nerville.

1518 *Ibid.*

1519 Cawkell 2001 p.31. Translation between the two sides remained difficult. The British commander was told that 7 women were pregnant and resting, but the translation resulted in him believing that 7 had died. See Martin-Allanic 1964 end-note 179 to Chapter 21

1520 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.201-206.

1521 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.524

"Monsieur Bougainville's Commission to be Commodant (sic) of the Isle Malouines is Dated the 1st of August 1764. They have built seventeen houses, including the Governors, which is of stone … their endeavours to produce any vegetables from their Gardens has met with no Success – Agreeable to their lordships Instructions, I gave them Warning to remove from the Islands, to which the Commodant (sic) reply'd that he would not Leave them, unless Compell'd by Force…" [1522]

"… the French have a very delightful harbour to the eastward of us, about 35 leagues; they have about 50 houses and about 200 men, besides women and children. I was there about December last;…" [1523]

Back in Europe, from Brest in France, and after more false starts due to adverse weather conditions, Bougainville finally sails for Montevideo on the frigate *Boudeuse*. [1524]

December 6th, from Port St. Louis, McBride sails for Port Egmont.

"… the winds moved to the west in the morning …, the English captain sent two of his officers to say goodbye on his behalf to the commander and tell him that he was going to leave, he left in effect at 11 in the morning with a good wind." [1525]

"… having done it, they left; and that they (the French) understand that at the end of the Island, which is divided by an arm of the sea, they (the British) settled, and armed with a wooden fort, which they had done with twelve embrasures to assemble artillery: they said that the island belonged to them… They also say that the port, which has an Island, is formidable, with a great canal, its entrance very wide, and deep, that the ships entered there, are very sheltered from the mountain ranges, and that no wind offends them:.." [1526]

"Unofficially the visit was a great success. The ship's officers fraternised with those ashore, told them of their colony 40 leagues off, its fine harbour, armoury and the explorations they had made. McBride was invited to visit de Nerville in his house and de Nerville to dine on board Jason but a favourable wind springing up cut short the exchange of hospitality and McBride set sail for Port Egmont." [1527]

"And that was that. The French establishment had been compulsorily inspected; McBride had no orders to actually expel the French, but only to order them to leave, which he did. The meeting between the British and French commanders had been polite and correct, and ended with the peaceful departure of the British." [1528]

December 8th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *Jason* returns to rejoin *Carcass* and *Florida*.

December 12th, in Paris, Rochford learns of the confusion caused by Hertford's omissions.

"Shelburne explained what he had understood by Hertford's report of Choiseul's first proposal, namely, that if the Falklands affair could be accommodated, the Manila Ransom would be paid in January next, without any mention of any further difficulties or necessity for negotiation. It was this prospect of a speedy settlement of a just claim, and this alone, which induced the King to listen to the proposal." [1529]

1522 *McBride to Stephens March 21, 1767* in *PRO Adm. 1/2116*

1523 *Extract of a letter from Mr. Richard McDonnell, on board His Majesty's sloop the Carcass, at Port Egmont, in the island of Falkland, in the South Seas, in the lat. of 51, 30, South about 100 leagues to the northward of cape Horn, April 30, 1767*, published in the *Salisbury & Winchester Journal August 17, 1767*

1524 Scavennec 2005. See February 1, 1767.

1525 *Information on the events that occurred in the Strait of Bercle (Berkley?) in the Falkland Islands occupied by the French* in *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.201-206.

1526 Groussac 1910 pp.160-161 citing *No.3 Buenos Ayres y Mayo 21 de 1767*

1527 Cawkell 2001 p.32

1528 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.206.

1529 Rice 1973 p.432

December 17th, Wallis (*Dolphin*) and Carteret (*Swallow*), explore the Magellan Strait.

> *"After my first Voyage to ye Steights ... I plainly saw that a lucrative fishery for Oil might be carried from England in those parts: ..."* [1530]

Prince Frederick is loaded with *"... several thousands of young saplings to plant as an experiment..."* [1531]

December 20th, at Saunders Island, a storehouse is constructed. [1532]

December 26th, Andrew Ennis, Master-at-Arms aboard *Jason*, is buried in the cemetery at Port Egmont.

December 27th, at Saunders Island, a quay is constructed. [1533]

December 28th, on Saunders Island, a house is built. [1534]

December 29th, from Spain, a Royal Order is sent to Buenos Aires demanding a search be made for the suspected English base in the South Atlantic.

> *"... confirming the news that Your Excellency received upon the arrival in Montevideo of the frigates Liebre and Esmeralda, of the attempted establishment (already formed) by the English on some island of those seas or those of the south, and perhaps on its coasts, and not having been able to find the precise location, it is urgent (you being) the one in charge of discovering it, consequently (should) advise the measures for achieving this, Your Excellency must inspect the respective coast to the Strait of Magellan, and successively to Cape Horn, must be of the inspection of Your Excellency... For what your Excellency will agree with ... Puente, the part that he will be responsible for, after he takes possession of the Malouines Islands, ...*
>
> *And you must instruct the Captains, so that, entering the place where they find the establishment, to counter, as surprised by him, of his intrusion into the dominions of His Majesty, against the good faith of the treaties and harmony that subsists between the two nations, protesting against their contravention, (taking the opportunity) to learn about the entity of the establishment, the number of people and the extent of fortifications, returning immediately to inform Your Excellency, who will dispatch, without loss of moment, a warning to (Spain) with this news..."* [1535]

"Until then, the(y) had been unable to discover the whereabouts of an English establishment, clandestinely formed in the southernmost part of the American continent. Some said he was in the Land of Estado (Statenland), east of the Strait of San Vicente, or Le Maire: others on some island in Tierra del Fuego, and perhaps on the shores of the Strait of Magellan. The occupation of any of these points was an attack on the sovereign rights of Spain, so jealous of the exclusive conservation of its colonies." [1536]

"The anxiety to locate the British establishment, becomes, from this moment, the main objective of the Spanish Crown. Carlos III wished to find out, not only because of his natural interest, but especially because as long as it is not achieved, it will be necessary to remain inactive, ..." [1537]

1530 Carteret quoted in *Charting the Sealing Islands of the Southern Ocean* Michael Pearson 2016. *cf.* 1769

1531 *The History of Wallis's & Careret's Voyage round the World; begun in the Year 1766, and finished in 1768* Anon. 1784. Also Corney 1913. See February, 1767

1532 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.525

1533 *Ibid.*

1534 *Ibid.*

1535 *D. Julian Arriaga a Sr. D. Francisco Bucareli 29 de Deciembre de 1766* quoted in Angelis 1852 pp.19-20. Also Munilla 1948 p.54 citing *Royal Orden Arriaga a Bucareli 29 de Deciembre de 1766, A.G.I Buenos Aires, 412*

1536 Angelis 1852 p.19

1537 Munilla 1948 pp.54-55

At Saunders Island in the Falklands, the battery is completed. [1538]

December 31st, at the end of the year, Spain's Chief Minister records his thoughts on the perceived threats to Spanish sovereignty in the Americas - *Principles that suit the interests of the monarchy and that, according to the Marquis of Grimaldi, are legally valid and necessary for the preservation of its States and wealth*. [1539]

> *"Principles which, in my opinion, are in the interests of the Monarchy, and which I find founded in law, and necessary for the preservation of its States, and its wealth.*
>
> *First. Foreign Nations cannot be permitted to establish themselves, either in the continent of South America, or in the neighbouring Islands, either on the northern or southern side, and much less should the great Maritime Powers be permitted to do so. It is evident that for the state of the question it is very equal whether these establishments be made on the mainland, or in the neighbouring Islands, because they produce the same efforts. The right of Spain to prevent these establishments, and even to prevent foreign navigation in the South Sea, is founded in the Treaty of Utrecht, and in other later ones, which confirm it. There is no doubt that the whole Continent, beginning with the Province of Buenos Ayres, and continuing to the other side of Cape Horn, has always been considered as belonging to Spain, and consequently to Charles II. The common opinion has also been that the adjacent Islands belonged equally to the same Sovereign. This does not prevent there from being interpretations and pretexts from those who want to argue about the meaning of the said treaty of Utrecht, as always happens with all treaties that have been made and that (some)one wants to evade. ... I do not believe however that there is an impartial man, who laughs at this possession of Spain. In the event that this right is supposed to be founded in justice, it appears that there would be only some doubt as to what concerns that which Spain has in the Islands, which are located at a certain distance to the North.*
>
> *I say 1st. that any island near the continent, although uninhabited, is supposed to depend on the master of the same continent, and to belong to him.*
>
> *2nd.* ***I say that in these immense countries, where everything is respective, the distance of sixty, or of 80 leagues must be regarded as we regard in Europe that of ten or twelve. The effects being the same, because the lack of population, and the difficulty of defending, ... these distances make their conservation more interesting for the continent.***
>
> *3rd.* ***I suppose that if it were a question of greater distances, for example of 300 leagues, or more, I would not then believe that the treaty of Utrecht gave to Spain a right of ownership on these islands,*** *which would be found in these seas on this side of the strait of Magellan. I deduce, therefore, that Spain has a right of property by the treaty of Utrecht to the whole continent of South America as far as Cape Horn to the Islands which lie within a fairly marked distance from the said Coast, and very clearly to all those of the South Sea, and consequently to the Falklands, which are among them.* [1540]
>
> *But although our right to the Falklands was equivocal by virtue of the said treaty, it is very certain that the English have no right there either. It is an established principle among all nations, that he who is the first to discover a country, acquires a right there. It was the French who first occupied the Falklands, and for this reason (even disregarding the treaty of Utrecht) the property of these islands belongs to the King,* ***because they passed from the hands of France to those of Spain***. [1541]

1538 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.525

1539 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.219-223. Date is a best guess. Written in French, this may be a translation. However, it should be remembered that Grimaldi was noted for his poor Spanish. Born in Genoa his first languages were most probably Italian and French. He also had extensive diplomatic experience at a time when French was the diplomatic language.

1540 My emphasis. The Falklands are in the south Atlantic, not the South Sea.

1541 My emphasis. Throughout the negotiations with France, Spain had maintained that its rights of sovereignty predated anything that France had done and that, therefore, there could have been no transfer of sovereignty.

Besides our right, which is very clearly proven, it is the real interest of the consequences, which must determine us to support our claims. It is demonstrable, that the English would have the same potential to make themselves masters of all the commerce of Peru, and to make precarious the little that they would leave us of it, if they had an establishment on an island distant a few leagues from the land, as if they had another on the Continent. It is so evident that the English in both cases would have the same proportion to facilitate in time of war expeditions, which would would make the conquest of Peru easy, which I will not stop to prove.

The second principle, which I judge appropriate, and very important to the Monarchy, is to avoid war as much as possible: In the event that we cannot achieve this, I believe that we must use all possible art to prolong peace as much as possible, but at least until the year 1768. What should determine the King to take this decision is the necessity that we have at this time to increase our Navy, to provide our Arsenals with all that is necessary for the armament of vessels, which we currently have, of those which have been ordered to be built, to be able to continue their construction for the future, to prepare the quantity of powder, arms, and cannons, which we need, and to give the final touch to the measures that His Majesty took two years ago to defend America. This principle is in accordance with the understanding which reigns between this Court and that of France, whose Ministry has always declared that it is only in the year 1768 that it would be in a position to wage war, if circumstances required it.

These principles established, we lack the plan of conduct which must be followed so that we can march in accordance with these principles.

The one that His Majesty himself proposed after mature examination, and according to the great (intelligence) that Heaven has granted him, is, in my opinion, the most suitable, as the one which entirely fulfills the principles and the objects that one must consider, and which one has made mention.

First. We must prepare 6 well-armed frigates, which will carry some Battery guns, with all the (ammunition), and two small mortars, to throw bombs, and red (fire) balls (if there are any). ... We are still unaware that more than three English frigates have been sent to these seas: moreover, if ours need vessels, there are two in the River Plate, and others, which are armed at Ferrol. If this Squadron needs some help of troops, munitions, etc., it will find some at Buenos Ayres as regards the Country on this side of Cape Horn, and in Chile as regards the South Sea.

A Commander and a second commander will be chosen, prudent, skillful, and at the same time intrepid and courageous. Before giving them the instructions, which they will have to follow, they will be instructed in the system, which His Majesty has formed to postpone the war for a certain time, and they will also be instructed in the places, which we believe certainly belong to Spain, and those which we are looking at as indifferent. (The Commander) will be responsible for going first to Montevideo, then traveling along the entire coast of the Pantagons [sic], examining very precisely all the Ports, the Roadsteads, and the neighboring islands; to try to attract the friendship of the savages with good manners, and for that he will bring from Spain the presents, which they love more; when he arrives at the Strait of Magellan, he will see if he can have news of the place, where the English are, and according to what he can penetrate, and according to what his prudence advises him, he will see, if it is convenient for him to divide his squadron, by destine half to pass the Strait of Magellan, with the order to reconnoiter very exactly the two coasts of this Strait, and continuing with the other half to reconnoiter Tierra del Fuego until doubling Cape Horn; he will also reconnoiter the southern coast, and the neighboring islands until he finds the other half of his squadron, and then they will continue together to Callao, visiting all these waters very scrupulously. If he does not think it proper to divide his Squadron, he will keep it whole, he will reconnoitre the places mentioned one after the other, that is to say the external coasts of the Continent on the N. side up to Cape Horn; then the southern part, and after the Strait of Magellan: As for the visit of these waters, it is up to him to choose those which he should visit first.

The Governor and the troops who will go to the Falklands will be responsible for reconnoitering these Islands. The Officer in question will be charged with chasing and dislodging the English if he finds them in the places above marked. As our design is not to give a prompt motive for war, and to leave a door open to the path of negotiation, it would be appropriate to seek some chicanery with the English frigates, which he could find, or with the inhabitants of the establishment in question: salvation could provide a pretext for attacking the English vessels: To attack the establishment, one could land some of the crew so close to the English establishment, that a quarrel is sought between the two nations; but all this must be done in such a way that one succeeds in chasing them and dislodging them. If when he reconnoiters these places, he finds that the English have superior forces, or sufficient to oppose his enterprise, or to make it fail, he will hide his design; but if to ensure his operations, he needs reinforcements from Chile, or from Peru, if he is on the South side, or from Buenos Ayres, if it is on the North side, he will ask for them; if he obtains them, he will execute his orders. If he does not find in the said places what he will need, he will report it to the Court, ordering everything he has discovered. He will also inform us if he does not find any foreign establishment in the places mentioned.

In order that he may execute these commissions, and his expeditions, he will be provided with orders for the Governors of Buenos Ayres, Maloüines, Chile, and for the Viceroy of Peru, so that they may, when they are aware of his commission, give him all the services that he will request, … This officer will also have orders to send the news to Spain with all speed, and to report it to the neighboring governors of America, requesting them to pass this advice on to each other, because war might very well result from this enterprise, and in that case each of them would give the appropriate arrangements, and would not allow any vessel, which had money on board, to set sail for Spain. The rumor will be spread that the Officer charged with this expedition is destined for Havana, to be there at the head of the works of the Arsenal, a Commission which was spoken of some time ago, and this rumor will serve to color his journey to the Court, and the departure of his frigates."

1767 – January 2nd, Southern Secretary, William Petty Fitzmaurice, the Earl Shelburne, writes to William Henry Nassau, the 4th Earl of Rochford. Britain's Ambassador to France.

"The King's sincerity is undoubted as appears by the whole transaction. His steadiness I am certain will not be less. If any attempt therefore is made to negotiate away the substance of the proposal first made to His Majesty, your Excellency may be assured that His Majesty will not listen to it, so that if the Ministers of Spain endeavour on the return of their messengers to start fresh difficulties, the only consequence will be, that the station in question at the Isles of Falkland, the importance of which His Majesty fully knows, will remain open to be established by His Majesty, and the Manila Ransom cannot be forgotten by His Majesty nor his subjects, till some happier moment shall come, when the Minister of the Court of Spain may be more disposed to do justice,…" [1542]

January 3rd, from the harbour of Port Egmont in the western Falkland Islands, *Carcass* (Lieut. Thomas Jordan) sails in search of the elusive Pepy's Island. [1543]

January 4th, Captain John Raynor, commanding *Swift*, arrives at Saunders Island. [1544]

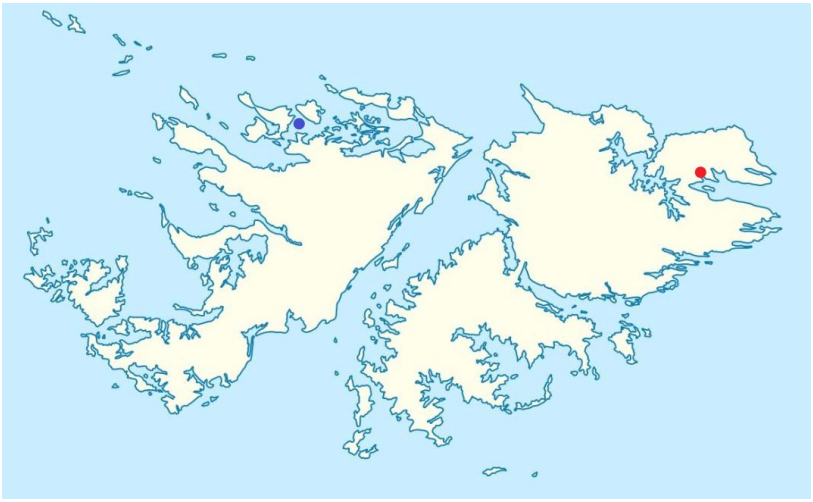
1542 *Shelburne to Rochford January 2, 1767 (PRO SP 78/272/1)* quoted in *Life of William, Earl of Sherburne, afterwards First Marquis of Lansdowne, with Extracts from his papers and correspondence* E. G. Fitzmaurice 1912 p.13. Mundane correspondence, but a secret cipher was included within this letter. See below. As for the Manila Ransom, see 1762, above.

1543 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.525

1544 *PRO Adm. 1/2116 section 2.* On the map next page, the harbour of Port Egmont is identified by the blue dot, with Saunders Island to the north-west of the harbour. Fort St. Louis by the red dot.

"Pigs and rabbits were bought to Falkland islands, by ourselves, and multiplied exceedingly." [1545]

"Captain Raynor, who commanded it, brought new instructions for Mac Bride. ... The Lords of the Admiralty reported to him that there was reason to believe, from the information they had received, "that an establishment had been made by Europeans in Acarron Bay, which is supposed to to be the same as Commander Byron named "Berkley Sound", at the extremity of the islands of His Majesty ... He had to go to this bay himself, "or to any other place where the intruder is to be found before returning to England"..." [1546]



From Madrid, on the same day, Spain's Minister for the Indies, Julian de Arriaga, forwards a Royal Order to Viceroy Manuel de Amat y Junyent in Peru (map below left). [1547]

> *"There being no doubt that the English have settled on the Southern Coast, or Buenos Aires, although the location is unknown. You are ordered to arrange for a formal recognition to be made by small boats and you are advised of the instructions that you should give to the Committees of them, in case you find them. There is no doubt that in the adjacent islands or perhaps on the mainland coast of the King's Dominions in the south of that Kingdom of Peru, or that of Buenos Aires up to Cape Horn, some establishment had been established by the English, the location of which could not be determined despite all the efforts that have been made for this purpose; and it was agreed to avoid by all imaginable means the damage that the above would cause to the Royal Service and the State.*

His Majesty orders me to warn Your Excellency, as I execute, that under this assumption I particularly charge the Governors of all the Ports of the Jurisdiction of this Viceroyalty, to send smaller Vessels along the Coasts of their district and the immediate Islands, and the Strait of Magellan to recognize whether there are Foreign Establishments; and that by holding them responsible for the slightest oversight, Your Excellency ensures with these particular examinations, and the general one that you arrange for yourself, whether there is any or not: And Your Excellency will caution that all the Captains of the aforementioned Vessels had been instructed in order that, upon entering the place or places where they find the Establishment, they should be warned, as if surprised by it, about their intrusion into His Majesty's Domains against the good faith of the treaties and harmony that subsists between the two Nations, protesting against their violation, and warning them that if they do not evacuate, they will report to Your Excellency, and

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1545 *An Account of the Loss of His Majesty's Sloop Swift, in Port Desire, on the Coast of Patagonia on the 13th of March, 1770...* Erasmus Gower 1803

1546 Martin-Allanic 1964 citing *PRO Adm. 2/1.332 Lettre des seigneurs de l'Amirauté: Saunders, Keppel, Meredith à Mac Bride, 13 septembre 1766.* See December, 1766, above.

1547 Viceroy of Peru 1761 to 1776. Previously, Royal Governor of Chile 1755 to 1761; when he had reported on the Falkland Islands to Arriaga in 1758. The Royal Governor of Chile in 1767 was Antonio de Guill y Gonzaga; under whose control Spain claimed that the Falklands archipelago fell. However, Buenos Aires was the nearest Spanish province to the Islands, some 1,000 miles away. *cf.* 1758, 1759 & 1766

that they should take advantage of the forced detention that will occur in these passages in order to inform themselves of the size of the Establishment in terms of the number of People, the circumstances of its Port, and the extent of its Fortifications, returning immediately to inform Your Excellency in detail, who will communicate these notices to me by all means for the information of Your Majesty, with the understanding that they have already been passed on to London, and to continue the corresponding effective efforts to contradict such a damaging idea." [1548]

January 10th, from Saunders Island, Raynor orders *Swift* to Port Famine on the South American mainland; *"... to cut wood for erecting storehouses, and fuel for winter which we shall stand in great need of."* [1549]

"I propose sending the Carcass & Florida Storeship to Port Famine in a few days, the one to look after the Storeship ... and the other to cutt Wood for Erecting Storehouses, & fuel for ye Winter which we shall stand in great need of. The Second Lieutant, Corporal & Eight Super Numerary Marines I have discharged into ye Carcass by Capt. M[c]Brides Order there being no possibility of landing them the Block House being converted to a Store House. ...

PS capt. McBride having Compleated the Survey of the Islands except a very small Spot of ye S Et Part, which I propose seeing early in the Summer. I shall employ the Sloops Companys the Winter in erecting a Store House & Compleating the Battery &c."[1550]

January 12th, from Madrid, French Ambassador D'Ossun, writes to Minister Choiseul in Paris. [1551] To inform him that Spain's Chief Minister, the Marquis Pablo Jerónimo de Grimaldi, wishes to continue to delay any progress towards war with England.

"Mr. de Grimaldi, Sir, told me that he had written the minute of the reply that you were waiting for on the two objects to be settled between Spain and England, but that before placing it before the eyes of His Catholic Majesty he wanted to communicate it to his colleagues, because it differed in certain respects from the advice that they had given. This Minister then developed to me his system of direction which consists in putting off war at any price whatsoever, provided nevertheless that it is not necessary to sacrifice the dignity of the King his master. He is convinced that England is not at present in a state to make war, and that Mr. Pitt does not want it. He considers that even if Spain tolerated the establishments that the English have made, or will be able to make in the Falklands, these establishments to which Mr. Pitt appears to grant no protection, could not have taken in so short a term a consistency which requires for their destruction (war being declared) an expenditure equivalent to the sum that England demands for the ransom of Manila, because he observes that Mr. Pitt has returned to claiming the four million piastres which were stipulated by the capitalization." [1552]

January 13th, from Paris, Britain's Ambassador Lord Rochford writes to Lord Shelburne in London.

"I am this instant returned from Versailles, and have had so interesting a Conference with the Duke of Choiseul, that I would not delay until the next Post acquainting You with it:... On Receipt of your Lordship's ***Secret and Confidential*** *letter of the Second I was determined to push the Duke of Choiseul*

1548 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.227-228. The image is of the Viceroyalty of Peru as claimed by Spain, although very little territory was actually occupied. The Falkland Islands had been disputed with Great Britain since 1765.

1549 Quoted in *Maritime Archaeology and Social Relations: British Action in the Southern Hemisphere* Virginia Dellino-Musgrave 2008 citing *ADM 1/2388 (Raynor J.)*

1550 *Raynor to Stephens January 18, 1767* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.234-235

1551 Étienne-François, comte de Stainville, duc de Choiseul. France's Foreign Minister.

1552 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.229

as far as was decent, to know what We had to expect or depend upon with regard to the speedy conclusion of the Two Affairs, the Manila Ransom, and the Isles of Falkland. [1553]

I must premise that for some Days past I have taken pains it should come to the Duke of Choiseul's Ear that the Station of the Isles of Falkland would be inevitably established by the King if the Manila Ransom was not paid; for I was convinced they had taken a notion here that We did not think that Establishment of any Consequence, and therefore it was not worthwhile for them to pay the Manila Ransom in order to engage us to desist from an Establishment which We seriously did intend to make.

Your Lordship in Your letter of the second has perfectly explained to Me what I had not before so well understood that the totality of the Manila Ransom was expected in consequence of Our desisting from settling the Malouines Islands for the present. In this disposition of mind I saw the Duc de Choiseul this morning,... I asked Him if he had any Answer from the Court of Spain, for that I had taken a great deal upon Me to answer for his (the Duke of Choiseul's) Sincerity; and that I hoped I should have no Reason to recant what I had said. This Preparation forced Him in some Measure to speak out, and I must do Him the Justice to say that He spoke with the greatest Frankness and Openness.

He first repeated what He had said to Lord Hertford, which was that the Manila Ransom should be paid in January if we chose them the French for Arbitration, and if We on Our side desisted from making an Establishment in the Isles of Falkland, agreeable to the Eighth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht; That He believed Mr. de Guerchy had held the same language to Lord Chatham; and that He (the Duke of Choiseul) had held the same language to Me; but that when I had insinuated to Him that the King could not admit of the mediation of the Court of France with Regard to the Manila, and that the Right of the respective Crowns to the Malouine Islands must be passed over in silence, and that Lord Chatham had also held the same Discourse to Count Guerchy, He then, willing to prevent the Court of Spain from taking a violent Resolution, had conferred with Mr. de Fuentes, and had dispatched a Messenger to Madrid ordering the French Ambassador there to press the Court of Spain to listen to the terms as proposed by Us: that He was still waiting for their Answer, and that He would own to Me in confidence that He found Count Fuentes averse to Our Propositions as derogatory to the King of Spain's Honor, in submitting to pay the Ransom after We had refused to accept of a fair Arbitration; but that He would also confess to Me that the King of Spain had listened to the Proposal, in an audience with the French Ambassador had of Him; and that He could venture to assure Me the Affair would be finished as We desired. ...

Notwithstanding this affair seems at present to take the Turn Both Courts desire for the sake of Peace, I should not act conformably to my Duty if I did not represent to Your Lordship the Necessity there is of keeping Mr. de Guerchy in Alarm about Our making an Establishment in the Isles of Falkland, until the Two Affairs are finally adjusted,..." [1554]

January 15th, *Carcass* returns to the harbour of Port Egmont having failed to find Pepy's Island.

"*She has returned without having succeeded and I am convinced that there is no island...*" [1555]

1553 My emphasis.

1554 *Rochford to Shelburne January 13, 1767* in *PRO SP 78/272/29-31*. Original emphasis. See January 2, 1767 above. Rice 1973 p.436 also refers to – *Secret copy in Shelburne Papers, Vol., f.109.* Not in the PRO file.

1555 M'Bride quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.525

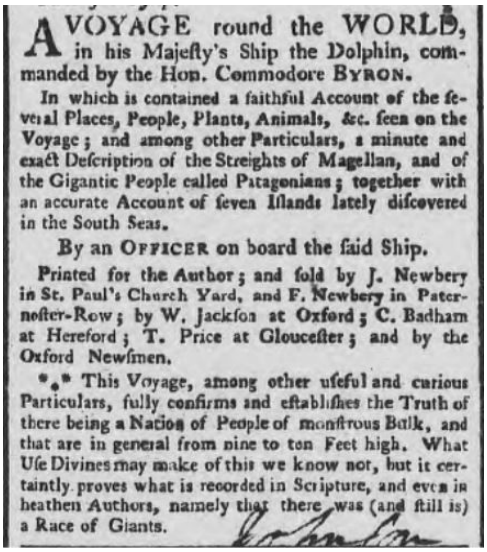
January 16th, from Madrid, a Royal Order instructs Phelipe Ruíz Puente y Garcia de la Yedra. at Montevideo, to undertake a recognisance of the strait. [1556]

January 17th, from Magellan's Strait, *Prince Frederick* (James Brine), sails loaded with saplings. [1557]

"On the 17th of January she weighed and returned Eastward for the Falkland Isles; and the Dolphin and Swallow continued their voyage Westward the next day, finally emerging on the Pacific side on the 11th of April." [1558]

January 18th, after passing command to Capt. Raynor, and ordering the return of *Florida* once repairs have been completed, McBride sails for England in *Jason*. Left behind is a garrison of some 90 men at Fort George. [1559]

In Britain, advertisements appear for a book detailing Byron's circumnavigation costing 3s-6d: *A Voyage round the World, in his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin, commanded by the Hon. Commodore BYRON*. By *an Officer on board the said ship*. [1560]


A VOYAGE round the WORLD, in his Majeſty's Ship the Dolphin, commanded by the Hon. Commodore BYRON.

In which is contained a faithful Account of the ſeveral Places, People, Plants, Animals, &c. ſeen on the Voyage; and among other Particulars, a minute and exact Deſcription of the Streights of Magellan, and of the Gigantic People called Patagonians; together with an accurate Account of ſeven Iſlands lately diſcovered in the South Seas.

By an OFFICER on board the ſaid Ship.

Printed for the Author; and ſold by J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church Yard, and F. Newbery in Paternoſter-Row; by W. Jackſon at Oxford; C. Badham at Hereford; T. Price at Glouceſter; and by the Oxford Newſmen.

*** This Voyage, among other uſeful and curious Particulars, fully confirms and eſtabliſhes the Truth of there being a Nation of People of monſtrous Bulk, and that are in general from nine to ten Feet high. What Uſe Divines may make of this we know not, but it certaintly proves what is recorded in Scripture, and even in heathen Authors, namely that there was (and ſtill is) a Race of Giants.

January 20th, Spain's Chief Minister Grimaldi, finally responds to the information provided by Ambassador Fuentes on November 13, 1766, concerning Bougainville's proposed circumnavigation.

> *"I now tell Your Excellency that you have rightly disapproved of this voyage, much more in the broad sense of opening with it a route to the French (for the South Seas) which is what Bougainville implied to V.E. although the Duke of Choiseul convinced of V.E.'s arguments reduces the object to a precaution only in time of war. ... Above all, it is a very notable inconsistency that we dispute entering these seas with the English, and at the same time consent to sailing to Bougainville, and we will not know what to answer to the English when they throw it in our face.*
>
> *For this reason and because the Treaties also prohibit it for one thing and another, it is necessary to find some way to overcome the inconvenience that has occurred. The King leaves it to Your Excellency's ability to think about it, and does not doubt that the Duke of Choiseul will adapt it, given his experienced love of reason. The best would be to send new orders to Bougainville to avoid such a journey ... If it is not possible, some Pretext on our part, and some assurance from that Ministry, that this example will not serve for the times of Peace, and that it is only a (precaution) to know the route in case it was essential to practice it in time of war. It could have been convenient for Bougainville to make that voyage in the Spanish barge: with which that Court achieved its objective and did not set the bad example of having allowed the French to sail in the South Sea."* [1561]

1556 Munilla 1948 p.53 citing *Royal Orden Arriaga to Ruíz Puente: January 16, 1767. A. C. I., Buenos Aires, 552.* Puente, awaiting the arrival of Louis de Bougainville, was to be Governor in the Malouines after the French hand-over.

1557 *The History of Wallis's & Careret's Voyage round the World; begun in the Year 1766, and finished in 1768* Anon. 1784. See December 17, 1766. *Prince Frederick*, a storeship, had sailed from England in August 1766 with *Dolphin* (Wallis) and *Swallow* (Carteret) bound for the Magellan Strait to obtain a supply of wood for Saunders Island. Wallis and Carteret were continuing on to the Pacific. *cf.* 1766

1558 Corney 1913. *cf.* 1766

1559 *Jason's* log is at PRO *ADM 55/83*. Also noted in *Observations on the Diseases in Long Voyages to Hot Countries* John Clark MD (East India Company) 1779. A Spanish intelligence report recorded McBride's departure as April 11, 1767.

1560 *Oxford Journal Saturday April 18, 1767*

1561 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.235-236

Grimaldi also writes to his Ambassador in London, Masserano, regarding Britain's reported settlement in the Falkland Islands (Malouines). [1562]

> *"Regarding the Settlements, I say first to Your Excellency that we can never reach the point of consenting to them, whether they are in the Malouines as it seems, or in other Islands equally close to our Continent on this side, or beyond the Strait of Magellan. … the King wants Your Excellency to conduct himself in such a way as to always show that we will regard the Settlement as an infringement, … that His Majesty will never allow it, and finally continue (your) verbal protestations as up to now. Your Excellency must likewise resist the slightest consent to their claim to navigate freely to the Malouines, to the Patagonian Coast and to the South Seas. It would be of perverse consequences to grant them this right, and we have plenty of material to dispute it, …The spirit of the Treaty of Utrecht is denied to them, this is confirmed by Article 8, despite the twisted interpretation that these Ministers want to give it; and above all we have found documents which leave no doubt … the intention of His Majesty is that Your Excellency does not yield, or abandon our right,…"* [1563]

Regarding the Manila ransom, Grimaldi directs Masserano to convince British ministers that the Archbishop of Manila had acted as a private individual. Not on behalf of the Spanish Crown. [1564]

At Port Egmont, the storeship *Prince Frederick,* arrives with the thousands of tree saplings loaded at the strait in December. There are also 50,000 bricks, 10 barrels of rum, 10 barrels of brandy, 120 barrels of beer, 120 barrels of Madeira, 400 casks of salt beef, 200 casks of pork, 25 marines, 9 women and 11 children. [1565]

"… I began to be apprehensive some Accident had happend'd Her, She having Sail'd from St. Jago five Weeks before Me, and I had been here more than a fortnight. But She Arriv'd a few days after the Jason sailed, … Which enabled Me to Clear her so soon of Her Provisions, As I Order'd the Florida to take in what quantity She could stow away And the Blockhouse holds the remainder; Beef & Pork Excepted, these are exposed to the Weather…" [1566]

1562 Don Filippo Vitorio Amadeo Ferrero de Biella, Prince de Masseran (de [of] Masseran = Masserano)

1563 *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3. pp.238-245. Also Buschman 2014 citing *Grimaldi to Masserano January 20, 1767 AHN, Estado 4260 vol.1.* For the *Treaty of Utrecht,* see 1713.

1564 Munilla 1948 p.50 citing *Grimaldi a Maserano: January 20, 1767 Aff, étrang., Espagne, 473*

1565 Corney 1913. A lot of bricks. Chart detail above of Port Egmont from M^{c}Bride's survey of 1766. Sourced from the UK Hydrographic Office.

1566 *Stephens to Raynor February 11, 1767* in *Colección De Documentos …* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.257

January 23rd, from London, Earl Shelburne writes to Lord Rochford.

> *"As to the totality of the Manila-Ransom being expected in consequence of our desisting,* ***for the present****, from settling the Faulkland Isles, I ought to observe to Your excellency, that, in every conversation I have had with M. de Masseran, He was uniform in His Declaration that, as the King of Spain's Dignity was alone in question and His Desire of strict justice was the Sole Motive of His Conduct, He should, in consequence, always think Himself obliged to pay the Whole, or None:- It was therefore natural to understand, that, when it was proposed to pay the Manilla ransom, the Whole and not a Part was meant. ..."* [1567]

January 25th, in Paris, Minister Choiseul receives word from Madrid suggesting that Spain will accept the issue of the ransom going to arbitration, but will not link that question to the Falklands affair. Not unless actually threatened with immediate hostilities. Choiseul is thanked for his assistance, but told that it is not required.

"The Marquis de Grimaldi asked the court of France to let him conduct the negotiations." [1568]

"Despite Chatham's insistence that Britain would never give up Port Egmont, the Spanish Ministers had already guessed that Britain was not prepared to go to war on this issue alone, nor even over the Manila Ransom, and therefore decided to call Britain's bluff." [1569]

January 26th, from Paris, Ambassador Fuentes informs Grimaldi, that the ship *Aquila* (*Eagle*) has arrived from Fort St. Louis in the Malouines Islands. Its captain, Guyot, does not believe that the English have a settlement in those same islands. [1570]

January 28th, although not informed by Choiseul of Madrid's attitude, Rochford writes to Shelburne that he has intelligence suggesting that Madrid resents the interference of the French Minister; and particularly the suggestion that they should pay the Manila ransom in order to get the British out of the Falklands. [1571]

January 31st, off the port of Montevideo, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville arrives in *Boudeuse*. [1572]

> *"The two Spanish frigates, which were to take possession of the Isles Malouines (Falkland's island) had lain in the road a whole month. Their commander, Don Phelipe Ruis Puente, captain of a man of war, was appointed governor of those islands;..."* [1573]

"The Boudeuse arrived at Montevideo on 31 January 1767, finding that the two Spanish frigates Liebra and Esmeralda, which were to take a Spanish party to the Malouines to take the islands over from France, were already there and had been waiting for them for 33 days; a third ship Catalana, had been lost." [1574]

1567 *Shelburne to Rochford January 23, 1767* in *PRO SP 78/272/40.* Also in *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689-1789 Vol. VII France, Part IV, 1745-1789* L. G. Wickham Legg 1934 and *An Annotated Legal Chronology of the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands Controversy* Enrique Ferrer-Vieyra 1985

1568 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.930

1569 Rice 1973 p.437

1570 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.247-249. Guyot had sailed before the British visited the French settlement in December, 1766. *Aquila* was part of the agreement that Bougainville had struck with Spain, and was to be handed over. *cf.* 1766 & below.

1571 Rice 1973 p.438 citing *SP 78/272, fos.59, 77, 91,,101, Rochford to Shelburne, 28 January, 4 February, 12 February, & 18 February, 1767*

1572 Departed Brest December 5, 1766

1573 Bougainville 1772 (English edition).

1574 *The Falklands Saga* Graham Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.208

February 1st, Bougainville goes ashore to greet the Governor, Don Jose de Viana, and Phelipe Ruíz Puente.

From France, *Etoile* departs for South America; *"... after more delays including a long wait for wine from Bordeaux."* [1575]

February 6th, Bougainville and Ruíz Puente, travel up-river to Buenos Aires for a meeting with the Governor-General of Buenos Aires, Francisco de Paula Bucareli y Ursúa. [1576]

> *"... in the afternoon, I left with the Spanish commander ... for Buenos-Ayres in order to confer with the Governor-General, Don Francisco Bucareli, the necessary measures for the cession of the establishment which I had to deliver to the Spaniards..."* [1577]

February 7th, due to the waters of the Rio de la Plata being low, Bougainville has to land some six miles short of the city. His party are collected by a carriage sent for the purpose, and taken to Buenos Aires.

February 8th, Bougainville is presented to the Governor-General.

> *"Don Francisco de Bucareli y Ursua, lieutenant-general of the armies of His Catholic Majesty, general commander of the whole river of La Plata, from Potosi and all the neighborhoods, admirably receives his guests, a man about 55 years old... he speaks French quite well... Even though it is Sunday, we are immediately dealing with the case of the Malouines surrender."* [1578]

"... a memorandum of agreement was drawn up and signed within forty-eight hours. It covered the financial aspects of the transfer and the repayment of (Bougainville's) expenses." [1579]

From Madrid, Spain's Minister for the Indies, Julián de Arriaga, writes to Governor Bucareli.

> *"The Commander of the frigate the Eagle, who has returned from the Malouines Islands to San Malo, called Mr. Guyot, has assured, as to whether the English had made any settlement in those islands, that no trace of such ... has been discovered..., and that it is evident that there is not; for if there were, it would have been almost impossible for the French not to have found it, by means of the reconnaissance they had made (over) almost all of it.* [1580]
>
> *Manifesting that it can not (be) assured with equal certainty, that (the English) have not done it in the interior of the Strait of Magellan, or to the other part of it, (or) on some coast of the South Sea, and it is believed, that (England) has been able to be on a very small island that is almost in the middle of the Strait, called the island Delfina, or San Luis, which has never been inhabited, nor populated by anyone.*
>
> *That an English pilot, with whom he spoke on the Isle of Madera in January of last year, told him that two English frigates had arrived there, which were going to continue the expedition of Captain Byron, and that he had grounds to suspect was the idea of the English to make an establishment in the referred Island Delfina, or San Luis, or in the island of the Madre de Dios, which is within the South*

1575 *Ibid.*

1576 Spain had a very hierarchical system – with Royal Governors (Chile), Governor-Generals (Buenos Aires) and just plain Governors (Montevideo and shortly thereafter, the Malouines).

1577 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.509

1578 *Ibid*. p.510

1579 Dunmore 2005. Agreed compensation amounted to a grand total of 618,108 livres, 13 sols and 11 deniers. Part had been paid in Paris, and a further amount in Madrid. The remaining sum – 378,108 lives, 3 sols and 11 deniers – was to be paid at Buenos Aires following a final assessment.

1580 French reconnaissance parties had only attempted to survey the eastern island during the time that they had been there with only one known excursion to the western island. At best, Guyot was exaggerating. *cf.* 1766

Sea, .., between 50 and 53 degrees austral latitude: and added, that (he was) inclined more to this last than the establishment of the Delfina Island.

When the King heard this news, he ordered me to communicate it to Your Excellency,..." [1581]

February 9th, from El Pardo, Minister Grimaldi writes to his Ambassador in Paris. [1582]

"The ardent zeal of Your Excellency in the affairs of the Royal Service is evident from the promptness with which you sought out the Captain of the Frigate El Aguila who arrived from the Maluinas to examine him as to whether or not the mysterious Establishment of the English was there; and from the detail of the information that you obtained from him and that Your Excellency provided in your Letter of the 26th January, we are almost disabused of the fact that the said Establishment is not in those Islands with which the more (that) the bad faith of negotiating with the English is discovered, our distrust and caution must grow. Mr. Guyot, Captain of the Frigate El Aguila, inclines that it be on the Isla de S'Luis or Delfina within the Strait of Magellan or with more foundation, according to his news explained by V.E. in the Madre de Dios deep in the South Sea and very close to the coast. Everything is bad, but the latter would be worse. ... Your Excellency remembers in your aforementioned Letter that the Frigate El Aguila belongs to the King and that it must be delivered to us in Cadiz or Ferrol, according to the Obligation Paper signed by Mr De Bougainville in San Ildefonso: ...

Your Majesty wants to acquire and not sell this Frigate making in it all the (repairs) that (it) needs in Ferrol; but thinking economically, has thought it would be convenient that the thousand quintals of gunpowder that we are to buy from France be embarked on it and taken to that port, repairing it for this purpose whatever is necessary in Malo where it is, and where the Duke of Choiseul will arrange for the gunpowder to be sent instead of to Burdeaux, ..." [1583]

February 10th, in Buenos Aires, Bougainville receives a payment. [1584]

February 11th, from the harbour of Port Egmont, Philip Stevens writes to Capt. Raynor.

"I have added a Second Hutt to one nearly finished by Capt. Mc Bride which will enable me to Land ye Marines at any time should it be Necessary for the Protection of the Settlement. I shall now run up a Storehouse as soon as possible to Contain the Provisions on Board the Florida and send Her to England as soon as it is Compleated..." [1585]

February 12th, from Paris, Ambassador Rochford writes to Lord Shelburn in London.

"My Lord, I flung out to the Duke of Praslin, that I hoped the Manilla Business would be soon accommodated; when to my great Surprise He said "Le Duc de Choiseul confided in me, that Monsieur de Bougainville is gone to put the Spaniards in possession of the Islas Malouines"; and perhaps, says He, about Sixty French who are there, may determine to remain. I should have thought I had misunderstood Him if Mr. Porten had not been (near)by when He said this, for I must confess I do not understand how the French can be restoring those Islands to the Spaniards whilst They are negotiating the Manila Ransom with us on condition of our desisting from our Pretensions to them. But my Lord be

1581 *Julián Arríaga a D. Francisco Bucareli Madrid, February 7, 1767* in Angelis 1852 pp.20-21
1582 King's Ministers were obliged to follow their Kings around the various palaces.
1583 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.251-252
1584 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.111. Receipt in the Buenos Aires Archive.
1585 *Stephens to Raynor February 11, 1767* in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.257. Received in London May 16, 1767.

my Reflexions what They will, it is certain the Duke de Praslin said the above to me, and I think it my duty to acquaint Your Lordship with it." [1586]

February 18th, France's Foreign Minister Choiseul informs Rochford that Spain is unwilling to let him assist in a resolution of the disputes. Rochford immediately passes the information on to London. [1587]

"But nothing was done. Britain did not press the Manila Ransom demand any further than stating once again her undoubted right to a just claim." [1588]

From Buenos Aires, Governor Bucareli confirms to Ruíz Puente that eight convicts have been assigned for transportation to the Malouines. They are to act as labourers; "*on rations but no salary*." [1589]

"Bs. Aires February 18, 1767

Mr. Phelipe Ruiz Puente

My Lord: destined to serve in the Royal Works of the Malvinas Islands on a ration, and without pay, I send you the individuals indicated in the attached list so [that] you may arrange the conduction and permanence of these inmates there for the time of their sentence.

Many Years to You Save and Keep

[LIST OF INMATES]

Francisco Perez alias Cachumena

Pedro Barragan Lorenzo Barbosa

Bernardo de Torres

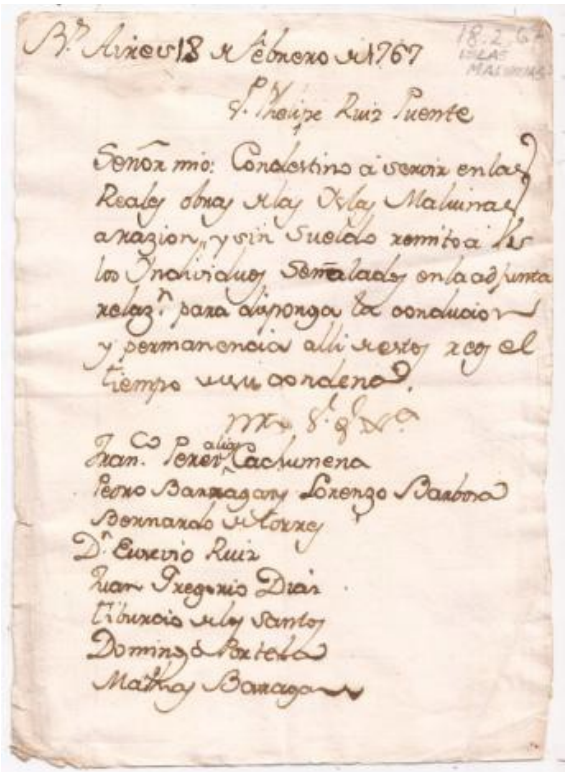
Don Eusebio Ruiz

Juan Gregorio Days

Tiburcio de los Santos

Sunday Portela

Mathías Barragan"



February 20th, back in Montevideo, Bougainville is eager to set out for the islands.

"Good weather, we are in a position to sail tomorrow, the Spaniards are not yet ready... We waste precious time..." [1590]

February 23rd, from Spain, orders are sent out for the colonial authorities in Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires to organise a search of their coasts and islands. If any trespassing establishment is found, the officers concerned must make solemn protests and report. [1591]

1586 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.258
1587 *SP 78/272.*
1588 Rice 1973 p.439
1589 *AGN Caja fuerte*
1590 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.513
1591 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.931 citing *Aff. étr. Espagne, 548 f° 169-170, 23 fev. 1767 (Recu 8 mars)*

February 24th, from Montevideo, Philipe Ruiz Puente writes to Minister Arriaga to inform him that he has had the French sailing instructions translated; and provided to the commanders of the Spanish ships. [1592]

February 28th, with the weather changing, Bougainville's *Boudeuse* follows Ruíz Puente's two frigates, *Esmeralda* and *Liebre*, and a tartane, *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*, away from Montevideo. [1593]

> *"... 28th of February, 1767, we weighed from Montevideo, in company with two Spanish frigates, and a tartane laden with cattle. I agreed with Don Ruis, that while we were in the river, he should lead the way; but that as soon as we were got out to sea, I was to conduct the squadron. However, to obviate the dangers in case of a separation, I gave each of the frigates a pilot, acquainted with the coasts of the Malouines."* [1594]

"Ruiz's initial command consisted of two frigates with total personnel of over 500. Besides regular naval officers, each crew included an accountant, chaplain and surgeon. The shore garrison comprised a captain and 400 infantrymen, and the naval contingent which left Montevideo another 55 gunners, 104 able seamen, and 133 apprentice seamen. There were also fourteen servants. Another sixty individuals accompanied them, including Lt. Antonio Catani[1595] *and five servants, Captain Felipe de Messa (sic)*[1596] *and one servant, Irish engineer Esteban O'Brien with wife and daughter, Ensign Francisco de Orduña and one servant, four Franciscan priests*[1597]*, 29 more infantrymen, eight more gunners, and one tile and brick-maker with wife, two sons and an assistant."* [1598]

"Bougainville had placed on each ship a pilot familiar with the islands, refusing the offer of a Spaniard who claimed to have been there in 1747..." [1599]

A girl, Anne, is born at Fort Louis to Augustin Benoit and Francoise Terriot. [1600]

A boy, Alexandre is born to Georges Joseph Charpentier and his wife, Anne Charpentier, at Fort Louis. [1601]

March 5th, from Madrid, the French Ambassador, Pierre Paul, the Marquis d'Ossun, writes to Choiseul assuring him that Spain will not attempt to oust the British from Port Egmont. Not without a guarantee of French military support.

> *"Sir, the Prince de Masseran has just acknowledged receipt of the orders and instructions that his Court had recently addressed to him on the contentious subjects to be dealt with with England.*

1592 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.281-282. The Spanish did not know how to find the archipelago.

1593 First fog, and then a storm, prevented the ships from clearing the Rio de la Plata until March 3, 1767.

1594 Bougainville 1772. A *tartane* was a small ship usually used for fishing or coastal trading. Bougainville always maintained that the Spanish did not know how to find the archipelago. No Spanish vessel had ever visited it. *cf.* 1758

1595 Antonio Catani, described as the Lieutenant of the King, was Ruíz Puente's deputy.

1596 Felipe de Mena, an Infantry Captain. See Groussac 1910 p.161 & 163

1597 Juan Sebastian Villanueva, José Mariano Agüero, Juan José Pessa and Ignacio Cabrera.

1598 *Land and Life in the Falkland Islands* Wayne Bernhardson 1989 (unpublished thesis) citing *Relacion que manifiesta el Estado de las tripulaciones y guarniciones de las frigatas ... Liebre y Esmeralda ..., February 24, 1767 AGN IX 16-9-1*. In *The Catholic Church in the Falkland Islands: A short historical survey* Mgr Anton Agreiter 2002, the author refers to five convicts, four priests and an unstated number of settlers. In Scavennec 2005, the author noted that Spain intended to send between 20 and 25 families.

1599 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.210. A Spaniard who claimed to have made a new topmast while in the Islands. With no trees existing in the archipelago, Bougainville quite rightly considered this man unreliable.

1600 Exact date unknown. Anne Benoit died September 4, 1772 in St-Servan, Bretagne, France. Her place of birth was noted in the record.

1601 *Roots Web World Connect Project.* Exact date unknown. See also April 1764 & October, 1765

This Ambassador persists in the opinion that the British Ministry currently has neither the means nor the will to undertake war.

He even supposes that it is not very enthusiastic about obtaining the payment in question [Manila]; The Prince de Masseran also reports that Count de Guerchy told him that France could not be ready until the whole of 1769. He observes that we had announced for a long time that we would be ready throughout the whole of 1768. ...in fact, whatever establishments the English may have formed on this side and to the side of Cape Horn, Spain will limit itself to having them recognized and will not use force to destroy them without the subsequent approval of France." [1602]

"Choiseul's response to this had already been made plain by Guerchy to Masserano in London; that France would not be ready to support Spain in another war until the end of 1769 at the earliest. This caused consternation in Madrid, with the result that Masserano did not after all pursue the Falklands affair with any vigour or firmness." [1603]

March 16th, Bougainville loses sight of the Spanish ships during a storm. He sails on without waiting.

March 20th, in England, Capt. M^{c}Bride returns in *Jason*. [1604]

"We are informed that immediately on the Arrival of Jason at Spithead, all the papers and Journals of the Officers and private Men, were put on Shore to be sent up to London for the Inspection of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; that the above ship is ordered to be docked at Deptford, and that the Crew are ordered to be paid double Wages." [1605]

"From what we have been able to gather concerning the late expedition of the Jason to South America, it is said, that Captain M'Bride, on his first going on shore, sowed several kinds of English garden seeds, wheat, &c., and calling at the place at a proper time, to see the event, it was found none of them had been brought to any degree of cultivation." [1606]

"The Jason Man of War, Capt. M'Bride arrived at Portsmouth, has been out three Years upon a Discovery of a new Island near the Straits of Magellan, but is returned without succeeding. Capt. M'Bride was confined to his Cabin, by illness, for some Months, upon his Return to Europe. The Report of his having brought home Patagonians, is without Foundation." [1607]

"We are told that Capt. M'Bride of the Jason, so far from having brought home any Patagonians, as reported, never saw any during his whole Voyage." [1608]

French spies immediately inform their superiors.

"We have learned from England of the arrival in the harbor of Portsmouth of a vessel believed to be the Jason, which had remained in the new establishment that the English have begun to form near the Strait of Magellan.

1602 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3

1603 Rice 1973 p.438

1604 M^{c}Bride's only published account in 1767 was – *Journal of the winds and weather, and the degrees of heat and cold by the thermometer, kept at Falkland's Island from Feb. 1, 1766 to Jan. 19, 1767.* It seems likely that this was accompanied by a loose-leaf chart, but the British Library only has a 2nd edition without any attachments. *cf.* 1770 & 1773

1605 *Oxford Journal* Saturday March 28, 1767

1606 *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* Thursday April 2 1767

1607 *Derby Mercury* Friday April 3, 1767

1608 *Manchester Mercury* Tuesday April 7 1767

No one of the crew having yet disembarked, we cannot be certain of anything positive. But we will probably not be long in being informed of the details which will fix our ideas on what relates to this vessel, to which it is added that there are some Patagonians embarked." [1609]

March 21st, anchored in the Downs, M[c]Bride prepares a report for Philip Stephens, Admiralty Secretary.[1610]

> *"Sir,*
>
> *I had the honour to acquaint their Lordships, by the Experiment Store Ship which sailed from Falklands Islands the 6th of April 1766, of my proceedings, to that time. Since which until September I employed the Crews of the Vessels under my Command, in Erecting a Battery of Eight Guns, Making a Wharff (sic) for the more convenient Watering the Ships, Building two houses, and making and planting Six Gardens. - on the 16th of September, I sail'd from Port Egmont with an Intention of going into the Streights (sic) of Magellan, to procure wood, and got off (at) Port Saint Julians the 18th, into which place I proposed to go till the Equinox was past, but it Blew so very hard that it was Impracticable, I therefore Bore away for Port Desire, with the same Intention, but upon examining the harbour, I did not think it a safe one for the ship, and therefore Bore away for Port Egmont, where I arrived the 22nd of September – on the 10th of November, I sent the Boats to compleat (sic) the survey of the Islands, the Weather having to be too Cold, and too Tempestuous to admit of sending Boats, upon that Service earlier. And indeed, tho it was in the midst of Summer the officers, and men, underwent great Fatigue, in prosecuting of this Service – on the 22nd the Florida Store Ship joyned me, having been detained by contrary winds, upon the Coast of Brazil for eighty three days –*
>
> *She brought a very Seasonable Supply of provisions, having been under the Necessity, to order the People to Short Allowance, soon after the Experiment Sail'd – the 25th the Boats having finished the Survey of the West end of the Islands, returned to me through Carlisle Sound, and having in the Way, landed on the eastern side of it, upon the Mountain marked B in the General Draft the officer found a Bottle containing containing the enclosed paper which had been left by some French Officers, and others, who had been on that part of the Islands in the beginning of the year 1765, by what was on the back of that Paper, it appeared that other Frenchmen has lately been there,*
>
> *This, together with the Account I had received by the Florida Store Ship, inclined me to believe, that the French might be Settled upon the Eastern parts of the Islands, and therefore determined to sail from Port Egmont, in order to Satisfie (sic) my self in that particular, as well as to examine the western ports of the Islands – I anchored in Pembroke Sound, and next day Anchored in Bercleys (sic) sound, four miles short of the French Settlement, not being able to get up higher, the Wind being contrary, and blowing hard. I sent an Officer ashore with a Letter to the Commanding Officer, desiring to be Informed, by what authority he had Erected a Settlement there, Who not understanding English, sent an officer on Board with a letter to me, desiring to be informed, through him, of my Intentions; which, when I had Explained them to him, he told me that they would not permit me to enter the Port, or suffer any person to come on Shore; I reply'd, that I was Determin'd to enter the Port, as soon as I possibly could, and, that if the Wind was not fair next morning, to land, and would bring a Party sufficient to defend myself, if Attacked; next Morning the Wind continued Contrary; nevertheless I got under Weigh, And Worked up to the Narrows, where I Anchored; the French had been very busy in Mounting some Guns, on the Point at the Entrance of the Basin where they had their Flag Flying. I sent an Officer*

1609 *Duque de Choiseul, al Marqués de Ossun* (undated) in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p.286

1610 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.201

ashore with another Letter to the Commandant, acquainting him, of my resolution to Land, if he did not Permit the Officer to Examine the Settlement, the Boat was met by a Launch with some Soldiers in it, with their Bayonets Fixed, and Capt. Desperiers with his Fuzee; he told the Officer that he would not suffer him to go on shore but took the Letter, and said there should be an Answer.

I waited an hour for it to no purpose, and then ordered the Boats to (be) mann'd and Armed to go ashore, but at that Instant the wind shifted, we run the Anchor up, and in ten Minutes Brought up Abreast of the Battery in three fathom Water, with a Spring upon the Cable, upon which the French retired from their Guns, And Capt. Desperiers came on Board with a Letter from the Commandant, remonstrating against my coming in and desiring to know (my) fixed Intentions, I told him, that I was fixed in my resolution, to Visit the Settlement, and to know their Authority for so doing, after some Altercation, they gave up the Point, and I went ashore for that Purpose. Monsieur Bougainville's Commission to be Commandant of the Isle Malouines is Dated the 1st of August 1764, they have Built Seventeen houses, Including the Governours (sic), which is of Stone the rest are of Turf, and Thatched with Sedge, the Inhabitants are About one hundred and thirty men, Women & Children, who are suplyd with refreshments from Monte Video – they have three Schooners in which they coast about the Islands, their endeavours to produce any vegetables from their Gardens has met with no Success. Agreeable to their Lordships Instructions, I gave them Warning to remove from the Islands, to which the Commandant reply'd, that he would not leave them, unless compell'd by Force – I sail'd the next Morning for Port Egmont where I arrived the 9th, and having finished the Survey of Falkland Islands I sent the Carcass Sloop to Cruize from the Latitude of 48 to 46, and one hundred and fift Leagues without the Stream of Falklands Islands, for Pepys Island, she return'd without success, and I am perswaded (sic) that there is no such Island, as laid down in the Charts –

I have nothing to add to the description which I gave their Lordships in my last (letter), of the soil of the Falkland Islands, but that they are Intersected by ranges of Craggy Barren Mountains, and that in the Valleys between them are Swamps and Large ponds of Water – the Ground – where it is high, is shallow and poor, they are totally Destitute of Wood, and produce nothing but wild Cellery and Sorrell, and that to be had, only in the Summer Months, the gardens which I mentioned in the first part of my Letter, have turned out to no Account – for whatever Plants came up, they dyed away very soon and altho I sowed Large Quantitys of Fir Seed, many of which came up, they withered away like the Vegetables – there are no Quadrupeds but Foxes.

I carryd out with me Goats, Sheep & hogs, which I left behind, they Breed and thrive very well, the Fowles, are, Brent Geese, Drivers, Penguins, Kites, and Snipe – the Fish, Mullets and Smelts, the Air is keene, sharp, & dry, and in general there is a Fresh Gale – the Winds & Weather, together with ye degrees of heat and cold are more Particularly taken Notice of in the Journal that Accompanys this Letter; to which I Beg leave to refer – the Swift Sloop Joyned me on the 4th of January, with their Lordships orders to return to England in consequence of which I sailed from Port Egmont, the 19th of that Month & Arrived in the Downes the 20th of this Month, having left with Captain Raynor of the Swift, attested Copys of their Lordships Secret Instructions to me, for his Guidance, and orders, to send the Florida Store Ship home as soon as she was ready. - the Ships Company have all been remarkably healthy, not having lost a Man by Sickness during the Voyage – in a great Measure owing to the Portable Soup, and very good provisions we were suplyed with." [1611]

1611 *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 pp.298-301

Attached are M^{c}Bride's surveys; including a 'General Chart' (below). [1612]

"Commodore Byron is said to have represented these islands in a very favourable point of view; ... These favourable accounts have however been much called in question here, upon the report of the British officer who succeeded Mr. Byron upon that station; and who is said to have represented the climate as nearly intolerable, the whole country as a confused mass of islands and broken lands, the foil a bog, encumbered with barren mountains, and beaten with, almost, perpetual storms." [1613]

"He immediately sent to the Admiralty a copy of his logbook and a long letter following his previous letter of April 6, 1766, and describing all that has happened since then to the Falkland. After this brief description, Captain Mac Bride attaches the maps he has drawn from the Falkland Islands, as well as the coast of Port-Desire." [1614]

"Upon the return of the expedition, MacBride (sic) wrote a report to the Lord Admiral, Count of Egmont, in which he was not exactly optimistic about the possibilities of economic exploitation of the Falklands." [1615]

On the east side of the Malouines, on the same day, *Boudeuse* sails into Berkeley Sound/Accaron Bay.

1612 I am very grateful for the UK's Hydrographic Department's assistance in obtaining this chart. A hyperlink on the map leads to the larger version. Not published for reasons of secrecy. That said, Spain's Malaspina expedition of 1789 appears to have possessed a copy.
1613 Dodsley 1772 p.7
1614 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.526.
1615 Diego 2014 p.14

"... at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, we entered Accaron Bay. ... we saw a boat from the colony that came with news and information and who told us that everyone was well. ... he told us that it was about two months ago that an English frigate, of 30 pieces of cannon, commanded by Mabbergh (sic), had come to them,..." [1616]

"Almost all the animals had perished on the journey." [1617]

Going ashore, Bougainville is greeted by his cousin, Bougainville de Nerville; Commander of the colony. [1618]

"He realizes, immediately, that everything is for the best in Port-St-Louis: the establishment begins to take shape. The commander and the ordering officer live in comfortable houses built of stone. The rest of the inhabitants occupy houses whose walls are made of turf. There are three stores for both public and private purposes. The woods of the Strait were used to frame the various stores and to build two schooners suitable for reconnoitring the coastline. Various attempts at cultivation have been made.., the greater part of the seeds brought from Europe having become naturalized. The cattle have multiplied. The news of the population is excellent: there are 135 inhabitants, ... all in good health and animated by the best will. He can only praise Nerville and his staff for their perfect management. He informs them of the discussions which have taken place with the court of Madrid and of their results, as well as of the mission with which he is charged. He is surprised to see that his interlocutors are already aware of the transfer of the Falklands to Spain. Nerville expresses to him the fear he felt when he saw a ship arrive which was neither the Eagle nor the Etoile, for he was waiting (for) an English frigate." [1619]

"Nerville told him about the arrival of an English Capt. MacBride on the frigate 'Jason' at the beginning of December, 1766. ..." [1620]

Commander Bougainville de Nerville is handed King Louis XV's instructions.

"Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, in the firm resolution (with) which I am to cement by all possible means the friendship that unites me with my brother the Catholic King, I have consented that the Malouines Islands, whose command I have entrusted to you, should be ***handed over to him****; my intention is that consequently you will hand them over to the officer whom his Catholic Majesty must send with a detachment of troops to take possession:* [1621]

You will leave to my subjects who are established in these islands the liberty of returning to France on the vessels which must be despatched for these islands, and you will allow those of my subjects who consent to remain there to pass under the Spanish Domination. To this end, I authorize you to give them all the certificates they may need to assure their present and future tranquillity, either in relation to their concessions and the effects they possess or may possess, as to their status as my subjects, giving them my royal word that in whatever time they or their descendants may deem fit to return to my States, they will always be received there and enjoy the rights and privileges of my other subjects, likewise, and as if they had not passed under foreign domination.

1616 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.517. For *Mabbergh* read M^{c}Bride

1617 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.112

1618 Appointed by King Louis XV in August, 1766.

1619 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.517

1620 Scavennec 2005

1621 In the original - "*Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, dans la ferme résolution où je suis de cimenter par tous les moyens possibles l'amitié qui m'unit avec mon frère le Roi Catholique, j'ai consenti que les Iles Malouines, dont je vous ai confié le commandement,* ***lui fussent remises****; mon intention est qu'en conséquence vous les livrerez à l'officier que Sa Majesté Catholique doit envoyer avec un détachement de troupes pour en prendre possession:..."* My emphasis.

I order you, to this end, to read this letter to the said inhabitants whom you shall have gathered for this purpose in the presence of the Spanish commander, to whom you shall deliver a copy signed by you for deposit in the archives of the government with a list of the inhabitants and, for your part, you shall remove at the bottom of this letter an aquiescement (sic) signed by the Spanish commander to ascertain what is my will and the consent of his Catholic Majesty.

When you have carried out the above, you shall have an inventory made of all the furniture, effects, artillery, ammunition and merchandise belonging to me, belonging to the Malouines Islands, and you shall (appraise) them in the said inventory, of which you shall have a duplicate signed by the Spanish commander to be returned to France and handed over to the secretary of State having the Department of Marine, and, however, you shall leave the whole at the disposal of the said Spanish commander. And this being for no other purpose, I pray to God, Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, that he will have you in His Holy Guard. At Compiegne, August 30, 1766." [1622]

At Bougainville's suggestion, the French Commander prepares a report for Phelipe Ruíz Puente.

"This Island, on which the colony is established, is one of the so-called (Malouines), located further east of them, on the southern latitude of 51 and a half degrees. From the tops of its highest mountains one can see (though not perfectly) the channel or Strait of sea that divides it from others, and it is also seen from those eminences, that most of its enclosure is occupied of lagoons and penetrated from the high sea by so many openings or inlets of the coasts, that, extending to its center in ramozas and dilated bays, which are to be seen, represent it in figure of (an) octopus.

The only thing that is considered useful in it is reduced to three points: first, the port for refuge and refreshment of our boats in these seas; secondly, the grass for the subsistence and breeding of all rural cattle, but not for the minor and domestic because for this it is necessary to bring the food from another part; thirdly, the climate, which in the midst of its remarkable unemployment seems purposely for the preservation of food and even for the salting of meat. With the exception of these objects, it happens that the island is worth nothing because it yields nothing, not even the precise firewood for the use of its inhabitants; for which reason it is indispensable that whatever is considered necessary for human life in this destination, including that firewood, be brought from outside." [1623]

1622 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.352 citing *AN Col. F2 A 20, 30 août 1766 n°.1.*

1623 In *Pirateria y Agresiones de los Ingleses en la America Espanola* Justo Zaragoza 1883 (republished 2005 by Jose Maria Sanchez Molledo). This contains the work of Dionisio de Alsedo y Herrera (1690-1777) – historian, geographer, American expert and advisor to the King of Spain.

March 25th, off Fort St. Louis, *Esmeralda* and *Liebre* anchor after a rough voyage.

> *"... have died all the calves that we brought, and almost all the cows, only a few have arrived, with three rams. Here the French have delivered (to) us, a two oxen calves, and two milk cows with two calves. There are some pigs, but very thin,.."* [1624]

"... the two Spanish frigates likewise ... had suffered greatly during their course; the storm on the 16th having obliged them to bear away; and the commodore-ship, having shipped a sea, which carried away her quarter-badges, broke through the windows of the great cabin, and poured a great quantity of water into her. Almost all the cattle they took on board at Montevideo for the colony, died through the badness of the weather. The twenty-fifth the three vessels came into port, and moored." [1625]

"On 25 March – Lady day or Annunciation Day – the Spanish ships dropped anchor next to the Boudeuse. Bougainville went aboard the Liebre to welcome Ruiz Puente, who named the sound 'Bahia Anunciacion' after the day on which the Spaniards had arrived. ... " [1626]

March 27th, after a period of recovery, Governor-designate Phelipe Ruíz Puente steps ashore.

March 29th, all the French settlers are assembled so that Louis XV's letter can be read to them.

> *"Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville*
>
> *Being, as I am, firmly resolved to cement by every possible means the friendship which unites me to my brother the Catholic King, I have* ***consented*** *that the Malouine Islands, whose command I have entrusted to you, shall be delivered to him; my intention is that in consequence, you shall deliver them to the officer His Catholic Majesty will send with a detachment of troops to take possession of them. You shall leave my subjects who have established themselves in those islands the freedom to return to France in vessels which are to be despatched to those islands, and you shall permit those of my said subjects who will consent to remain there to pass under Spanish domination. To that end I authorise you to give them all the certification they may require to ensure their tranquillity both present and future, both in reference to their land grants and the effects they possess or may in the future possess, as also in reference to their status as my subjects, giving them my royal word that at any time which they or their descendents may judge appropriate to return to our Territories, they shall be received there and shall enjoy the rights and privileges of my other subjects, in the same way as if they had not passed under a foreign domination.*
>
> *I command you, to that end, to read this letter to the said inhabitants, whom you shall assemble to that purpose in the presence of the Spanish commandant, to whom you shall give a copy signed by you, to be deposited in the archives of the government, with a list of the inhabitants, and you for your own part you shall obtain, at the foot of this present letter, an acceptance signed by the Spanish commandant, as confirmation of what is my wish and of the consent of His Catholic Majesty.*
>
> *When you have executed what I above enjoin you to do, you shall draw up an inventory of all the furniture, effects, artillery, ammunition and merchandise belonging to me that shall be present in the malouine Islands, and you shall value them in the said inventory, of which you shall cause the Spanish commandant to sign a copy, to be brought back to France and delivered to the Secretary of State in charge of the Department of Marine, and for the rest you shall leave all at the disposition of the said*

1624 Friar Villanueva's letter of April 25, 1767 quoted in Groussac 1910 p.159. In the satellite image of Berkeley Sound above, Fort St. Louis is in the small bay towards the top left corner.
1625 Bougainville 1772
1626 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.210

Spanish commandant, and this present letter having no other purpose, I pray God, Monsieur de Bougainville de Nerville, to preserve you in His Holy Keeping.

At Compiègne, 30 August 1766 *Louis"* [1627]

"... on the 29th of the same month was called all the officialdom, and other inhabitants of this population and it was made known by said governor (Bougainville), the Royal Notice of their King about the freedom to choose vassalage under (Spain) with the same enjoyment and circumstances that they enjoy currently..." [1628]

"On the 29th of March, with a clear and fine sky, Nerville gave orders to reunite all the inhabitants of the island in front of the governor's house. The drum calls them to rallying. The invalids, La Verdure and Lusignan, rank them in square. The crew of the schooner the Crusade, under the orders of Clavary-LeRoy, forms a group, the workers another, the families come together. The staff, on the side of the house, closes the square, the principal officers of the Boudeuse, with Pierre Duclos-Guyot, joined him. Bougainville appears at the door, accompanied by Nerville, Don Philippe Ruis Puente, Governor-designate, and the Spanish General Staff. The moment is solemn, the emotion wins everyone. .." [1629]

"... his people, ... were to be given the freedom to return to France on the vessels provided, ... (or) ... to remain under the domination of Spain, ... 37 persons chose to stay..." [1630]

"... Nerville ordered all the inhabitants to assemble in front of the governor's house for the formal reading of the letter from Louis XV 'delivering' the islands to Spain (neither France nor Spain accepted that the islands were ceded)." [1631]

"The settlers were given the option of staying ... (Bougainville) spoke to each in turn, trying to persuade them to stay. Thirty-seven agreed, a sufficient number for the continuation of the colony." [1632]

"When the French vacated the Falklands, some of them decided to stay, accepting the Spanish offer to hire them at the same salary the French were willing to pay them. Thus, in 1767, the following carpenters, "labradores" Juan Siré, José Granger, the aforementioned Jullien Brord, the blacksmith and locksmith Juan Mol, the turner Guillermo Perin, and the blacksmiths Francisco Suar and Pedro Pamber remained in the Falkland Islands." [1633]

Among the 37 French settlers that opt to remain, are the blacksmiths and carpenters.

> *"There is enough left to provide all the needs and works of a new institution. ... I have procured the Frenchmen who remain here the most advantageous fate I have been able to obtain. All expect to return to France in a few years."* [1634]

1627 Quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.210-211 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.533-534. Countersigned by Choiseul and the Duc de Praslin.

1628 *Ruiz Puente a Bucareli April 25, 1767* in *AGN X-293*

1629 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.533-534 citing *AN F2, A20 f° 164-165 Lettre de M. de Nerville au ministre de la Marine, du 25 avril 1767* and *AN Col. F2 A20 f°110*

1630 Scavennec 2005

1631 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.210

1632 Dunmore 2005 p.163

1633 Ramón Gutiérrez (CONICET) in *Arquitectura y planeamiento en las Islas Malvinas : 1764-1833* 2020 citing *Colección de Documentos relativos a la historia de las islas Malvinas*. Universidad de Buenos Aires. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Buenos Aires. 1961.

1634 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.534

April 1st, at Fort St. Louis, at sunset, the French flag is lowered for the last time.

"On the 1st of April, the new governor summoned for sunset the whole corps of officers, the troop, and the inhabitants of the establishment, both French and Spanish. He goes outside his house, accompanied by Nerville, Bougainville and the king's lieutenant, Don Antonio Catani. He (Puentes) reads to them the acts of the will of His Catholic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty, and declares that he takes possession of this place and the surrounding islands in the name of his master. And in the silence, the flag of the King of France is (lowered) and carried away by Nerville." [1635]

April 2nd, at dawn, Spain's new Governor hoists the Spanish flag over the settlement site.

> *"I delivered our settlement to the Spaniards, who took possession of it, by planting the Spanish colors, which were saluted at sun-rising and sun-setting from the shore and on the ships."* [1636]

"... and henceforth the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands was an Anglo-Spanish problem." [1637]

"Claims to the islands could not be based on general hemispherical or other monopolies, but only on occupation and settlement. Mere discovery was rarely recognized as conveying full title at that time, ... The French, therefore, undeniably acquired a good title to the archipelago, or at least to part of it when Bougainville, in 1764, formally took possession and founded a settlement. ... The British took possession of the islands on a different site and founded their own settlement after the French, ... Thus it was impossible for them to acquire the whole archipelago by occupation, while their claim to prior discovery had no sound basis. If the archipelago was considered as a unit, no rights at all were left after the French occupation; if it was considered as divisible, Britain could only claim part of it." [1638]

"The cession of the Islands by France to Spain fulfilled the international law requisites that the assigner should be lawfully entitled to the assigned territory, and that the assignment be followed by effective and permanent occupation by the assignee. ... Were the French rights to be negated, the Spanish claim would follow suit and the British claim would be substantially bolstered by the occupation of the islands two years earlier than Spain." [1639]

"Spain regarded the French as trespassers on Spanish territory; one cannot obtain a title to one's own territory from a trespasser." [1640]

Ruíz Puente, and his Spanish officers, are now lords of all they survey; they are not impressed.

> *"We have had five consecutive days of storms at sea, with great fright, all the horses we brought and almost all the cows have died, only a few sheep have arrived with three rams. Here the French have given us a horse, two oxen and two milkmaids with two calves. There are some pigs, but they are very skinny because they don't have anything to eat."* [1641]
>
> *"Thirty-three huts without a kitchen, extremely narrow and humid, "covered with straw and so bare," that it was not easy to (live), without firewood, without fire, with food reduced to hunting and fishing,"*

1635 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.535
1636 Bougainville 1772 (French edition)
1637 Brown 1922 p.403
1638 Fisch 1983
1639 *Falklands or Malvinas: Myths & Facts* M. P. Peña & J. A. Peña 2018. Bougainville was compensated for a settlement. France did not cede anything. France could only claim effective possession of the eastern Island. At this time, Britain clearly had effective possession of the western Island – Gran Malouine. *cf.* August & October, 1766
1640 Pascoe 2020 p.35.*cf.* 1801 & 1802
1641 Letter from Sebastián Villanueva, Port St. Louis, April 25, 1767 in *AGN VI 25. 8. 189, manuscript number 1871*

but forbidden for lack of nets and lead", such was the fundamental reason that almost all and each one of those 16 forced settlers despaired. … For defense the French left four iron cannons of 24, two of 6, eight of 3, eight stones, two iron mortars, pistols, rifles, sabers, bombs and bullets of different caliber,.. '' [1642]

"What I shall relate concerning them is according to the accounts which I have received from many of the Spanish officers, who went to receive this country from the French, and to transport the Spaniards thither from Buenos Ayres, as well as, to carry away the French inhabitants; and also from a French gunner, who sailed with me from the River of Plata to the Port of Cadiz, and had resided in those islands several years. All these were unexceptionable witnesses. These islands are so low and boggy, that after a shower of rain it is impossible to stir out, without sinking up to the knees in mire. The houses are built with earth, and from the exceeding moistness of the country, are green within with moss; and bricks cannot be made for want of fuel."[1643]

"The colony will be ruled by Captain Don Phelipe Ruíz de Puente, assisted by a lieutenant of the King, D. Antonio Catani, and an intendant, wearing the title of 'ministro', Don Miguel Bernazani. The military staff also includes an infantry captain, D. Phelipe de Mena, an extraordinary engineer, D. Estevan O'Brien, an artillery lieutenant, D. Francisco Orduña, and an infantry lieutenant. Francisco Rodrigo. The 'political' staff, .., is composed of a General Storekeeper, D. Antonio de Castro, and two surgeons: D. Ignacio Donadeo and D. Manuel Canasco: a sergeant, a grenadier and 21 soldiers, that of artillery, a master corporal and 7 gunners. The navy is represented by a captain of port, pilot of the royal marine, D. Juan Sol, a gunsmith, Ventura Gonzalez, a baker, Vicente Lamela, a gunner, and ten sailors, to be added to the Spanish contingent, seventeen French workmen in the pay of the King of Spain, … the civilian population, which includes a chaplain, Friar Sebastian Villanueva, two French families representing twenty people[1644]*, and about forty Spanish prisoners.*[1645] *Four monks will be dismissed because five had come to maintain in the law of Christ this modest parish."* [1646]

"The next few days were spent making a detailed inventory of the settlement … The Spanish were disappointed by the rough, exiguous homes of the settlers, and by the absence of any chapel … Their homes and the fields they had cultivated were valued, and the totals were added to the amount Bougainville was collecting…" [1647]

"… when Bougainville restored Port Louis in 1767, the stock delivered to the Spanish consisted of only seven heifers and two young bulls, two horses and one mare, eight sows, and two boars, a few sheep and a goat." [1648]

"This left the islands under the orbit of government of Buenos Aires and the Viceroyalty of Peru, occupied by Francisco de Paula Bucarelli and Ursúa (1766-1770) and by Manuel Amat and Junyent, respectively, now in charge of the largest territorial unit of the Hispanic monarchy on the planet." [1649]

1642 *Felipe M. de Mena a D. Domingo Basavilbaso 22 de abril de 1767* in *Biblioteca Nacional, Buenos Aires, Sección Manuscritos.* See Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.161

1643 Falkner 1774 p.93

1644 20 plus 17 French 'workers' placed on the 'navy' list, adds up to the 37 French settlers that had volunteered to remain.

1645 Only 8 had been sent from Buenos Aires, suggesting that Phelipe Ruíz Puente had transported 32 from Spain.

1646 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.535. Some 130 men, women and children in total.

1647 Dunmore 2005 p.163

1648 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 pp.108-109 citing Pernety 1769.

1649 Barriera 2019

"The Spaniards were also to take over the two ships that had served the settlement: the Aigle was to be renamed Águila (meaning the same), and the schooner La Croisade was to become San Felipe but retain her role as a surveying ship." [1650]

April 4th, in England, in recognition of his survey and construction work, Capt. M[c]Bride is presented to King George III by Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty. [1651]

April 6th, following some disputes over the value of the supplies at the settlement, Bougainville agrees to forgo reimbursement of the colony's expenses for the period after December 31st, 1766. [1652] Bougainville's final payment amounts to 75,621·75 pesos. [1653]

April 15th, Bougainville de Nerville moves out of the Governor's house at Fort St. Louis, to allow the Spanish commander to move in.

April 19th, both Bougainville and de Nerville prepare letters and reports to be sent back to France.

> *"I have instructed M. Desperriers to report to you, Monseigneur, in the greatest detail of a visit which an English frigate thirty guns and everything that happened on this occasion. M. de Nerville has the honor to detail it in his letter.*
>
> *It seems that the English* ***occupy the other island****, that is to say that they have a pied-à-terre for their cattle and culture some vegetables, the rest of their people staying in the harbor aboard a flute. It also seems that they intend to receive the order to evacuate these islands as soon as it is known that we have ceded our establishment to Spain."* [1654]

April 21st, Bougainville writes to Governor Bucareli to say that he intends to remain at Fort St. Louis until the end of May, or the arrival of *Etoile*, whichever is the sooner. He also reminds Bucareli of the agreement to get the Acadians back to France, and not abandon them at the Rio de la Plata.

April 23rd, Bougainville commences a manuscript – *General Observations of the Isles Malouines*. [1655]

"In 1767, the estimated population was 116 people." [1656]

April 24th, ninety-five French settlers embark onto the Spanish frigates for transfer to Montevideo.

> *"Her Majesty's frigates expect to sail by the end of this week. The French numbering 9(5) are spread over the two frigates for the trip to Montevideo... Then one of the two frigates will take them back to France and the other will return here loaded with food."* [1657]

April 25th, the new Governor pens a report for Governor Bucareli in Buenos Aires.

1650 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.211.
1651 *Salisbury & Winchester Journal* Monday April 6, 1767
1652 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.537
1653 Confirmed in a letter from governor Bucarelli of April 9, 1767 in *Colección De Documentos ...* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1961 vols.2-3 p68
1654 *Bourgainville to the Duke de Praslin* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.538. My emphasis.
1655 This would form the basis of Bougainville's book. A partial copy can be found in *A.G.N. VII. Colección Biblioteca Nacional, t.189.* See 1771.
1656 Ramón Gutiérrez (CONICET) in *Arquitectura y planeamiento en las Islas Malvinas : 1764-1833* 2020 citing AGN. Manuscritos de Biblioteca Nacional. N.º 365. Estado de la gente existente en las islas Malvinas. 22 de abril de 1767
1657 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.540

“Don Phelipe Ruiz de Puente reported to the Captain General, Don Francesco Bucareli y Ursua, on his journey, the operations of the transfer of the establishment, the presence of the English in the same archipelago, and he added to his own letters a copy of Nerville's report "on the visit of the English frigate Jason, Captain Mac Bride."...” [1658]

Ruíz Puente also seeks instructions as to what course of action he should take, if the British return. [1659] He adds that, as the only chapel is in his house, there is a need for something better; *“for all the people, as there is only one,.. with an image of St. Louis*.” Ruíz Puente suggests a; *“... small tabernacle or sanctuary with the corresponding ciborium and an image...”*[1660]

> *“Your Excellency,*
>
> *Dear Sir, when the chapel of this Population is found (which consists of only a sheet or stamp of San Luis, and a draw board that serves as a table) placed in the only living room and dining room of the house in my room, being in this way, not only with the best decency of our custom, but far removed from the inhabitants; I have considered it just, and inseparable from Your Excellency's zeal, that the erection of another in a better proportion for the whole People, and in the possible way without so much upsetting the devido cult, be the first object of my attention, which I am going to put into practice; limiting its size and cost to the greater economy, and shortage of taxes, workers and materials of this establishment; not doubting it will be the approval of Your Excellency this thought, and I hope from the goodness of him, will serve to warn me, and send me a small tabernacle or tabernacle with its corresponding ciborium (whose pieces are not here) to reserve the Blessed Sacrament and administer it; and an image of the Advocation that Your Excellency will determine the Patron of this possession.”*

In a private message to Governor Bucareli, Friar Sebastian Villanueva describes what they have found.

> *“I would like to write you a very long letter, giving you news of everything about this miserable land, ... There is not a single tree in the whole of it: the wood we burn is grass, which is a quarter of a meter high; the houses we live in are all covered with straw, and some with tarpaulins, and the walls are made of clods of earth placed one on top of the other, so that the wind comes in as if through a net. There is no way to measure the cold; the winds are so cold and subtle that no clothing can resist it; every day is cloudy, and it is always either raining or snowing, so that when we see a sunny day, we are very happy, and it causes us great novelty. ... On the whole island there are no living creatures other than sea lions and wolves, and many birds, although these cannot be eaten because they stink. There are only a few wild ducks called bustards, and this is the only fresh meat we eat, but it is very difficult to hunt them… I am not writing to you any more because my fingers are freezing, and to write this I sat down on the floor, because the house where I live is so big that it does not fit a man standing up and three of us live in it. I stay in this desert, suffering everything for the love of God. …”* [1661]

1658 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.541

1659 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.162

1660 *AGN Caja Fuerte*

1661 First and last sentences quoted in Groussac 1910 pp.158-159. Also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.161citing *Biblioteca Nacional, Buenos Aires, Sección Manuscritos, documento n° 1871*. Central section quoted in *They "founded" Buenos Aires, they were the first heroes of Malvinas and they seem like something out of a movie* Monica Martin in *Perfil* November 3, 2024

April 27th, as the two Spanish frigates prepare to sail, Phelipe Ruíz Puente adds a further letter for Bucareli.

> *"If His Excellency is good enough, as I hope, to send us frequent stores we might be able to live. If not, I think when we have consumed what we brought with us we shall soon find an end to our labours by departing this world. … What I desire the most is to get away from here as soon as possible, and I shall not cease to pester those who have shown me their favour."* [1662]

Spain's officers and men send pleading letters, all requesting to be reposted.

".., Catani, at the departure of the ships for Buenos-Ayres, with tears in his eyes declared, that he... himself should be very glad if he was permitted to throw up his commission, and return to Buenos-Ayres, though in no higher station than that of a cabin-boy." [1663]

"The frigates also carry the correspondence of the new occupants, … all of them had become literary." [1664]

"The hardy French colonists, many of whom had been used to even colder climates in Canada, laughed at the shivering Spaniards." [1665]

Esmeralda and *Liebre* sail for Montevideo.

"Of our people in the Island the Governor remained, who for her came from Spain, the lieutenant of the King, Don Antonio Catani, and Captain Don Phelipe Mena, soldiers, and the forced (conscripts), who were in the same expedition;..." [1666]

On Saunders Island, at the far side of the archipelago, a bakery for the Jasons Town settlement is constructed.

> *"This Island is about 150 miles long, and has not one tree of any kind, nor any beasts but foxes. We have sea-lions in great plenty, two or three times as big as cart-horses in England, which we kill, and they produce very good oil, which we burn in room of candles; we have wild geese in great plenty, and very good, with all kinds of wild fowl, and great plenty of fine fish; and in our egg season, we gather upwards of 2000 per day, and they are served out at ten a man per day; each egg weighs nine ounces.*
>
> *I send this by the Florida storeship, which leaves us, and His Majesty's sloop the Swift, here; we expect to be home about March next; we have lost but one man since we left England; this country is very cold in the winter, which is your summer, and each season of the year, in like manner, changes; we are constantly at work building of houses, gardens, wharfs, and are promised either one shilling per day extra, or double pay, but cannot say how sure we are of either; the French have a very delightful harbour to the eastward of us, about 35 leagues; they have about 50 houses and about 200 men, besides women and children. I was there about December last;..."* [1667]

1662 *Phelipe Ruiz Puente to F. Bucareli y Ursúa*, *Islas Malvinas, April 27, 1767*, in *Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colonia Division, Government Section, Islas Malvinas, 1766-1770*

1663 Falkner 1774 p.95

1664 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.541

1665 Dunmore 2005 p.164

1666 Groussac 1910 pp.160-161 citing *No.3 Buenos Ayres y Mayo 21 de 1767*

1667 *Extract of a letter from Mr. Richard McDonnell, on board His Majesty's Sloop the Carcass, at Port Egmont, in the island of Falkland, in the South Seas, in the lat. of 51, 30, South about 100 leagues to the northward of cape Horn, April 30, 1767* published in the *Salisbury & Winchester Journal August 17, 1767*

May 7th, from Paris, Ambassador Rochford writes to London with intelligence about the poor state of France's finances. Royal pensions are withheld and there is talk of bankruptcy; certainly no money for a war. [1668]

May 9th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Grimaldi.

"A few months later — May 9, 1767 — Masserano informed Grimaldi that the French ambassador in London, Count Guerchy, had been offered for sale a log of the ship Jason that he had read and that he had told him that the ship had arrived at the "island" called Egmont and that the people it was carrying had built a fort. He returned from the aforementioned place when the Swift arrived at the anchorage. He added that during his stay there he had recognized the French establishment, and that he only had to — he stated — find out its true situation. He also reported that the Dolphin's log had been printed, but the ship's officers denied its authorship, but not its veracity." [1669]

May 14th, from London, Masserano sends *Jason*'s log to Minister Grimaldi in Madrid. [1670]

May 18th, from Fort St Louis, a newly arrived Spaniard describes the settlement.

> *"It is reduced to 40 huts included among these, the Houses of the Governor, The King, Ministers, and Engineer, which in truth are the (best), although they are made with (clods of earth) others for Minister, and Engineer which are made of Stone. The benefits of this land are none, and the nullities many. It lacks firewood, ... It does not produce any grain, but yes, some Legume ... It is very abundant of water although not very good, of which (there are) many swamps .., and the Island is almost impassable. .., it has the nullity of being much more stormy due to the violence of the winds."* [1671]

May 21st, in the port of Buenos Aires, a note records the arrival of a "*boat*" from the archipelago carrying those French settlers who wish to return to France; *"... in all terms that territory is useless, because it does not produce anything, despite having planted ... different wild trees that came from the Tierra del Fuego,.."* [1672]

May 31st, at Fort St. Louis, Governor Ruíz Puente dines with Bougainville aboard *Boudeuse*. A farewell meal, before the French adventurer finally departs; abandoning his wait for *Etoile*.

June 2nd, Bougainville sails for Brazil.

> *"While waiting for the arrival of the Étoile to the Falkland Islands without result, the months of March and April were still going on, but the ship did not arrive. The truth was that I could not undertake the defeat of the Pacific Ocean only with my frigate; its low capacity did not allow him to carry more than six months of food for his crew. Therefore, I waited for the ship even during the whole of May, but seeing that it would only have food for two months, on June 2 we decided to sail from the Falkland Islands towards Rio de Janeiro."* [1673]

1668 *Rochford to Shelburne May 7, 1767* in *SP 78.272*

1669 Revello 1952. Also Corney 1913. *Dolphin* had been one of the ships with Byron in 1764/5. See above. An anonymous account of Byron's voyage was published in 1767 - *A Voyage Round the World In his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin Commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron.... By an Officer on Board the said ship* Anon. 1767 Printed for J. Newbery, London. James Cummings, Byron's second-in command, was suspected of being the author though he denied it.

1670 Revello 1952. Or something purporting to be *Jason*'s log.

1671 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p. 160 citing *Manuel Cornejo to Governor F. Bucareli v Ursúa*, May 18, 1767, in *Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, Colonia Division, Government Section, Malvinas Islands, 1766-1770.*

1672 By an unnamed French settler in Groussac 1910 pp.160-161, citing *No.3 Buenos Ayres y Mayo 21 de 1767*

1673 Quoted in Martinez 2017

"At 9am on 2 June 1767, the Boudeuse set sail for Rio de Janeiro, saluting the Spaniards with 15 guns; they replied with 13." [1674]

June 18th, in England, the storeship *Prince Frederick* (Lieut. James Brine) returns to Portsmouth. [1675]

"Shortly after — June 1 (sic) — the aforementioned ambassador (Masserano) told (Grimaldi) that the ship Prince Frederick, Captain Hawan (sic), had returned, and that he was assured that it had been at Bougainville's establishment, adding that since it was not a "warship, it will not be easy for us to obtain its log through the same channels as if it were one"." [1676]

"Captain Deanes gave many details about Port Egmont: three pretty houses, a vast arsenal, a fort, barracks, were built on the island. "We have dug a powder keg in a mountain."..." [1677]

In the Pacific Ocean, Captain Samuel Wallis (*Dolphin*) sights Tahiti; the first European to do so. [1678]

June 21st, at Rio de Janiero, Bouganville finds *Etoile* in the harbour.

"Captain La Giraudais told a tale of storms and troubles, but in fact he had been doing a roaring illicit trade with the Spaniards at Montevideo, having left France with his ship laden with goods." [1679]

June 27th, the *Oxford Journal* reports:

> *"By Accounts lately arrived in the Prince Frederick, Storeship, we are credibly informed, that the new Islands near the Streights of Magellan were, the last Summer, very fruitful in Peas, Beans, Turneps (sic), Potatoes, &c. &c. the Seed of which had been sown by the Gentlemen of the Men of War stationed at Port Egmont, which was discerned by the Dolphin in her last Voyage, and said to be as commodious, and safe a Harbour as any in the World. That the Corn was in the ear when they left that Place, which was in January last, answering to our July, the islands lying in nearly the same Parallel with London, in the Southern Hemisphere."* [1680]

*"The number of inhabitants (at Egmont) consists of only 50 naval soldiers and 35 people among whom are three women and two girls aged 7 to 8 years. We sowed vegetables, which succeed badly; the hunt is successful, but the birds having become fierce, they are attracted to the fire at night: there is a kind of **fox** and hares. The pigs populate well, three cows gave birth and the horses did not die. The fish is abundant. Due to the lack of wood, grass and rush roots are burned with their silt."* [1681]

July 3rd, in the Pacific Ocean, Pitcairn Island is discovered by Capt. Philip Carteret (*Swallow*). [1682]

July 12th, before sailing from Rio de Janeiro, Bougainville addresses despatches to Minister Choiseul in Paris.[1683]

1674 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.214

1675 Had sailed from Portsmouth August 22, 1766, in the company of *Dolphin* and *Swallow*. From the area of Magellan's Strait, *Prince Frederick* had carried a cargo of tree saplings for the settlement on Saunders Island arriving on January 20, 1767.

1676 Revello 1952. There is no evidence that the storeship visited Fort St. Louis.

1677 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.937. Who Capt. Deanes was, I am unable to discover.

1678 See January 17, 1767, above.

1679 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.215 citing Martin-Allanic pp.552-554

1680 *Oxford Journal Saturday* June 27, 1767

1681 Capt. Deanes quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.937. My emphasis. The warrah, also known as the Falkland Islands wolf or *Dusicyon australis*, was not a true fox but a canid species closely related to wolves and dogs. It was the only native terrestrial mammal in the Falkland Islands before its extinction in 1876.

1682 See January 17, 1767, above.

1683 Bougainville sailed the next day.

July 31st, at Montevideo, *Boudeuse* and *Etoile* anchor. The Acadian settlers are awaiting transport to France.[1684]

> *"Liebre and the Esmeralda are at the Encenada and both are meant to return to the Malouines, the Venus is there too and must go to Europe, I do not know yet if the Malouine French will be sent on this frigate..."* [1685]

"At Montevideo they found chaos: the Portuguese had recently attacked the Spaniards, and Carlos III had given orders for the Jesuits to be expelled from all his territories... Ships were commandeered to take the Jesuits away, which caused a great shortage of transport, from which Bougainville's colonists were to suffer."[1686]

August 11th, Bougainville visits Buenos Aires. Speaking to Governor-General Bucareli that same day, Bougainville petitions on behalf of the Acadians still awaiting in Montevideo for a ship to take them to Europe. Invited to dine, Bougainville gives Bucareli a description of the French settlement at Fort St. Louis; the Governor-General having received a number of disturbing reports from those Spanish officers returned on *Esmeralda* and *Liebre*.

"... the captain of a Spanish frigate represented, with a great deal of freedom, to the present Governor of Buenos-Ayres, in the presence of Monsieur Bougainville; ***complaining of the trick put upon the King of Spain****, and protesting that no person, commissioned to receive these islands, could, consistently with the loyalty he owed his Sovereign, or his obligations as a Christian, upon seeing them, accept the delivery, till he had first given an account of them to the Court of Spain; it being evident that they had been grossly imposed upon. Monsieur Bougainville did not think proper to contradict, what this officer had said; who, besides being an unexceptionable eye-witness himself, could (if necessary) have corroborated his account by the testimonies of a hundred people, who were lately arrived with the exportation of the French inhabitants."* [1687]

On hearing of the conditions, Bucareli renames the settlement site – *Puerto Soledad* (Port Solitude).

"... the name was not changed in April 1767 ... but in August. It is sometimes stated that the place was named after an image of the Virgin Mary in the chapel there, but it was the other way round – the image was taken there in January 1768 and named "Nuestra Señora de la Soledad" after the place." [1688]

August 12th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Madrid with historical information.

> *"In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Knight Drake discovered land and islands..; all of which are below the line called the South. Consequently the mainland and the neighboring islands discovered by Drake that are six to nine degrees below that line are the places where the English can legitimately, if they want, make establishments, notwithstanding all the treaties made with the Spaniards. So far, they have not found any advantage in colonizing those parts, and for this reason they have occupied the Falkland Islands that serves them better; this Island or islands were discovered .., during the reign of Charles II."* [1689]

1684 It seems likely that the reports written by Bougainville and de Nerville in April were being carried by these settlers, and were therefore also delayed at Montevideo.

1685 Bougainville quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.574

1686 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.215

1687 Falkner 1774 p.95. My emphasis. The Spanish had not been impressed with what they had found at Fort St. Louis. Bougainville had been compensated a great deal, for not a lot.

1688 Pascoe 2020 p.35 fn.3

1689 Quoted in Munilla 1948 p.60 citing *A.G.I., India. Gen., 412, 147.* Charles (Carlos) II of Spain reigned from 1665 to 1700. The Falkland Islands had certainly been discovered by 1592 (Davis) or 1594 (Hawkins). Some would argue, before that.

August 21st, from the Spanish Court at San Ildefonso, Minister Arriaga writes to Buenos Aires with further intelligence as to the location of the British colony.

> *"Since last February 16th, the date of which your Excellency was informed of what was known of an establishment of the English in those seas, nothing has been (available) to further the investigation of the place where it was, (other than) that are not on the Island of the Madre de Dios, between 51 and 53 degrees of latitude, .., which was then believed, and if the other side of the Strait of Magellan, (then) on an island not distant from the Malouines; for the news that spreads in London is so artfully leaked, that doubt remains."* [1690]

August 24th, from the French Court at Versailles, Choiseul writes to Spain's Minister Grimaldi, enclosing all the information that he has received from his *charge d'affaires* in London. However, the reports vary and not one gives a precise location for Port Egmont.

> *"We understand that the English made an establishment on a Malouine island which they call Falkland. Is it the same as the one where the French are established? Our people who come back and (those) who have toured that (Island) of Bougainville (assure) that there are no English on this island. It would be in another island, (the) Malouines form an archipelago. But the establishment at Falkland and Port Egmont are two things and we are uncertain about Port Egmont's position..."* [1691]

September 2nd, in Scotland, the *Caledonian Mercury* reports.

> *"An Article from London, in the Hague gazette of Monday last, says: "The Court has renounced the project of making any use of the discoveries lately made in the country of the Patagonians, and proposes, to turn its attention to the establishment formed in the isle of Falkland, situated in the 52d degree of south latitude, and 315th degree of longitude". There is a port in this island which has been named Egmont, from whence a trade may be carried on, by means of the productions of the place, with the neighbouring countries of America. The French have a settlement on the same island about 35 (leagues) distant from ours."*

September 21st, from the Rio de la Plata, forty-two of Bougainville's settlers finally depart in five Spanish ships. Thirty-six remain to be repatriated to France, with a further eight granted permission to remain in Buenos Aires due to ill-health or employment. Two have died and three have '*deserted*.' [1692]

September 25th, in England, Captain Henry l'Anson, commanding the 16 gun sloop *Tamar*, is instructed to prepare for a voyage to Port Egmont, accompanied by the storeship *Florida*.

> *"His Majesty's Frigate the Tamar, now fitting out at Deptford, is, we hear, to relieve the Carcass Sloop of War, stationed at Port Egmont in Falkland's Islands, where she has been near two Years. And we also hear, that the Swift Sloop of War will remain there another Year, and the Tamar to be her Consort. The Florida Storeship is fitting out for her third Voyage to those Islands, to carry Stores and Provisions. The French have settled a Colony about 90 Miles to the Eastward of Port Egmont, in Berkeley Sound, and have begun a Whale Fishery there."* [1693]

1690 *Julián Arríaga a D. Francisco Bucareli 21 de Agosto, 1767*

1691 *Choiseul to Grimaldi August 24, 1767* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.940 citing *Aff. étr. Angl, 474 f° 339, 24 aout.*

1692 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.587. Scavennec (2005) notes that seven children had been born, while the settlers languished at Montevideo.

1693 *Oxford Journal* October 10, 1767

September 29th, from Madrid, Minister Arriaga writes to Governor Bucareli to inform the Governor that the English establishment is reported to be on an island.

> *"... at 50 degrees, 3 minutes in the Atlantic Ocean and not in the South Sea. It is 90 leagues from the strait and 32 or 36 of the Malouines... the distance from the Port Egmond (sic) to the mainland, is about 60 to 65 leagues in a straight line."* [1694]

Bucareli is also instructed to send a mission to befriend the tribes dwelling near Magellan's Strait; before the English can do so. Arriaga asks that the distance between Patagonia and the Falklands archipelago be determined. [1695]

October 12th, writing from London, Ambassador Masserano warns Grimaldi that the British; *"... are accumulating such forces at Port Egmont, and so perfecting their communications, that it is to be feared they will be very prejudicial to his royal interests in time of war, not to say how much they may be so in time of peace."* [1696] He adds intelligence about *Tamar* and *Florida*; requesting advice as to whether he should protest. [1697]

> *"The Tamer's (sic) lading consists of a quantity of cables and ropes, 100 anchors of 100 to 150 pounds' weight, 150 barrels of powder, 6 barrels of flints, and he provisions for four months only, leaving space for 80 casks of Madeira. The Florida is laden... with a quantity of course cloth and stuffs, flannels, woollen stockings, and 100 barrels of powder and her 30 guns although she mounts no more than 10, leaving space for 100 casks of Madeira... Commander l'anson has orders to call at Madeira and take in his wines there, to go from thence to Rio Janeiro..... His orders for the Commandant at Port Egmont are that if the vessels he has with him cannot be refitted there, and if they should be in need of it, he is to send them away before the become in too bad condition to undertake the voyage home; but to despatch the Carcass or the New Experiment (if he should not have already sent them) immediately after the Commodore's arrival in order to bring home news anxiously awaited from him as the outcome of instructions he has received."* [1698]

"... in a new letter from Masserano to Grimaldi, he indicated the precautions he had taken to send him the notice paper dealing with the trip that the frigate Tamar and the transport Florida were going to make to Port Egmont, stating that in it he saw "the plan of this Government to introduce the Commerce of England to the most remote part of the South Sea, invading that of the other Powers, revealed. I suspect that they are also thinking of establishing themselves on the other side of the Strait of Magellan, since I do not know that there is another Island in those Seas with the name of Madre de Dios that the Maps indicate beyond the Strait". He then stated that in giving this news he did so with the purpose of letting the King know how he was carrying out this matter and to determine whether he should remain silent." [1699]

October 15th, at Madrid, Sir James Gray finally arrives as Britain's Ambassador to the Court of Spain. [1700]

October 22nd, in London, Southern Secretary Earl Shelburne has a meeting with Ambassador Masserano.

1694 *Arriaga a Bucareli Septiembre 29, 1767 A.G.I. Indif. gen., 412, 31* in Munilla 1948 p.61. This information had been provided by Masserano in a September letter (undated) with the title – *News acquired from England by a pilot who has traveled to the new English establishments in the Americas*

1695 Referred to in *Francisco Bucareli a Julián Arríaga 24 de Enero de 1768* in Angelis 1852 p.22. See January 18, 1768

1696 Corney 1913

1697 Munilla 1948 p.65 citing *Maserano to Grimaldi: October 12, 1767. A.G.I., India. gen., 412, 33*

1698 *Ibid.*

1699 Revello 1952

1700 Delayed by a combination of illness and severe reluctance. The previous Ambassador in Madrid had been Lord Rochford, who had left in May 1766; and appointed to Paris in July, 1766.

"The Spanish Ambassador complained of the points in dispute between the two nations, particularly our settlements in the South Seas or to the south of America, as capable of most dangerous consequences. I told him that I saw the several points remaining unsettled, and the consequences he mentioned, in the same view he did... I was willing, as I had before long since told him, as soon as he told me he had the necessary powers, to enter into a full discussion of all points; that ... if our settlements alarmed them, they must remember the claim we had on the King of Spain's honour and justice on account of the ransom due on taking the Manila, into the consideration of which the King would always insist on first entering. He said, that greater things ought to be considered; first despatch them: the others would follow. I said grievances should be considered according to the time they happened; that as to their greatness, settle the small ones first that could be settled, leaving the difficult to stay to the last, and not to be soured with little jealousies. I found he did not like such close quarters, and wanted to get off the conversation when it got so close, but I desired he would not forget what I said, and would remember that the delay did not lie with me." [1701]

October 29th, Captain Henry l'Anson dies unexpectedly. Anthony Hunt is promoted to the command of *Tamar*.

November 5th, from Madrid, Minister Grimaldi writes to Ambassador Masserano at the Court of St. James.

"We can no longer doubt the existence of establishments below and beyond the Straits of Magellan, nor the views of the English directed to win the affection of the (natives) who are ours and under the pretext of protecting them, to build in the future ... to trade with them, and finally to smuggle (to) the rest of Chile."[1702]

Asked for an opinion on how to protect Spain's American coasts from smugglers and settlement by foreigners, Indies Minister, Julian de Arriaga, takes a hard line. He calls for the prohibition of all trade and the destruction of houses or other buildings erected by foreigners.

"It was, .., the same idea that three months later would be transmitted to Bucareli, providing for the expulsion of the English. And it is very curious to observe how Arriaga, representative of the most moderate (group) within the circle of the Carolingian ministers, will be the one who proposes the measures that cause the conflict." [1703]

November 14th, from Montevideo, Bougainville, with his two ships, finally sails for Magellan's Strait.

In England, Spanish spies obtain information about Port Egmont from English seamen.

"There were two batteries of six 24-pounders on the right and left of the port, which is triangular in outline. There were 12 batteries at the inlet below the spur of the hill, where the Governor's quarters are built. They are going to construct eight other flank batteries on either side of the inlet. There are 200 men working constantly, throwing up ramparts within which the ground is levelled over with course earth and gravel; but the piles and stakes were beginning to get scarce when he left. The New Experiment was to bring more." [1704]

December 1st, in Paris, Choiseul finally receives Bougainville's reports.

1701 Shelburne quoted in Fitzmaurice 1876 pp.63-65
1702 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 550 f° 257, 5 nov.*
1703 Munilla 1948 p.67 citing *A.G.I., Indif. gen., 412, 2*
1704 Quoted in Corney 1913

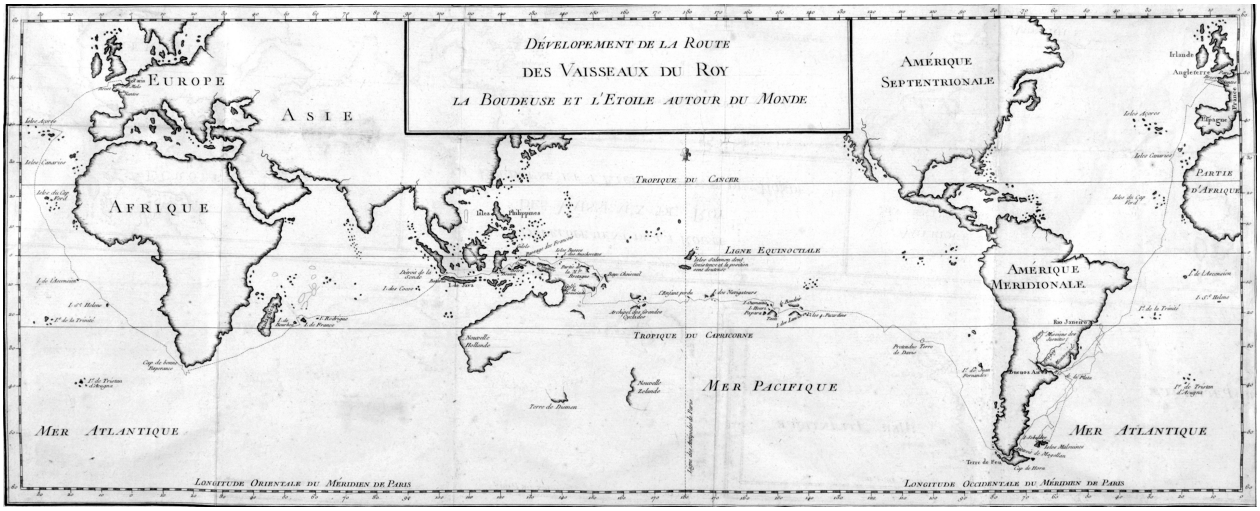
December 2nd, from Buenos Aires, Governor-General Bucareli writes to Governor Ruíz Puente at Puerto Soledad; enclosing the Royal Orders of December, 1766 and February 1767, regarding a search for Britain's base.[1705] Also noting that arrangements are in hand to send a chapel, sacred vessels and ornaments. [1706]

> *"Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente*
>
> *Your Excellency: the provisions that upon his arrival in that colony he gave for the erection of another chapel in better proportion and decency of our customs than those he found established in the dining room of the house destined to V.S. And as this object is also one of the first of my attention, I agree that it be practiced and perfected everything that is lacking for it, for which purpose I send the sacred vessels and ornaments that appear in the attached list with an image of Our Lady of Soledad to be registered and declared by Patron of the Population with which I satisfy your letter. April 29 that deals with this matter. [Many Years You Save and Keep]."*

Further livestock are also to be sent out; *"Composed of 4 oxen, 17 calves and 3 horses."* [1707]

December 23rd, Bucareli also orders a search for the British along Patagonia's coastline. Domingo Perler is to survey the coastline from Buenos Aires to Cape Horn; and then measure the distance to the archipelago. [1708]

December 30th, Bougainville's two ships sail through Magellan's Strait, into the South Sea. [1709]



1705 Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.164) refers to these orders as being with Ruiz Puente at the beginning of 1768.
1706 *AGN Caja fuerte*
1707 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.110 fn citing *AGN IX 16. 09. 01, Colonia Division – Government Section – Islas Malvinas*
1708 *Francisco Bucareli a Julián Arríaga 24 de Enero de 1768* in Angelis 1852 p.22. Also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.75. *cf.* April 15, 1768
1709 Bougainville would successfully circumnavigate the world; the first Frenchman to do so. The chart above was published by Bougainville in 1771. *cf.* 1769, 1771 & 1801

1768 – January 2nd, following their Malouines dispute, a convention is concluded between the Courts of Spain and France. To regulate the navigation of French ships ships within Spanish claimed territory – *An Interpretation of Article 24 of the Family Compact*. [1710]

From the Soledad garrison, the Governor sends out a ship for a reconnaissance of the archipelago's coasts.

"At the beginning of 1768, came into (Ruiz Puente's) hands the Royal Orders of December 1766 and February 1767, relating to the need to find the intruding (British) establishment. Ruiz Puente complied with the orders by sending out the most seaworthy ship. ... The sloop San Carlos, under the command of Captain Angel Santos, reconnoitred the northern coast of the Great Malvina." [1711]

January 19th, from the La Plata river, Lt. Manuel Pando sails in compliance with; *"... orders relative to the new establishment that the King has decided to form in Tierra del Fuego, and to the reconnaissance of the coast, (and) discovery of the English,..."* [1712]

January 24th, from Buenos Aires, Governor Bucareli informs Madrid that he is now in receipt of the intelligence of August, 1767 and outlines the actions he is taking. He complains of a lack of ships available to him. [1713]

> *"I will dedicate myself to know the distance from the island to the mainland; but first I want to listen to Perler, who I hope will bring what he has found out; and according to my understanding, this name of Falkland, was confirmed as that (which) the English gave to the part of the Malouines that they occupied."* [1714]

January 25th, at Puerto Soledad, frigates *Liebre* and *Aquila* arrive with supplies.

January 28th, at Versailles, Choiseul receives, via Ambassador d'Ossun in Madrid, letters from Bougainville de Nerville describing the successful handover to the Spaniards the previous April. De Nerville also provides first-hand accounts of the visit by the British in December, 1766 and information as to the likely location of Port Egmont. [1715]

February 4th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, the store-ship *Florida*, anchors. [1716]

February 12th, *Tamar* anchors in the harbour of Port Egmont. [1717]

February 19th, from Madrid, Indies Minister Julián de Arriaga sends further instructions to Buenos Aires requiring that Bucareli consider the defences of those territories under his jurisdiction. He is to report on the current condition of his forces, armaments and fortifications. [1718]

1710 *Correspondance commerciale de Madrid (1665-1792) Inventaire analytique des articles AE/B/I/766 à AE/B/I/796 (du fonds dit des Affaires étrangères)* par Anne Mézin – Première édition électronique Archives Nationales (France) Pierrefitte-sur-Seine 2015 p.1093. Also Brown 1922 p.409

1711 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.164

1712 *Francisco Bucareli a Julián Arríaga 2 de mayo de 1768* in Angelis 1852 p.24. A subsequent letter from Minister Arriaga of October 6, 1768, acknowledged that the attempt to create a settlement in Tierra del Fuego had failed. No reasons were given.

1713 *Francisco Bucareli a Julián Arríaga 24 de Enero de 1768* in Angelis 1852 p.22.

1714 *Ibid.* Domingo Perler, commanding *Nuestra Senora de Remedios*, had departed Buenos Aires in December, 1777 to conduct a reconnaissance of the Patagonian coasts down to Cape Horn, before sailing for the Falklands. *cf.* April 1768

1715 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.945

1716 Andrew David in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.302

1717 *Ibid.*

1718 Munilla 1948 pp.67-68 citing *Arriaga a Bucareli: Febero 19, 1768. A.G.I., Indif. gen. 412, 46.*

February 25th, Spain's King Carlos III signs a Royal Order for the Governor of Buenos Aires, prepared by Julián de Arriaga. [1719]

> *"... the King is persuaded that Your Excellency (is) proceeding with his usual zeal and vigilance;.., in proportion to the renewal of the reasons, it is necessary for more and more activity of Your Excellency is to be exerted to overcome them; His Majesty orders me to efficiently entrust your Excellency (to) be very careful not to allow any establishment of the English; and for those who have, expel them by force, if they do not obey the warnings, arranged to the laws, and without needing more orders, nor instruction,..."* [1720]

> *"His Majesty orders me to charge you that no English establishments are to be permitted, and you are to expel by force any already set up if they do not obey the warnings, in conformity with the law. You need no other orders nor instructions, and in observing these measures you will consider nothing except your own troops and those of the occupants in order that you do not expose yourself in case of inferiority to failure. In such a case or in anticipation of other bad consequences which your excellency can deduce from the state of the province you will resort to protests and accusations declaring that no action will be taken until the king has been informed and his orders received."* [1721]

"It was in consequence of th(e) perfect agreement of the two crowns (France & Spain) that... Arriaga had sent the order of the 25th of February to the various governors of South America, and particularly to Bucareli, Buenos Aires, and Ruiz Puente, in Port Soledad of the Malouines Islands." [1722]

"So it was that on February 25, 1768 a Royal Order was addressed to the Governor of Buenos Aires, by which he was instructed that no English establishment should be allowed in the regions belonging to the Crown, and that, if their existence was proven, they could only be expelled by force. On this very important question, he should not wait for orders or instructions. But if he did not have the offensive means necessary to impose himself, he would limit himself to notifying the invaders of the unquestionable legal rights of the Crown of Spain." [1723]

"Arriaga prepared a royal order for Bucareli, dated February 25, 1768, by which he was expressly ordered to expel the English." [1724]

"Spain knew about the British presence in the islands, and on 25 February 1768, in accordance with Spain's exclusionist policy, King Carlos III signed an order commanding Governor Bucareli and Felip Ruiz Puente, the first Spanish governor of the islands, to find the British establishment and expel it by force." [1725]

On the same day, Ruíz Puente's pilot, Ángel de Santos, is instructed to search for the British base along the northern coasts of the archipelago. He sails out in the cutter *San Carlos* [1726]

1719 *Real Orden Arriaga a Bucareli: 25 de Febrero de 1768. A.G.I., India. General, 412.* It is indisputable that Arriaga drafted this command, which was then signed by Carlos III; and counter-signed by Louis XV (see below). Nor is there any dispute that the instruction was sent. Received by Bucareli in August, 1768. Clearly aimed at the British establishment in the Falkland Islands and a bold instruction considering the likely consequences. War. Both Arriaga and the Spanish Crown would subsequently deny that an expulsion had been their intention. An argument unsupported by the evidence.

1720 *Julián Arríaga a D. Francisco Bucareli Madrid, February 25, 1768* in Angelis 1852 pp.23-24. See also Duro 1895-1900 vol.6 p.143.

1721 Quoted in Goebel 1927 pp.271-272 citing *Reinado de Carlos III* Manuel Danvilla y Collado 1892-96 vol.4 pp.112-113

1722 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1004

1723 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.120

1724 Diego 2014 p.18

1725 Pascoe 2020 p.35

1726 See March 1768.

March 1st, from Lima, Manuel Amat sends information to Madrid.

"The Viceroy of Peru, Manuel Amat, in a letter dated March 1, 1768, informed the court that the islands where the English were established were located to the east of the Malvinas, which are those of Sebald de Weert." [1727]

March 8th, from Paris, Minister Choiseul writes to France's Ambassador d'Ossun in Madrid.

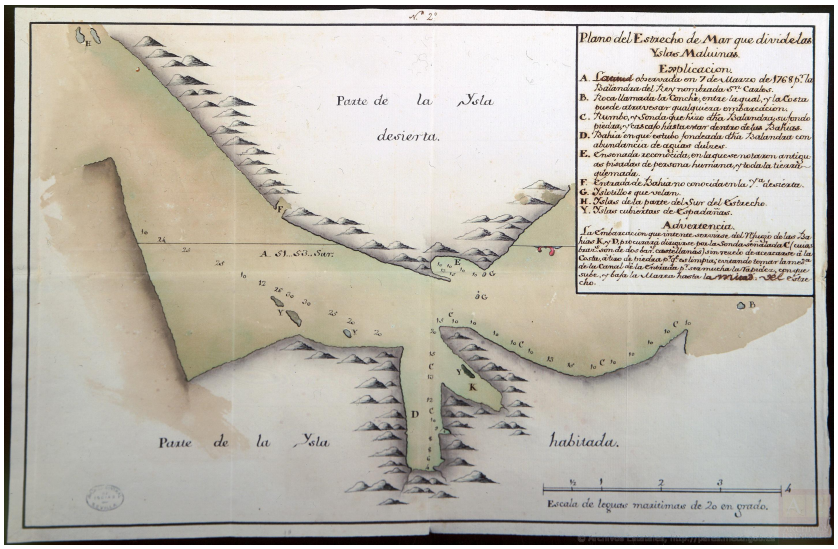
> *"Please inform me with your usual accuracy of the various orders which have been given or may be given to the governors of (South America) for the destruction of English settlements … nothing is more essential than we are warned in advance of the hostilities that may be in America, in order to guard against those that our trade would experience in other parts of the world."* [1728]

Choiseul also writes to his Embassy in London.

"In March 1768, Choiseul wrote to the French Ambassador in London, Count du Chatelet, telling him that he feared the return to power of Milord Egmont, and that if in those moments when England seemed not willing to start the hostilities, these could erupt for three main reasons, namely: 1, the resolute will of the British cabinet to support the establishment formed in Port Egmont, which, not being consented to by Spain, would result in collisions between the two nations and, therefore, a war; 2, the ambition uncontainable of the English Ministry; 3, a fear of the wealth accumulated by the British in India, which would induce Spain and France to break the peace." [1729]

March 9th, at Port Egmont, *Carcass* arrives back in the harbour, just as *Florida* leaves.

March 14th, Ángel de Santos returns to Puerto Soledad in *San Carlos*, having failed to find the British establishment. He has, however, surveyed part of the strait between the two main islands (below) which he identifies as *La Ysla Habitada* (inhabited - East Falkland) and *La Isla Desierta* (deserted - West Falkland). [1730]


Plano del Estrecho de Mar que divide las Yslas Malvinas.
Explicacion.
Parte de la Ysla desierta.
Parte de la Ysla habitada.
Escala de leguas maritimas de 20 en grado.

March 15th, Carlos III's orders for Bucareli and Ruíz Puente, are laid before King Louis XV. For his approval.

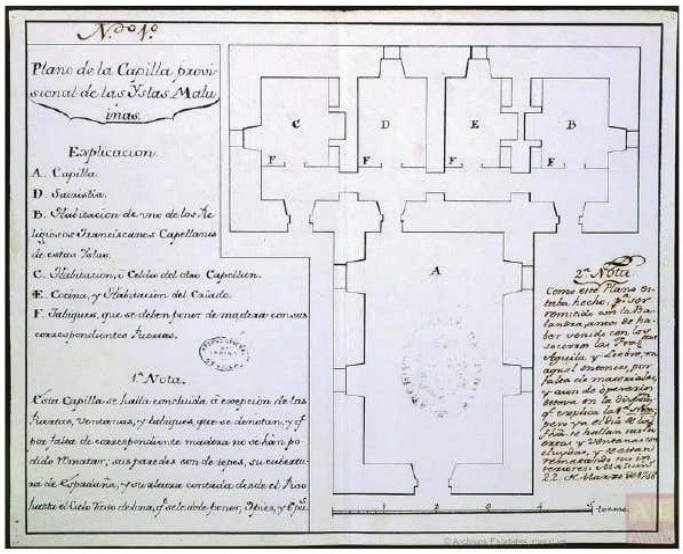
"Why? The reasons are conclusive and cast aside any arguments based on the assumption that Spain adopted the provision without taking into account the results. They had planned them in such a way, in order to avoid in the future, possible difficulties on the part of the French ally." [1731]

March 20th, in the south Atlantic, unable to pass through the Strait of Le Maire due to the weather, the Spanish brig - *San Francisco de Paula* (Manuel Pando) - arrives at the Soledad garrison to effect repairs.[1732]

1727 Revello 1952. A reference to the Jason Islands.
1728 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.949 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 551 f° 313, 8 mars.*
1729 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.79
1730 The bay in the lower part of Santos's chart above would become known as San Carlos Bay; or San Carlos water in 1982.
1731 Munilla 1948 pp.70-71 citing *Grimaldi to Arriaga: March 25, 1768, A.G.I., Indif. Gen. 412, 53.*
1732 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.165.

Governor Phelipe Ruíz Puente takes the opportunity to report on conditions there. In addition to himself, he reports that there are five 'officers of war', seven political officers, 23 infantry and 8 gunners. The civilian contingent consists of 17 seamen, 5 convicts, 1 armourer, 1 baker, 1 farmer plus 13 holding other trades. There are also 197 women, 12 children of the labourers, 18 servants, 1 tailor and 21 described as 'vivanderos.' Also one 'lady of a war officer.' [1733]

"It consists of 27 barracks or huts, between large and small, without, the ones that are inhabited, more roofs (of) a little canvas or hides,... In that total is comprised of the following offices: a chapel with its sacristy and two rooms for chaplains, all under one roof,..; four warehouses, a hospital for ten beds, two blacksmiths, two well-beaten Ovens and a tanner's lavatory. The others are barracks and rooms whose (walls) barely protects (from) the wind, much less the cold, and its present existence owes it to perpetual care. The only defense of this establishment consists of a temporary battery... that looks towards the entrance of the port, with twelve guns of different calibres mounted and two mortars in their adjustments. All of which are quite deteriorated..." [1734]


N.° 1.°
Plano de la Capilla provisional de las Islas Malvinas.
Explicacion
A. Capilla.
D. Sacristia.
B. Habitacion de uno de los Reverendos Franciscanos Capellanes de estas Islas.
C. Habitacion, ó Celda del otro Capellan.
E. Cocina, y Habitacion del Criado.
F. Tabiques, que se deben poner de madera con sus correspondientes Puertas.
1.ª Nota.
2.ª Nota.

March 22nd, Governor Ruíz Puente prepares a plan for a new Chapel (above). [1735]

From Buenos Aires, *Santa Rosa* sails under the command of Lt. Francisco Gil de Taboada; bound for Puerto Soledad. Together with supplies and livestock for the garrison, he is carrying an image of the Virgin Mary to be placed in a new chapel dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. Also further orders for the coasts of the islands to be searched for the English base. [1736]

"From the best intelligence it is cautioned that in the year 1768 the Malvinas were populated with 18 Heads of Cattle ... so that all the procreation that these had in Malvinas comes from these 18 heads that were sent from this Province." [1737]

"... 1768—, there was another disembarkation of animals sent from the Río de la Plata." [1738]

March 24th, at the "*Sebaldes Islands*" (Jason Islands), Domingo Perler, in *Nuestra Señora de Remedios* (*Andaluz*) reconnoitres. [1739]

"*(Perler) had left Montevideo on December 23, 1767. He had followed all the mazes of the coast, had stopped at Cape Saint-Antoine and had entered the strait. At the Port Desire, he had met the Patagonians, the same, no*

1733 Zaragoza 1883. The number of women appears exceptionally high.
1734 *Ibid.*
1735 Ambitious, and ultimately a smaller chapel seems to have been erected.
1736 *Francisco Bucareli a Julián Arríaga 30 de Deciembre de 1768* in Angelis 1852 pp.23-24. Also Corney 1913
1737 Record signed *Buenos Aires, February 21, 1804.* See *AGN IX 17. 01. 01, Colonia Division, Government Section, Islas Malvinas 1768-1802*
1738 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.110
1739 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.75. Now known as the Jasons.

doubt, who had known Bougainville and his lieutenants, had given them gifts, and had had the same friendly relations with them as his French or English predecessors. From the Strait of Magellan, he had (approached) the Malouines, of which he had quickly visited a part of the coasts." [1740]

Perler sails on to Puerto Soledad. [1741] As Perler takes on water, Governor Ruíz Puente takes the opportunity to write a letter of complaint, for Governor-General Bucareli in Buenos Aires.

"... most of the people went "barefoot and devoid of other necessary clothes", since the hunting excursions destroyed them a lot; experience also showed him that the twenty-five men that made up the detachment were inappropriate, as they had revealed themselves to be novices or old men. ... his laments rained onto Buenos Aires. ... But, in the meantime, he helped everyone and everywhere where his presence was needed he was present. In the midst of these hardships, he had time to build a stone warehouse capable of holding the entire cargo of a frigate, and to build a battery of sod merlons to hold six guns and two mortars." [1742]

April 15th, arriving back at Montevideo, Domingo Perler anchors.

"He had refreshed at Port-Soledad (the Port-Saint-Louis of the French); finally returned to Montevideo on April 15, 1768. ... but he had not discovered the establishment of the English, their Port-Egmont." [1743]

"Domingo Perler, had been ordered by Bucareli to explore the coast from Montevideo down to the Strait of Magellan and to return by way of the Maluinas. He ... had carried out his instructions to the letter: he had explored parts of the islands and visited Puerto Soledad, but had returned to Montevideo on 15 April 1768 without having discovered the British establishment." [1744]

Lt. Manuel Pando also returns to Montevideo, having failed to discover any British establishment. [1745]

May 1st, Ruíz Puente records that the Soledad garrison is suffering from shortages, and that he has been obliged to replace rations with extra pay. [1746]

May 20th, Samuel Wallis arrives back in England in *Dolphin,* after circumnavigating the globe. [1747]

May 30th, from Peru, Viceroy Amat writes to Madrid to say that he has received information that the British are in the Malouines. Also that they had carried from England a; *"... kind of portable fortification of wood."* [1748]

"... on May 30, he (Viceroy Amat) added that a traveller who had just arrived from Montevideo and who had met the French governor who had been in the Malvinas, had told him in several conversations that the English were established in that place." [1749]

"The viceroy is clear. Everyone knows that the English are in Falklands. They know it in Montevideo, he knows it in Lima, it is rumoured by those who come from the expeditions. It is therefore impossible for the governor of Buenos Aires (at the time, Francisco Bucarelli and Ursúa), to ignore it. The viceroy has the information, has a

1740 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.955
1741 *Ibid.*
1742 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.164
1743 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.955.
1744 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p224
1745 Pando had also sailed from the La Plata river on January 19, 1768 for a reconnaissance, and to identify a suitable location for Spanish settlement in a Tierra del Fuego. He also returned via the Soledad garrison, arriving at Montevideo with a gift of pickled fish and live bustards for Bucareli (Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.164). Pando returned after Perler. Exact date not known.
1746 *Memorandum AGN IX 16-9-2*
1747 See August and December, 1766.
1748 *Amat a Arriaga, Lima, May 30, 1768 AGI, IG, 412, 61, X,*
1749 Revello 1952

position, has the authority, but does not seem willing to use it, does not seem in any way focused on giving an order to the captain general and governor of Buenos Aires." [1750]

June 15th, from Madrid, following a further review by the French Ambassador, Spain's Royal Order of February 25, 1768 is finally despatched to Buenos Aires.

"After the approval of the French ministry, the royal order was transmitted to Bucareli, having already been signed by Arriaga continued to be dated February 25, although its despatch dates from the month of June." [1751]

June 17th, at Spithead in England, *Carcass* and *Florida* anchor.

> *"The Carcass sloop of war, Capt. Jordan, and the Florida storeship, arrived at Spithead on Friday last from Port Egmont in Falkland's Islands. The above sloop has been stationed there two years. She sailed from England with the Jason frigate, who upon her return gave the most unfavourable accounts both of the climate and soil, which is contradicted by the ships newly arrived. They left at Port Egmont the Swift sloop, Capt. Rayner, and the Tamar, Capt. Hunt, with their officers and crews in good health and spirits."* [1752]

From London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Madrid with details of the voyage of Samuel Wallis. Obtained from diaries that he has purchased from Wallis's crew. [1753]

> *"It can only be to our detriment that this nation has focused her energies on the South Seas."* [1754]

"In an even bolder move Masserano smuggled two individuals out of Britain and had them shipped to Spain for further inquiry. One of these mariners, Peter Farron, had sailed with Wallis on the Dolphin, … A second person, George Barker, was even more interesting, since he had purportedly lived two years on the Falkland Islands." [1755]

July 4th, from Madrid, Grimaldi informs the French Foreign Ministry that his information suggests that England, with the exception of the Falklands, has no establishments in the vicinity of the Magellan Strait. Despite Choiseul's earlier speculation. [1756]

July 29th, further intelligence is passed to Minister Grimaldi in Madrid.

> *"Description of Port Egmond (sic) given by seven seamen who came from there in the sloop Cracaza, arrived at Spithead on the 11th of June, and shortly afterwards paid off at Deptford. The Harbour of Egmond is large and convenient. It is situated at Falkland Island,… The Harbour has three passages into it: one on the south-west, another on the north-east, and the third at the south-east. This last is the only one that can be used with safety; the other two are dangerous, being full of obstructions. There is a battery of four 24-pounder guns erected inside, which defends the entrance on the S.E. Side, which is the only one practicable. No fortifications have been built for the defence of the Harbour.*

1750 Barriera 2019

1751 Munilla 1948 pp.70-71. Also Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1004. The order arrived in Buenos Aires in late August and at Soledad in September. The reason for the delay between March and June is not known.

1752 *Leeds Intelligencer* June 21, 1768

1753 Buschman 2014 citing *AHN, Estado 4259, vol.1*

1754 *Masserano to Grimaldi, May 27, 1768,* in Buschman 2014 citing *AHN, Estado 4259, vol.1*

1755 *Masserano to Grimaldi, August 5, and September 23, 1768,* in Buschman 2014 p.65 citing *AHN, Estado 4259, vol.1* Also *Grimaldi to Masserano July 18, 1768, AHN, 4529, vol.2* and *Masserano to Grimaldi May 26, 1769, AHN, Estado 4272, vol.1.*

1756 Munilla 1948 p.72 citing *Grimaldi a Fuentes: 4 de Julio de 1768. A.H.N, Estado, 2. 841*

There are no more than three houses built: to wit, one for a dwelling-house for the officers of the ships stationed there, another to serve as a magazine for stores, and the other for the officers' and ships' crews' kitchens. When the Carcaza sailed from Egmond Harbour, she left the King's frigate the Tamar and the sloop the Fly there, whose marines were occupied with doing sentry duty at the battery. There was nothing to show, at the time the Carcaza left that any further fortification of the place or additional buildings were in contemplation; and it is supposed that the several vessels that England has sent out to this Harbour are intended to serve as scouts. The seven seamen who made this statement are unanimous in what they declare, and they all say that there is no depot or stock of arms, nor of artillery, at Port Egmond (sic).” [1757]

In **August**, in Paris, Horace Walpole arrives as Secretary to the British Embassy. Rochford returns to London.

August 20th, from Lima, Viceroy Amat reports further information regarding the British.

“In another later letter - August 20 - the same leader said that the establishment of the English "has been verified in one of the New Islands or Malvinas".” [1758]

August 26th, from England, *Endeavour* sails commanded by Lieut. James Cook. [1759]

At Buenos Aires, the Royal Order of February 25th finally arrives.

“*Francisco de Bucareli, was not deaf to the orders given to him in 1766 and 1767 and to the imperative confirmation of February 25, 1768, which he had received at the end of August. He promptly renewed the voyage that D. Domingo Perler had made in 1767-68, (around) the Patagonian coast, Tierra del Fuego and the Straits, by Lieutenant Fr. Pando, with Orders to dislodge the English if he found some. This expedition gave no result. The lack of funds prevented the governor of Buenos Aires from undertaking greater reconnaissance.*” [1760]

In **September**, at Puerto Soledad, Governor Phelipe Ruíz Puente also receives the Royal Order. [1761]

“I could not find the acknowledgement of receipt of the royal order of February 25, but it had to be sent at the end of September.” [1762]

“Don Ruiz Puente, governor of the Malouines, did not remain, either, inactive. One of the duties of his office was to make the reconnaissance and to establish accurate maps of the whole domain he administered He already had the reports and maps of the various (voyages) made by the French, both by land and by sea. He resumed the tradition of his predecessors. "On the land side", he sends on a mission Don Miguel Bernazani,... accompanied by D. Francisco de Orduna, sub-lieutenant of artillery, who do their best, but "without any trace of (a) human presence."...” [1763]

October 11th, from Port Egmont, Capt. Anthony Hunt sails to Brett Harbour to fetch eggs for the garrison.

October 13th, from Peru, Viceroy Manuel de Amat, reports to Madrid on the military establishment at Soledad. Under Governor Ruíz Puente this comprises 5 officers, 24 infantrymen and 8 artillerymen. Additionally, 12 seamen labourers, a gunsmith, baker and brick-maker, 18 servants, 7 prisoners, a Spanish sutler, a French tailor and one ‘*slave*.’ Of Bougainville’s French settlers, 17 remain including a carpenter, 4 sailors and a blacksmith.

1757 Quoted in Corney 1913

1758 Revello 1952

1759 For a scientific observation of the Venus transit. An astronomical event that takes place every 243 years. This was the official reason made known to Spain. They remained, however, suspicious. See April, 1769.

1760 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1010

1761 Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.226) suggests September 20, 1768

1762 Quoted in Munilla 1948 fn.12 p.74

1763 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1010 citing *Ruiz Puente a Arriaga 22 mars 1768* in *Aff. étr. Esp., 559 f°153*

There are a total of 20 Spanish and French women. [1764]

October 15th, from Spain, four frigates sail under the command of Juan Ignacio de Madariaga; *"... to put the Expulsion Order into effect."* [1765]

"..., Ignacio de Madariaga was sent to Buenos Aires, as head of the squadron of the Rio de la Plata, leading the ships that were to evict the British from the Falklands." [1766]

"It was commanded by capitán de navío Juan Ignacio Madariaga, and consisted of the frigates Santa Catalina, Santa Rosa, Santa Bárbara and Industria." [1767]

October 21st, in London, Lord Rochford is appointed as Secretary of State to the Northern Department. Lord Weymouth to the Southern Department. [1768]

October 24th, at the Spanish port of Ferrol, *Nuestra Señora de Remedios* (*Andaluz*) arrives with a dozen of the former French/Acadian settlers from the Malouines. [1769]

November 6th, at sea, Captain James Cook notes in his journal that he intends to put into Rio de Janeiro; *"in preference to any other port in Brazil or Falkland Islands, for at this place I knew we could recruit our Stock of provisions..."* [1770]

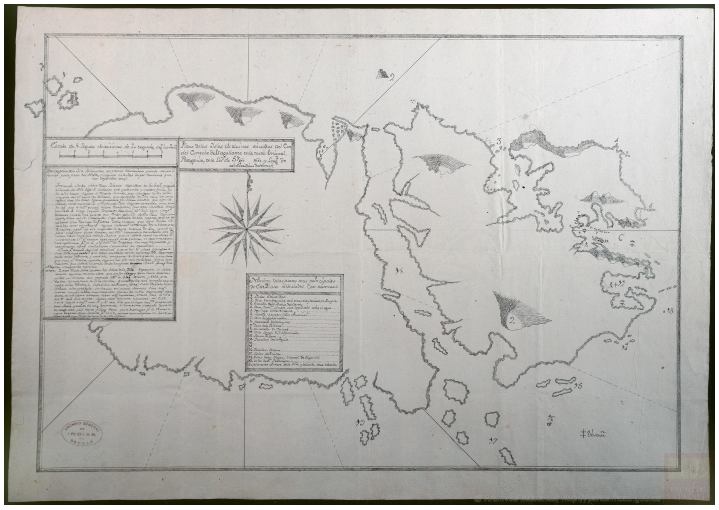
December 20th, from Buenos Aires, Fransisco Gil y Lemos, in *Santa Rosa*, sails with stores for Soledad, but encounters bad weather.[1771]

> *"I did not get away from the river here until the 20th of December, and, a few days before leaving, I was charged through the Most Excellent the Commander-in-Chief with several other commissions in the Royal Service, relating to an exploration of the places where it was believed the English might be settled. But I had the ill fortune to meet with winds so adverse and boisterous a character that after spending twenty-nine days in reaching the islands, keeping the sea about three months and a half, and enduring many gales with the ship hove-to, it became necessary to bear up and make for port with the frigate's hull pretty badly knocked about, for she is wanting in stoutness for battling with the violence of these seas."* [1772]

"In December of 1768, from Buenos Aires, an attempt had been made to undertake another reconnaissance, which finally did not come to fruition as the ship sent had to return because of the storms." [1773]

1764 Bernhardson 1989. Most, but not all were salaried, including many of the French settlers left behind by Bougainville.
1765 Pascoe 2020 p.35
1766 Diego 2014 p.18
1767 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.226
1768 Thomas Thynne, 1st Marquess of Bath, was known as Lord Weymouth between 1751 and 1789
1769 Some 18 months after their departure from Fort St. Louis.
1770 Quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.226
1771 Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982
1772 *Lieut. Don Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos to the Minister for the Navy, May 2, 1769* in Corney vol.1 1913
1773 Diego 2014 p.18 citing *AGI, Indiferente General 412, 82. Carta de Bucareli a Arriaga 1 de marzo de 1770*

Spanish pilots at Soledad, prepare charts of the *Ysla Maluynas* (right).[1774]



December 26th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Florida* arrives with supplies for the garrison and settlers.[1775]

December 30th, Governor Bucareli reaffirms the February 25th Royal Order from Madrid with his own instruction to; *"... dislodge the English or upbraid them if you find them being superior forces,.."* [1776]

"*In December 1768, Bucareli announced that he was willing to comply, although, before, he needed to locate the establishment of British subjects."* [1777]

1769 – January 1st, at Port Egmont, Capt. Hunt, in *Tamar*, returns following a fruitless search for Pepys Island. On entering the harbour, he sees both *Swift* and *Florida* at anchor.

January 3rd, at Montevideo, capitán de navío, Juan Ignacio Madariaga, and his frigates anchor.

January 13th, from Puerto Soledad, *Santa Rosa* (Gil y Lemos), sails for a reconnaissance of the archipelago's coasts. He is accompanied by *San Carlos*[1778], and a schooner, *San Fernando*. On each ship is a French settler who knows something of the anchorages and the coasts. [1779]

January 19th, from Buenos Aires, Manuel Pando sails in *San Fransico de Paula*.

"With regard to Spain, the French penetration in the Malvinas Islands and the repeated news about the foundation of an English settlement in that archipelago, the exploration of the Patagonian coastlines was intensified, as well as the reconnaissance of the neighbouring islands." [1780]

January 21st, in England, in the *Public Advertiser*, Junius bemoans the state of the British nation. [1781]

> *"A nation burdened with debts, its looted revenues, its failing business, the friendship of his alienated colonies, the functions of the magistracy transferred to the soldiery, a brilliant army which has never fought with regret only against its fellow citizens, annihilating itself for lack of being directed by a*

1774 The vague nature of this particular chart suggests that the Spanish pilots had got no further than the north-eastern coast of Soledad Island (East Falkland). Featuring Mount Usborne, it fails to include the southern extension of East Falkland now known as Lafonia. See also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1769-circa-but-malvinas-with-a-v-suggests-later-copy.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1769.jpg. Also https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/plano-de-las-yslas-malvinas-situado-en-la-latitud-sur-de-51-grados-28-minutos-y-en-319-grados-30-minutos-lamas....de-orden-de-su-gobernador-dn.-felipe-ruis-puente..jpg

1775 Numbers at Saunders Island are hard to establish. In September, 1765, and February, 1766 there are vague references to 'settlers' taken out by McBride. In February, 1767, it is noted that the *Prince Frederick* has taken out 25 marines, 9 women and 11 children. In June, 1767, on *Prince Frederick*'s return to England, an establishment of 50 naval soldiers, 35 'people' (?), three women and two girls, are mentioned. Settlers? Wives? They left no records.

1776 *AGN/VII 2.3.3. and IX.*

1777 Munilla 1948 p.75

1778 Described variously as a sloop or a cutter.

1779 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.75-76

1780 *Ibid.*

1781 The anonymous Junius was a famous agitator/commentator of the period. Now suspected to have been Sir Philip Francis, a politician.

man of talent and merit, the administration of justice, which has become odious and suspicious to all the people, is a faithful picture of our miseries. Add to this that we are governed by Councils from which every reasonable man can expect no remedy other than poison, (no) other help than death."

"The British Ministry was too busy to deal with the two disputes with Spain. Madrid's obstinacy in paying nothing for the Manila ransom had gradually decayed this affair. The request for abandonment of Port Egmont or any other "plantation" established in Spanish territory was too vague for His Catholic Majesty to assert absolute rights. (But), the war that Bougainville thought inevitable when he left in October 1766 had not taken place." [1782]

February 1st, at Port Egmont, William Maltby arrives in HM's sloop *Favourite,* as Raynor's replacement.

"Two HM Sloops are stationed here one alternatively relieved every year and a Storeship brings out Stores and Provisions... Here is no fortifications but four 12 pounders left on shore by Jason in 1766... a Small Blockhouse which was sent over in 1766 but is wholly taken up with stowing dry provisions &c. " [1783]

February 7th, Capt. Raynor in *Swift*, accompanied by the store-ship *Florida*, departs for England.

February 8th, at Puerto Soledad, *Santa Rosa* arrives with supplies for the garrison and settlers.

"Her crew dispatched nearly 17,000 pounds of wheat flour in 74 leather sacks; 64,000 pounds sifted, with bran, in 236 sacks; 8,000 pounds of spices in 32 sacks; 17,000 pounds of salt beef in 77 barrels; 8,000 pounds of salt pork in 38 barrels; 2,500 pounds of yerba mate in a dozen sacks; 700 pounds of chili peppers in 5 sacks; 1,400 pounds of tobacco; 3,600 pounds of lard in clay jars; twelve barrels of brandy; eight of wine; and 5,700 pounds of wood charcoal.... Besides edibles, the Santa Rosa brought construction materials which, given the state of the French turf houses, were particularly important." [1784]

February 10th, Governor Ruíz Puente writes to Madrid, complaining that the islands are, "*useless.*" [1785]

"I have seen how useless I am here, and if I am to serve the King, while I can, it must be in the capacity in which I have been trained, and that I better understand. Enough, my Lord, enough of the Maluinas! It is the most vile and sterile place that one can imagine... To the King it must be very costly to maintain, and finally it will come to nothing... nobody will be able to remain long without disappointing himself, whatever idea he might propose, for it is full of difficulty." [1786]

"By 1769, ... (Ruíz Puente) intensified his work. Now he had a stone room attached to the minister's house, and he was setting up another for the assistant. In passing he built a road to make the colony passable in the rainy season. The food problem and the presence of the convicts, whose conduct aroused some fear, continued to be a source of serious concern. Regular communications with the Governor of Buenos Aires show us that he had well-founded hopes of being relieved." [1787]

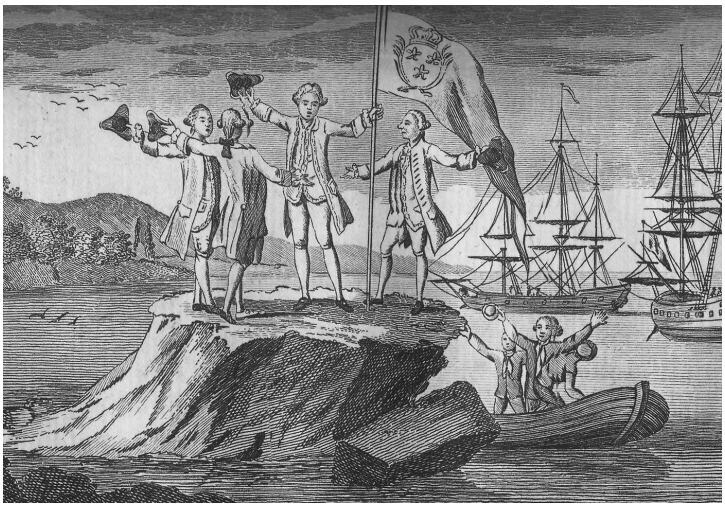
February 12th, other members of the Spanish garrison also write letters for Governor-General Bucareli.

1782 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.957
1783 Noted in *Favourite's* log.
1784 Bernhardson 1989
1785 *Phelipe Ruiz Puente a Julián de Arriaga, Malvinas, 10 de febrero de 1769 AGI Buenos Aires 552*
1786 Quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.227 citing Berhardson 1989 citing *Phelipe Ruiz Puente a Julián de Arriaga, Malvinas, 10 de febrero de 1769 AGI V, 125-5-1.* Also Agreiter 2002
1787 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.165

"The cold and the snow have been so continuous the past year that the houses or huts that we inhabit, ignoring their limited capacity to resist the intemperance of the climate, have crumbled little by little, so that some have completely collapsed, and those which remain are so poor that, if this winter is as rigorous as the last, I do not doubt that we will experience worse tragedies." [1788]

March 4th, at Puerto Deseado on the Patagonian coast, Gil y Lemos comes to anchor. Having failed to locate Port Egmont in the archipelago, he is intent on searching the coasts south of there. [1789]

March 16th, at St. Malo in France, after crossing the Pacific, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville returns a national hero – the first French circumnavigation of the world.



"Two years and four months had elapsed since the departure from Nantes. The voyage was an outstanding achievement that placed France in the forefront of naval exploration... only seven men had been lost." [1790]

In Paris, the Spanish Embassy adopts a cooler attitude to Bougainville's achievement. Concerned less with the circumnavigation than with his old settlement in the Malouines. Questioning what it was that they had compensated Bougainville for.

"…. the resources of the Malouines are nil; outside the port, nothing (is of) interest. Apart from a few turnips and cabbage, nothing comes of it; the cattle brought there grow, but have partly become wild. (They) can only rely on hunting and fishing, provided (they) have the proper gear. Water alone is good. The French have left to the Spanish only barracks uncomfortable and cramped … and where they are not even guaranteed (to keep out) the wind and the cold. The name of Port Solitude which, on these reports, Don Francisco de Bucareli gave to Port St. Louis, is the only one that suited; … In short, the Falklands are a hell in this world and the French, who introduced the Spaniards in this hell, demons who have not even been able, in three years of residence, to build any chapel. … The Spaniards have claimed that all that was delivered to them in the Falklands, including buildings, guns, ammunition, food and other effects were not worth fifty thousand francs while Bougainville was reimbursed six hundred thousand." [1791]

"All seemed to be treating him with cold disdain, which mystified Bougainville until Béliardi revealed to him that the Spaniards were exceedingly disappointed with their new islands… there were no natural resources, the weather was miserable, any animals left out in the open thrived but became wild, and the French ships left in the islands were unsuitable and too small…" [1792]

Ambassador Fuentes, however, still required details as to what Bougainville had found in the '*Spanish Sea*' (Pacific Ocean); and to know what he would say about his voyage.

1788 *Bernazani a Bucareli February 12, 1769* in *AGN IX 16-9-1*

1789 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.76

1790 Dunmore 2005 p.213. Not the first circumnavigation of the planet. Rather more a case of France catching up with the achievements of England, Spain and Holland. The engraving above, appeared in a French Journal at this time, showing Bougainville claiming obscure rocks for the French King.

1791 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.893-894 citing *AN F2 A 20, f° 233 18 Oct 1773*

1792 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.228

"Immediately when Bougainville arrived at St. Malo, Spanish Ambassador Fuentes sought out the French Prime Minister, the Duke de Choiseul, to obtain a copy of the diary to avoid, as his superiors put it, the chronicling of "inconvenient occurrences." ... Fuentes contacted Bougainville and found him cooperative in this matter. Not only did Bougainville agree to share the unpublished manuscript with Spanish officials, but he vowed to make any recommended changes. ..." [1793]

March 20th, in England, Philip Carteret in *Swallow* arrives back following his own circumnavigation. In poor health, Carteret has been assisted greatly by Lieut. Erasmus Gower. [1794]

> *"After my first Voyage to ye Steights ... I plainly saw that a lucrative fishery for Oil might be carried from England in those parts: I spoke of it at my return, but nobody, at that time would undertake it, the Novelty of a New trade, & the great Distance; discouraged our merchants."* [1795]

In France, at the Palace of Versailles, Bougainville is granted an audience with King Louis XV, who congratulates him on the success of the voyage. In particular, the King; *"... showed appreciation of the seven acts of possession ... each laying claim to a group of islands in faraway places."* [1796]

April 13th, at Tahiti, James Cook and *Endeavour* arrive in time to make observations of the Venus transit. [1797] After Venus has finished its crossing of the sun, Cook opens a set of orders that had remained sealed. These instruct him to search for the fabled Southern Continent.

May 1st, a Spanish Royal Order requires Buenos Aires to keep servicing the Soledad garrison, and to reconsider establishing a 'population' on Tierra del Fuego. [1798]

May 8th, at Buenos Aires, the *San Francisco de Paula* returns following its reconnaissance. Manuel Pando reports to the Governor, recommending that a base be set up at Puerto Deseado. Pando noting that it would be difficult to evict any other nation that established itself there. [1799]

May 20th, in England, reported in the *Ipswich Journal:*

> *"The Swift sloop of war of 14 guns, Capt. Raynor, which is lately arrived at Portsmouth from her voyage round the Globe, has been out three years, and so healthy during all that time, that they buried but one marine, and brought home but one man sick."*

May 26th, from London, Masserano writes to Grimaldi with details of Carteret's voyage. [1800]

July 1st, Spain's Carlos III writes of his frustration with the British; *"I still bear their insults, but when I can no longer, everything will jump."* [1801]

September 30th, in England, command of *Swift* is passed to Capt. George Farmer. [1802]

1793 Buschman 2014 pp.97-98. My emphasis. See May, 1771

1794 Wallis and Carteret had been separated shortly after passing through Magellan's Strait. Wallis had returned to England in May, 1768. *cf.* August & December, 1766

1795 Carteret quoted in *Charting the Sealing Islands of the Southern Ocean* Michael Pearson 2016 p.3

1796 Dunmore 2005 p.215

1797 When Cook sailed in August 1768, the Spanish Court had been suspicious that his voyage had other objectives than just scientific observations.

1798 Areco 1885 pp.43-44 citing Angelis 1852. *cf.* September & December 1769

1799 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.75

1800 Buschman 2014 pp.97-98 *citing Masserano to Grimaldi May 26, 1769 AHN, Estado 4272 vol.1*

1801 Quoted in Groussac 1910 p.117

1802 *Kentish Gazette* September 30, 1769

October 28th, sailing from Montevideo, a further two small expeditions along the Patagonian coast and Tierra del Fuego fail to find any sign of an English establishment. Bucareli determines to organise a further reconnaissance of the Falklands. [1803]

"... Bucareli ordered Madariaga to prepare an expedition to expel the British from the Maluinas. Madariaga put Fernando de Rubalcava in command of a small squadron." [1804]

In **November**, in Paris, Bougainville is granted a life pension of 50,000 livres by the French Government. To compensate him for his losses over the failed settlement in the *'Iles Malouines.'* [1805]

November 14th, at the Soledad garrison, Angel de Santos is ordered to survey Gran Malouine (West Falkland) in *San Felipe*, the only ship at Ruíz Puente's command. [1806]

November 15th, from England, following repairs, *Swift* sails for Port Egmont.

November 27th, in the Falklands, Capt. Hunt in *Tamar*, sails out of Port Egmont on a surveying cruise. [1807]

November 28th, two miles north of Cape Tamar, Capt. Hunt sees the Spanish ship, *San Felipe*. Anthony Hunt and Angel de Santos anchor their ships in White Rock Bay. [1808]

"After having crossed the strait which separates the two Malouines, which the French called Strait of Nerville, and which the Spaniards named Strait of San Carlos, - the Falkland Sound of the English - the San Felipe is suddenly in the Bay of Diamond, face to face with a frigate armed with at least 20 guns. Santos immediately raises the colours of the King of Spain. The commander of the foreign ship, through an interpreter, orders the pilot to come aboard. The English captain, ... asks him what he is doing in th(is) area. Santos shows him his

1803 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1018. See January, 1770

1804 Pascoe 2020 p.35

1805 Robson 2005. Which losses, were not made clear, although Bougainville had foregone some expenses incurred after December 31, 1766 following a complaint by the new Spanish Governor.

1806 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1010. *San Felipe* had been the French ship *Croisade*, left behind by Bougainville as part of the St. Malo Company's establishment.

1807 Map (next page) is a detail from *A Chart of West Falkland Island from an Actual Survey by Lieu. Thom. Edgar of the Royal Navy in the Years 1786 and 1787* published by Arrowsmith in 1797. North is down. White Rock Bay is on the left of the chart, Port Egmont and Saunders Island on the right. Copy with zoom facility available here - https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/56023/a-chart-of-west-falkland-island-from-an-actual-survey-by-lie-arrowsmith

1808 *Papers relative to the late negotiation with Spain, and the taking of Falkland's Island from the English, 1769 – 1771* printed for J. Almon 1777

"safe conduct" as well as the instructions of D. Ruiz Puente, to reconnoitre "all the ports and bays of the Malouines Islands", domain of the king of Spain of which he is the governor." [1809]

" ... it was actually Santos himself who went on board the Tamar, he was displeased to find himself treated like a junior officer,..." [1810]

After interviewing de Santos for much of the day, Hunt, in compliance with his general orders, issues a warning.

> *"... I fell in with a Spanish schooner, taking a Survey of them, and on Examination found him belonging to a Spanish Settlement on the East Part called Port Solidad (sic), in Possession of the French in 1767, and by them called Port Louis. Agreeable to my Orders, I warned him to quit the islands; in Consequence of which he sailed..."* [1811]
>
> *"These islands are the possession of the English, they belong to no other sovereign than the King of England, I will not delay to tell your Commander in person with my frigate and another that I have in the port of our establishment and a convoy of 20 ships, which I expect from England, to bring it out of these islands, with all its colony.... **I forbid you to continue your commission** and to advise you (if you) continue it or come back later .., if I meet you, **I will arrest you with all your crew**. If, for the moment, I do not do it, it is to give you the freedom to carry this news to your commander."* [1812]

The Spaniard responds:

> *"I forbid you to continue your commission or to attempt to continue it or to return later to execute it, since I, Captain, if I encounter you, will arrest you with your entire crew. If I do no do that for the moment, it is to leave you free to take this news to your commander."* [1813]

"Hunt and Santos had a tense meeting aboard the Tamar, in what is now White Rock Bay at the north end of West Falkland. Santos was irritated that the English captain did not introduce himself, but perhaps he failed to recognise a monosyllabic "Hunt" as an introduction – to Spanish ears "Hunt" sounds like a mere grunt or cough. Each of them firmly informed the other that the islands belonged to his respective king..." [1814]

November 29th, Angel de Santos agrees to sail to Puerto Soledad to inform his Governor, before returning with an answer to Hunt's instruction to quit the islands. [1815]

*"Santos returns as soon as possible to Puerto Soledad. D. Ruiz Puente is not caught off guard. For nearly three years he has been living in fear of seeing, .., some English frigate unpacking in the bay. However, he is offended at the **insult made to the flag** of His Catholic Majesty, and exclaims that the incident constitutes a scandal ... D. Ruiz Puente questions Santos and his crew at length, to make sure that they have committed no fault... He then decides to follow the royal ordinances, while using moderation. Fearing, moreover, an awkwardness in Angel de Santos, who is a sailor, that is to say, a rough man, he prefers to place in front of the English captain a commissioned officer."* [1816]

1809 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1011

1810 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.229

1811 Hunt quoted in the *Derby Mercury* Friday March 1, 1771. Also *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.185. In view of subsequent events, the word '*survey*' tends to get missed.

1812 Hunt quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1011. I can find no other source for this. Twenty ships? Too ridiculous to be believed, even in 1769.

1813 Angel de Santos quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.230.

1814 Pascoe 2020

1815 Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982 p.121

1816 Martin-Allanic 1964. The perceived insult would appear to be the challenge to de Santos's authority.

November 30th, Governor Ruíz Puente instructs Lt. Mario Plata to return with Santos to White Rock Bay.[1817]

Lt. Plata is to; *"... protest in writing, in the best possible form, in the name of His Majesty, a first, a second and a third time, if necessary on the notorious insult and the attack that the captain committed against the faith of the treaties and the harmony which subsists between the two nations and that this one will remain responsible for the consequences which will result..."* [1818]

And to demand the reasons for a British ship navigating in those waters, which was forbidden.

Ruíz Puente prepares two letters to be given to the English captain. The first concerns the encounter of November 28th.

> *"The Master of the Goleta, in which the Bearer, Lieutenant of the Fort Mario Plata, of this Garrison, continues the Execution of his Commission, gave me the first Intelligence of your Arrival and Continuance in this Streight, which gratifies my desire of paying my Respects to you,... After this much, I cannot refrain from declaring to you my great astonishment at hearing from the said Pilot, that* ***the interruption of his voyage, and his putting into this Port, are owing to your having forced him to it****; and if so, which I must question, I make no doubt, but that Pilot gave some Cause for such Treatment; for I can hardly think, that an officer of your rank, commanding a Ship of War of so civilized a Nation, should be so much wanting in Attention, and Respect due to the King my master's flag, especially within his Dominions. ..."* [1819]

"In the first letter, Ruíz Puente mentioned the meeting of the British ship with Santos, and offered everything in his power to maintain the good relations and harmony between the courts of the two countries, but also expressed surprise at the reception accorded to Santos, who had been hindered in fulfilling his commission. He asked whether some insult had been committed to justify such conduct on the part of the officer of so polite a nation, who had so openly been lacking in the respect due to the flag of his master the king within his domains." [1820]

A second letter assumes that Capt. Hunt has made an error by being in the Islands.

> *"The pilot of the goleta... lately gave me the first information of you being in these parts, which belong to the King, my master;.. Supposing, as I really do suppose, your being on these coasts to be purely accidental, and that on the first formal warning given you by the said officer to depart, you will totally lay aside all thoughts of any further stay of sailing in these parts; there is no need of enlarging on the matter, as you very well know the contrary to be an absolute violation of good treaties, and a breach of good faith... (I) hope you will favour me with your written answer..."* [1821]

1817 *A.G.I., Buenos Aires, 552.*

1818 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1011 citing *Relacion del moderno establecimiento de los Ingleses de Puerto Egmont en las Malvinas a 51 grados 6ms de Lat. Meridional, descubierto por el Gobernador de Ellas en el presente mes de deciembre, con la goleta de SM, nombrada Sn. Felipe* in *Acad. de Historia, Madrid Coll. Mata Linares II, pp.221-237*

1819 Quoted in *Derby Mercury* Friday March 1, 1771 p.3

1820 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.231

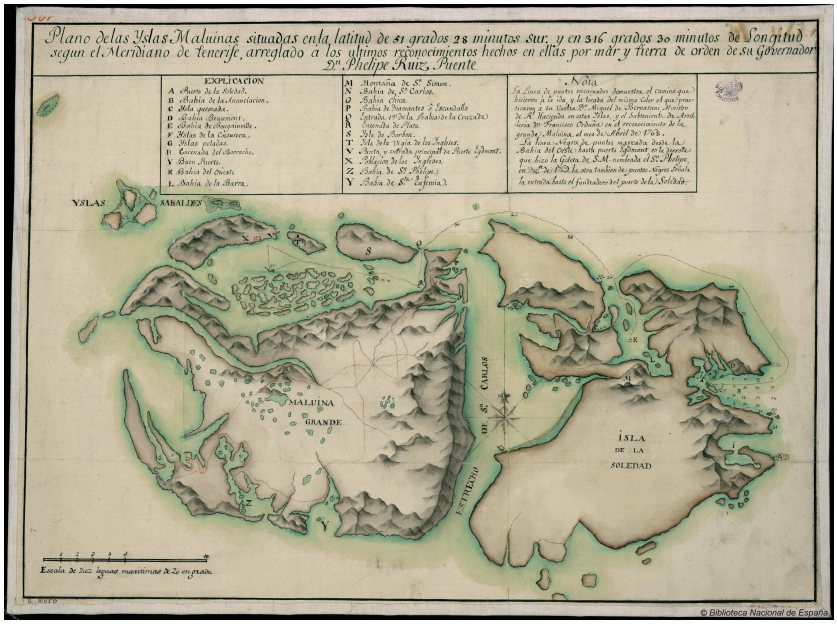
1821 Quoted in *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.186

December 6th, from Madrid, Minister Arriaga exhorts the Governor of Buenos Aires to continue to provide the provisions and aid required by the Soledad garrison. [1822]

December 9th, in the Falklands, Capt. Hunt returns to White Rock Bay for the rendezvous. [1823]

December 10th, *San Felipe* anchors near Hunt's ship, *Tamar*. [1824]

Lt. Mario Plata, hands over two letters to Capt. Hunt; both from Governor Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente; *"... dated at the Island Maluina, the 30th of November, 1769."* [1825]


Plano delas Yslas Maluinas situadas en la latitud de 51 grados 28 minutos Sur, y en 316 grados 30 minutos de Longitud
EXPLICACION
YSLAS MALUINAS
MALUINA GRANDE
ISLA DE LA SOLEDAD
PUERTO DE S.T CARLOS
ESTRECHO
Escala de Diez leguas maximmas de 20 en grado.
© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Capt. Hunt responds in writing to the first letter.

> *"I have received your letter ... I heartily wish nothing but good Friendship will Subsist between the two Nations. I flatter my self you cannot think me capable of sending any Message to Your Excellency by the Captain of the Vessell (sic), I only warn'd Him off the Coast, and directed him to acquaint you thereof."* [1826]

And then to the second.

> *"I have received your letter by the officer, acquainting me, that these islands, and coast thereof, belong to the King of Spain, your Master. In return, I am to acquaint you, that the said islands belong to his Britannick Majesty, my Master, by right of discovery, as well as settlement; and that the subjects of no other power whatever can have any right to be settled in the said islands, without leave from his Britannick Majesty,..*
>
> *I do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his orders,* ***warn you to leave the said islands; and in order that you may be the better enabled to remove your effects, you may remain six months from the date hereof; at the expiration of which you are expected to depart accordingly.*** *"* [1827]

Lt. Plata immediately protests.

> *"I whose name is hereunto subscribed, lieutenant of foot, being commissioned by my governor to visit all the harbours of these the Maluine islands, as appertaining to the King of Spain my master; and having ... already warned him from my governor to quit our dominions, his stay in them being contrary*

1822 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278. Bucareli was short of money.

1823 Andrew David in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.302

1824 *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.185

1825 *Derby Mercury* Friday March 1, 1771 p.3. As none of the English crew spoke Spanish, the letters were translated into French by Mario Plata. *cf.* Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1012

1826 Quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.231

1827 *Capt. Hunt to Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente December 10, 1769* in *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.186. Also Brown 1922 p.404, and Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1012. My emphasis. All in strict compliance with his orders.

both to the treaties and harmony subsisting between the two crowns; and he not being willing to comply, I protest three several times, in the most effectual manner, against all he has said; signifying to him, that he shall be answerable for all the ill consequences which may ensue.

*In the same manner I protest against him for having **threatened to fire into me**, if I prosecuted my commission, and especially for his having opposed my going to their colony, which they said was called Port Egmont. I likewise protest, that the said Captain Hunt's going into La Solidad (sic) harbour, though in an amicable manner, as he verbally told me, will be taken as an insult. And in order that this may publicly appear, after having caused this protest to be understood by means of the interpreter Joseph Bunze, I have hereunto set my hand, on board the same Tamar frigate, riding in Diamunta bay, the 10th day of December, 1769"* [1828]

"Plata replied that he protested solemnly at hearing the Maluinas Islands ascribed to the king of England, as they were a domain of the king of Spain, and it was the British who should depart. He repeated his protest three times, and demanded a written confirmation, which Hunt gave him; in particular he protested against Hunt's threat to fire on him and the prohibition on visiting his colony "said to be called Port Egmont", and declared that if Hunt were to attempt to go to Puerto Soledad, even if he requested it politely, he would regard it as an insult." [1829]

Despite the instruction to search for the English establishment, Lt. Plata carries Hunt's responses to Ruíz Puente; *"He explains that he would have continued his mission if he had not judged that the English captain was "intending to use violence"..."* [1830]

December 12th, at Puerto Soledad, in receipt of Hunt's responses, Ruíz Puente composes a further warning.

*"... considering the contents of the protests made to you in writing by the aforesaid officer, in the name of the King my master, against the **extraordinary menaces** which he received from you, both in writing and verbally, and by your order declared to him by the interpreter, I now tell you, and in his royal name repeat to you, and to all who may come under your command as subjects of his Britannick Majesty, that on receipt of this second warning and requisition, you, with the greatest dispatch, quit every Settlement made within these territories and islands of my government, the legal possession of which belongs to my Sovereign, and without his superior licence or permission, which you have not produced, no person can navigate, much less make a settlement, without violating the sacredness of the present treaties and harmony between the two powers.*

I therefore again renew my warning to you, to conform to it; since whatever resolution you shall take to the contrary, will be considered as a manifest excess and attempt, diametrically contrary to the said treaty; and from this time I protest against the contravention of it." [1831]

December 13th, Governor Ruíz Puente requires Lt. Plata to locate Capt. Hunt, hand-over the new letter and issue fresh protests. [1832]

1828 *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.186. The Spanish officer referred to a threat, apparently made by Hunt, to fire on his ship if he continued to search the coasts for the British garrison (Plata's commission). Quite when this threat was made is not clear, as no account of the exchanges records it. A pity, as the alleged threat would become central to later demands by Spain that Hunt's actions be disavowed by the British government. See 1770

1829 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.232.

1830 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1015. Whether Plata returned to Puerto Soledad is uncertain. There is a suggestion that he sent a messenger overland, although that was likely to have been slower than sailing there.

1831 *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 citing *Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente to Capt. Hunt December 12, 1769*

1832 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1015

Twenty prisoners arrive at Puerto Soledad to serve out their sentences at the garrison. [1833]

"... Soledad became a "presidio" (a frontier garrison and penal settlement) in 1769, there were many soldiers and convicts, so the presence of women was soon prohibited." [1834]

December 16th, at Puerto Egmont, Lt. Mario Plata sails into the harbour in *San Felipe*.

> *"The said colony, .., consists of seven houses inhabited by part of the crew of the two frigates. the Tamer and the Favorite. The said houses are in this form: four of them, including the one that I presume to belong to the governor because it is higher and that vis-a-vis it is a flag, are surrounded by earth turf; the other three, of which one supported by four pillars appeared to me to be a store of goods or food, are separated from the others. With the exception of that of the governor, which is in stones, all are of these same grounds and their roofs covered with slates. There is a kind of fort, built also with this earth, without any ditch, with three embrasures and a cannon. I judge that the crew of the two frigates can rise to 80 men, because I learned, in the Tamar, that this ship, besides its crew, still had half of that of the Favorite, and that all did not (amount to) more than 80 men."* [1835]

The Spaniards are met by British boats, with armed crews.

> *"When they saw me they sent three Boats, which came alongside the Schooner with armed Men and paying no attention to my Protests forced me to anchor, dropping the Anchor themselves, at five of the evening, without permitting me to go ashore or to go aboard the Frigate to deliver the letter from my Governor, which I gave to Don Juan Townsend; two Boats retired, the second officer of the Tamar remained with the other.*
>
> *At the end of half an hour, one of them returned with the captain of the frigate Favorite (sic), named Dn. Guillermo Maltbi, With the Order to make me retire to a distance of a Cannon shot, giving as a reason the lack of safety for the Schooner in those waters, which I submitted to since I had examined the colony to my satisfaction. After dusk the Boat came from the Commandant with a message to me and Santos to go and dine aboard the Frigate, where I remained until dawn, when I returned to the Schooner."* [1836]

Having received Puente's letter, Hunt responds.

> *"I have received your Excellency's second letter, which I am sorry you should have the trouble to write, as it contains nothing but what is diametrically opposite to the orders I have received from his Britannic Majesty, my master, therefore quite unnecessary for you to make any remonstrance; and I must repeat, you and your colony, together with your effects, are expected to depart from these islands within the limitation specified in my first letter."* [1837]

December 17th, after returning to his ship, Lt. Mario Plata does not leave immediately, claiming contrary winds. This leads to a further argument between the officers of Spain and Britain.

1833 *Diego de Andecochea a Ruiz Puente Deciembre 19, 1769* in Bernhardson 1989

1834 Pascoe 2020 p.44.

1835 *Aff. étr. Esp., 558, f° 261-262.* Also in *La cuestion de las Malvinas contribucion al estudio de la relaciones hispano-inglesas en el siglo XVIII* M. Hidalgo Nieto 1947. And Philpott 1992. See August 1770.

1836 Plata's report quoted in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.233 citing *La cuestion de las Malvinas contribucion al estudio de la relaciones hispano-inglesas en el siglo XVIII* Hidalgo Nieto 1947 p.629

1837 *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.187 citing *Capt. Hunt to Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente December 16, 1769*

"On the 17th he was in front of the enemy base, but could not inspect it due to the firm attitude of the British who told him to leave the place. Plata declared that he would set sail when he saw fit, and so he did, but she could not follow the path he had chosen, for the intruders, who at that time owned Port Egmont, prevented him from doing so." [1838]

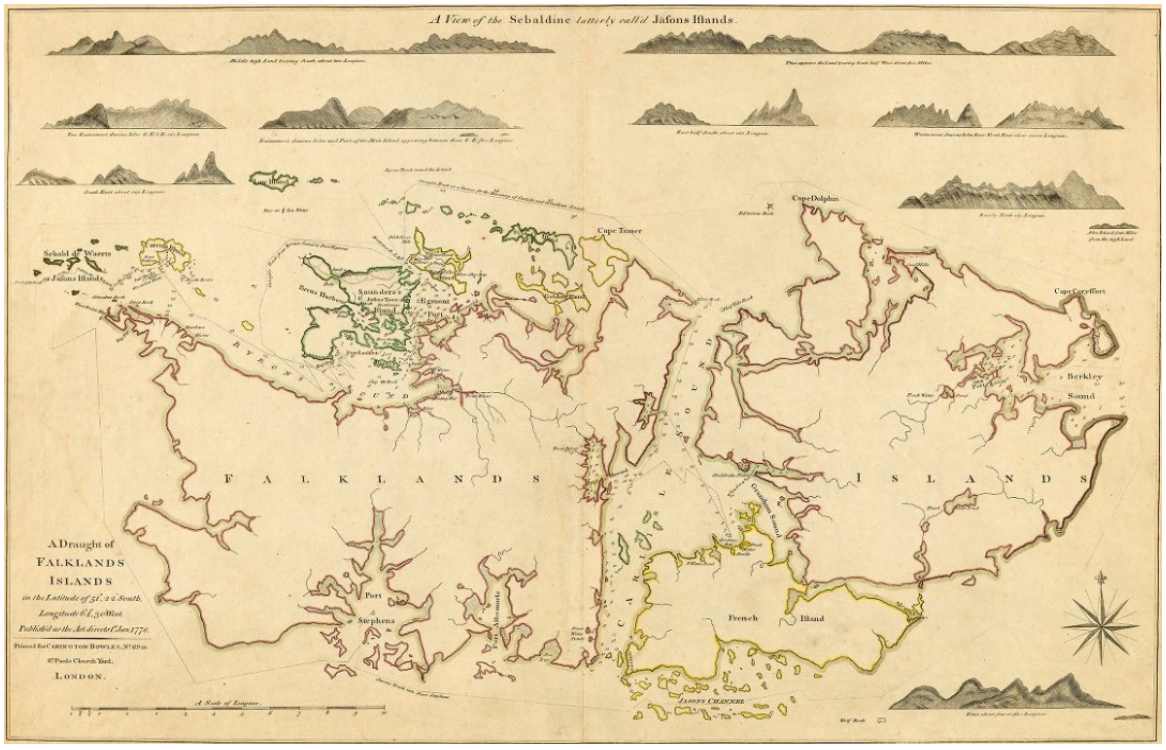
"... Plata and Santos found the wind was against them, so they decided to wait. ... Hunt sent a boat with an officer and the interpreter, ordering him to leave without delay. Plata thereupon replied haughtily that the flag of his master the king of Spain was to be respected and that it would be a foolhardy action to insult it. The British officer replied that his commander ordered him to leave at once;..." [1839]

December 18th, from the harbour of Port Egmont, *San Felipe* sails for Puerto Soledad.

December 23rd, in further pursuit of their standing orders, Favourite sails from the Falklands in search of Pepy's Island.

December 30th, at Puerto Soledad, Ruíz Puente, Plata and Santos prepare a report for Buenos Aires. [1840]

"On December 31, 1760, as a result of the meeting, interview, discussion and exchange of correspondence between the Spanish lieutenant Plata and the English captain Hunt, the governor of Malvinas Ruiz Puente sent the first exact details about the British establishment of Port Egmont. He added: "It has been attempted to inquire if they have any more establishments in the Patagones Coast, Strait of Magellan or South Sea and it is not known to have another with whom they can correspond"..." [1841]

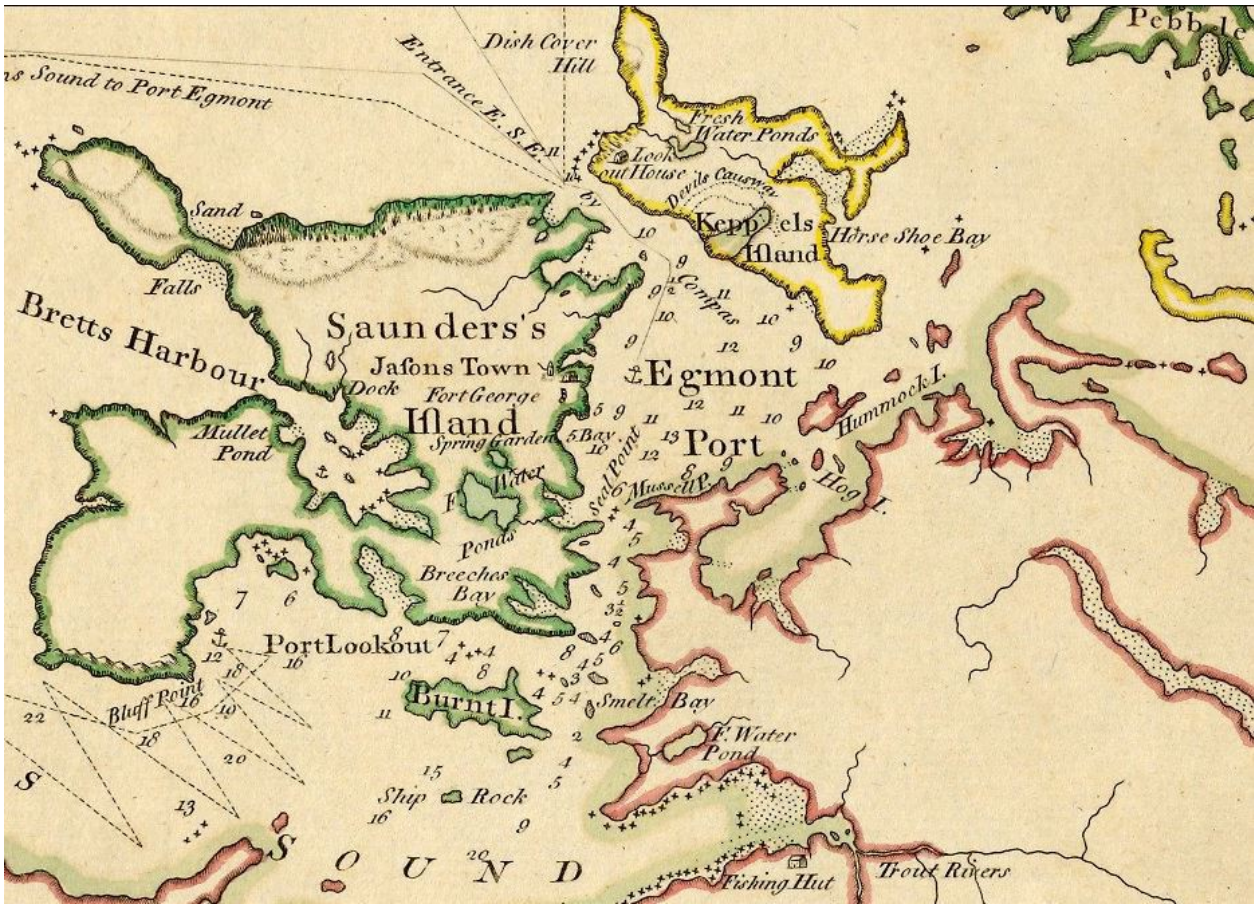


1838 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.122
1839 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.234
1840 *Compendio de lo que es la Ysla de Falkland, Port-Egmont, y su establecimiento deducido de las noticias que asi por esento como de plabra el oficial y piloto que fueron destinados a su reconocimiento por el Gobernador de las Yslas Dn. Phelipe Ruiz Puente AGI Buenos Aires 552*
1841 Munilla 1948 pp.76-77

1770 – January 1st, in London, Carrington Bowles publishes *A Draught of Falkland Islands in the latitude of 51° 22' South, longitude 64° 30' West. Published as the Act directs 1st. Jan. 1770* (previous page). [1842]

"A chart of Falkland's islands has been constructed, with so much accuracy, that the coasts of Great Britain itself are not more authentically laid down upon our maps." [1843]

The chart (detail below) reveals the harbour of Port Egmont as a body of water sheltered by Islands. On Saunders's Island is situated *Jasons Town* and *Fort George*. On Kepple's Island is *Lookout House,* and on West Falkland is a *Fishing Hut* next to a Trout Stream. [1844] Other Islands around the harbour are named Burnt Island, Hummock Island and Hog Island – where the pigs are kept. Soundings indicate that the only safe entrance/exit lies to the north of the harbour.



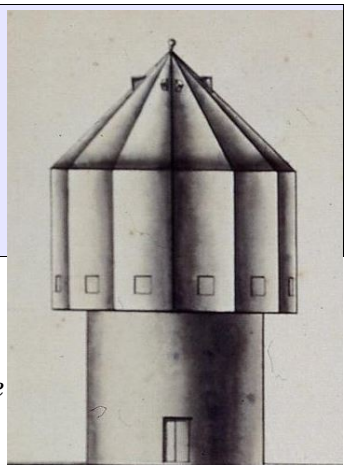
1842 Which 'act' is not clear. Nor, indeed, whether the date is that of the enactment or the publication. However, a *Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Drawings Etc:...1800*, prepared when a Royal collection was handed to the British Museum, which included a copy of this chart, gives the date as 1770. A chart with the same title was published in September 1771 in the *Modern Gazetteer or Compendious Geographical Dictionary* (see below). A remarkably similar chart, attributed to John Lodge, was published in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in October 1770 (see below). Carrington-Bowles had something of a reputation for plagiarism, so it is possible that Lodge's chart came first and Carrington Bowles' chart was back dated a few months. What is evident, however, is that survey work had not ended with McBride's departure in January, 1767 as this chart, and Lodge's, are dramatically more detailed than that of Mᶜ Bride's (see 1767 above). *cf.* footnote to March 20, 1767. Images contain hyperlinks.

1843 *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature.* Abraham Rees 1819 vol.14

1844 In December, 1769, Santos had reported to Lt. Plata that he had examined the main entrance to Port Egmont and had seen a look-out post on the hill opposite the establishment (Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.234).

Researcher's Comment: In 1765, Byron had not named a port - Egmont. He had named a harbour as Port Egmont. A harbour. A sheltered area of sea that lay between Saunder's and Kepple's Islands and the western land mass of Falklands Island. [1845]

Named for the British monarch, Fort George (right) was described as a '*pre-fabricated blockhouse*', while Jasons Town was named after M^{c}Bride's ship of 1766.



At Montevideo, unaware of events, three ships are readied for an expedition to find the English establishment on the archipelago.

"At the beginning of January, 1770, Madariaga gave Rubalcava the instructions he had written for him; his "commission is to go and reconnoitre" the coast of the Malouines "and to dislodge the English or any other foreign nation he finds established there." He must engage fully only if the forces he finds in front of him can offer no resistance. Should he be in the presence of equal or superior forces, he must inform the governor of Buenos Aires and await further orders. To these instructions are attached the various information which the Court of Madrid has collected on the supposed position of the British establishment in the Falklands. Rubalcava is entrusted with two English deserter sailors who claim to know Port Egmont and declare themselves capable of serving as pilots to discover and enter it. The small division of Rubalcava sails from Montevideo to mid-January." [1846]

January 8th, at Saunders Island, *Favourite* returns after failing to find any trace of Pepy's Island.

At the Rio de la Plata, on the same day, Commander Fernando de Rubalcava leads his squadron – *Santa Catalina* (Domingo Perler), *Andaluz* (Manuel de Pando) and *San Francisco de Paula* (José Goicoechea) – out to sea.

"On the order of D. Francesco Bucareli, Commander D. Fernando de Rubalcava left Montevideo aboard the frigate Santa Catalina, accompanied by the Andaluz and the brigantine San Francisco de Paula, to go in search of Port Egmont." [1847]

January 25th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *Swift* arrives.

"On 25 January 1770 the 14-gun sloop Swift arrived, commanded by Captain George Farmer, who on 3 February took over the settlement at Port Egmont from Anthony Hunt, though Hunt remained in charge." [1848]

January 28th, in Britain, Frederick North becomes First Lord of the Treasury. [1849]

At Puerto Soledad, *Santa-Rosa*, arrives with the garrison's supplies and news of Rubalcava's departure.

1845 Known to the French as Gran Malouine, the British in 1769 considered the two major Islands of the archipelago as one land mass, separated by a sound. Gran Malouine is now referred to as West Falkland. The suggestion that Port Egmont was **on** Saunders Island, was first mooted in 1910 by Paul Groussac. It would become a staple Argentine argument, in an attempt to limit any legitimate British claim. *cf.* 1910

1846 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1018-19 citing Goebel 1927 p.273. When tested, the deserters were found to have a poor knowledge of the West Falklands coastline.

1847 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1018.

1848 Pascoe 2020 p.36

1849 Generally referred to as 'Lord' North, although he did not actually ascend to his father's title until 1790. The title 'Prime Minister' was an ambiguous term, often rejected by its holders. North would not allow anyone to call him by that title, saying that it was "*unknown to the Constitution*". More correctly, Lord North was First Lord of the Treasury after January 28, 1770. The King led his own Cabinet and Ministers were generally equal in status.

"Ruíz Puente said he had already found the British establishment, and asked the captain of the Santa Rosa to return to Buenos Aires at once with the news; ... he also sent the San Felipe to find Rubalcava's squadron and pilot them into Port Egmont." [1850]

February 1st, at Fort George, *Florida* arrives with supplies, joining *Tamar*, *Swift* and *Favourite*. The log notes; *"... 4 Guns left on the Shoar by the Jason which are mounted on a Sodd (sic) wall thrown up between them and the Sea."*

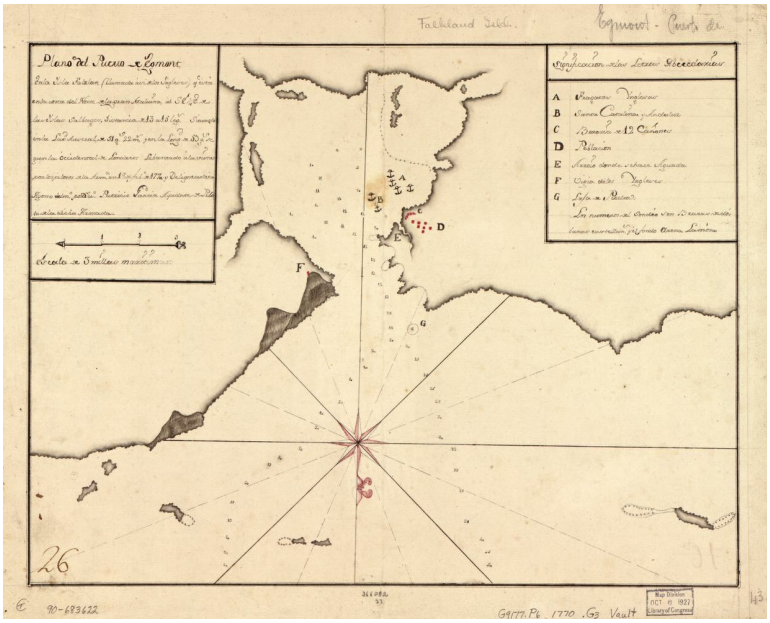
February 16th, in the evening, *Santa Catalina* approaches Kepple's Island from the north.

"... (Rubalcava) arrived at the beginning of the night two leagues from the mouth of the port. Through the fog, he sees "on the top of a mountain a kind of cottage with a sentry box." Through distrust, he leaves for the night towards the open sea ..." [1851]

February 17th, the sentry in the observation post on Kepple's Island sees two ships in the distance. [1852]

February 18th, *Santa Catalina* and *Andaluz* slowly approach the entrance to Port Egmont harbour. [1853]

".., at dawn, (Rubalcava) comes back to approach the land. At the same time, he charged D. Manuel de Pando, lieutenant of frigate, to go, with the boat of the chébec, to reconnoitre the entrance of the port. ... The ships are slowly approaching the coast without losing sight of it. Rubalcava watched and saw the sentry box or cottage that had been seen the day before. It is a guard-house near which stands a flagpole, hoisted colors. At that moment, people shout at him that Pando is entering the port. Santa-Catalina continues on her way. It is pointed out to her that a frigate is anchored at the entrance to the harbor. Rubalcava calls the Andaluz and the two ships force sail to come, .., to anchor at the entrance of the port." [1854]



Spain's two warships are surprised to discover four English vessels in the harbour – *Tamar*, *Swift*, *Favourite* and *Florida*.[1855] Outnumbered, Commander Rubalcava sends his pilot and an English interpreter to pay his compliments to the British commander, and to request permission to enter and to take on water.

> *"At 4pm came in here a Spanish launch with a lieut., informing that the two ships being King's frigates from Buenos Aires and short of water. I sent away the launch with Mr. Reed my Master to*

1850 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.235
1851 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1020. The '*cottage*' was the look-out station on Kepple Island.
1852 Capt. Hunt's log.
1853 The Spanish brigantine, *San Francisco de Paula*, appears to have moved off to conduct survey work. See below.
1854 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1020
1855 Capt. Hunt's log in Peña & Peña 2018. For other Spanish sketches see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/plano-del-puerto-egmon-situado-en-la-costa-del-norte-de-la-gran-malvina-por-la-latitud-sur-de-57-grados-24-minutos-y-en-la-longitud-de-317-grados-17-minutos-meridiano-de-thenerife-y-segu.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/plano-del-puerto-egmon-situado-en-la-costa-dl.-norte-d.-la-gran-malvina.jpg

bring them in. At the same time made the Swift's signal to weigh and come too pritty (sic) well over to Kepple's Island as did the Favorite. At 7 came in here the two Frigates... ''[1856]

Lt. de Pando records; *"... that the naval forces he had seen in the port consisted of three frigates of war, including two of 20 and one of 16 guns, all three strong in crew, but mainly the first two, in which he had been and, that besides, there was another separate frigate but he did not know if she was armed or not, ... he had no knowledge of the land forces because night had prevented him from checking on it."* [1857]

With a storm moving in, little more can be done that day, however, Rubalcava is fully aware that the; *"... three English frigates had ranged in battle on one line."* [1858]

"When on February 17 Rubalcava anchored in Port Egmont, he found himself in such manifest inferiority to the English, that he restricted his activities to ... observe, in the most complete way possible, the characteristics of the establishment." [1859]

February 19th, from Puerto Soledad, unaware of what is happening to the north-west, Governor Ruíz Puente despatches *Santa-Rosa* back to Buenos Aires with the information he has regarding Port Egmont; together with sketches of the defences and a chart of the access to the harbour. [1860] Also a gift for Bucareli, and a message to say that the garrison is in need of pregnant cows. [1861]

"It should be noted that a young bull was sent aboard the frigate Santa Rosa, sent by Ruiz Puente to the Governor of Buenos Aires, with this praise: "the Baca meat of these Islands is special",..." [1862]

"In 1770, when the British were expelled from Port Egmont, there were a total of 105 people (at Soledad), broken down as follows: 47 soldiers, 11 artillerymen, 12 sailors, 2 residents, 8 servants, 15 prisoners, 2 bakers, 2 carpenters, 1 caulker, 1 blacksmith, 1 cooper, and 3 bricklayers." [1863]

February 20th, at Port Egmont harbour, after the storm has passed, Rubalcava writes to Hunt.

> *''Happening to come into this harbour, I was surprised to find in it a kind of settlement under the English flag, which was flying on shore, and supported by his Britannic Majesty's ships, yourself being commander in chief. As these dominions belong to his Catholic Majesty, this procedure is contrary to the spirit of treaties, which do not allow of such intrusion into a foreign dominion, against all right; and therefore the subjects of the King of Great Britain have dared to violate the last peace,... accordingly I protest to you, both verbally and in writing, that you desist from your illegal usurpation of this harbour and coasts, and leave my master in the free possession of his dominions. I abstain from any other manner of proceeding, till I have acquainted his Catholic Majesty with the disagreeable affair, and receive his royal orders concerning it.''* [1864]

1856 Capt. Hunt's log. Hunt appears to have been using sea-time, where the day starts at noon. He recorded the day as February 19, 1770

1857 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1020

1858 *Ibid.*

1859 Munilla 1948 p.77

1860 Martin-Allanic 1964. p.1018

1861 *Ruiz Puente a Bucareli February 18, 1770* in *AGN IX 16-9-2*

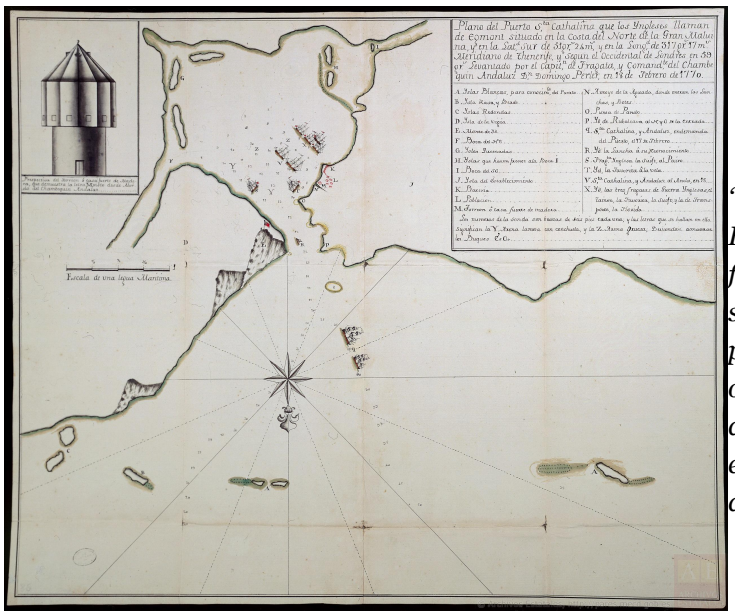
1862 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.165

1863 Ramón Gutiérrez (CONICET) in *Arquitectura y planeamiento en las Islas Malvinas : 1764-1833 2020*

1864 *Don Fernando de Rubalcava to Capt. Hunt February 20, 1770* quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol.33 April 1771 p.187. The chart here identifies the positions of the various vessels.

Hunt replies.

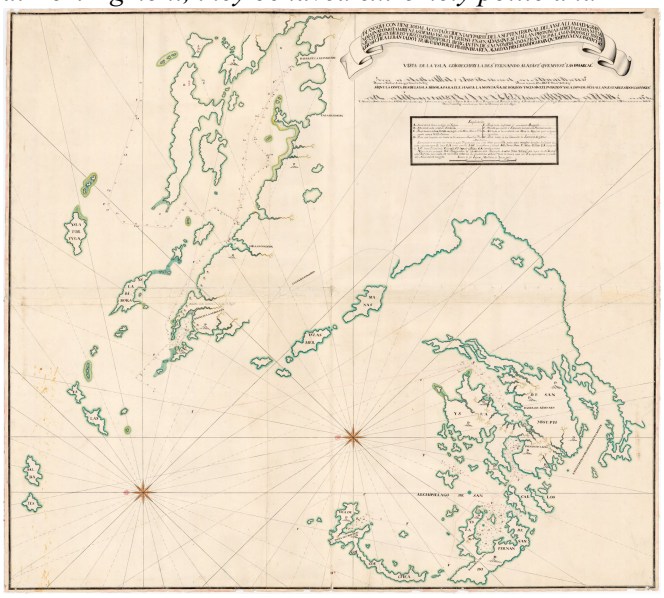
> *"... I am to acquaint you, that these islands belong to his Britannic Majesty, my master, by right of first discovery; and it is with his most gracious pleasure that I am here,.. I do therefore, in his name, warn you and exhort you, and all under your command, to evacuate them."* [1865]



"... what happened between the commander of the English establishment and that of the Spanish frigates,... that the former had replied to the summons which he had been given to abandon a possession which belonged to Spain, that, not only he would not do it, but that, if the Spaniards did not go out, in a short term of the establishment that we had yielded in the same by age, the English then would expel (them)." [1866]

Hunt supplies the Spanish ships with; *"... 4 Tons of water..."* [1867]

> *"Two Spanish frigates, the San Catalina of 36 guns, Don Fernando Rubalcava, and the Andaluzia of 30 guns, Don Domingo Perletto, both from Buenos Ayres, with troops for the settlement ... put into Port Egmont under a pretence of wanting water, which I supplied them with;... I must beg leave to observe that during the stay of the Spanish frigates at Port Egmont, they behaved extremely polite and civil, never attempting to go on shore, tho' I paid the captains and officers the compliment."* [1868]



"Rubalcava does not consider his strength sufficient to dislodge the English, "without compromising the glory of His Majesty and exposing him to an ordeal all the more hazardous because my strength did not meet my zeal," he said." [1869]

Bad weather delays the Spanish ships departure.

"Rubalcava was immobilized by the bad weather until the 25th. The English captain lends him his boats and his pilots to leave the port." [1870]

1865 *Ibid.* p.188 citing *Capt. Hunt to Don Fernando de Rubalcava February 20, 1770.*
1866 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1002 citing a letter (April 9, 1770) from Governor Bucareli to the Spanish Court. *cf.* 1770
1867 Capt. Hunt's log
1868 Hunt quoted in Brown 1922 p.405 citing *Hunt to Stephens June 3, 1770*
1869 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1021

Out of touch with the other ships, José Goicoechea in *San Francisco de Paula* surveys the northern coasts of the archipelago (right). [1871]

February 26th, from Port Egmont, the two Spanish frigates finally sail away.

> *"As far as I was able to find out, the wooden tower has some small campaign cannons and embrasures to direct them where necessary, and the same for rifles, it commands the Battery and Watering-place, where it is possible to disembark; although this pigeon-loft can be demolished with a few cannon shots."* [1872]

"(Rubalcava) stayed for eight days, during which he wrote down everything he saw and drew up a map of the bay. His courteous and in no way offensive performance revealed the exquisite culture that S. M. C. marine officers displayed at all times." [1873]

In Buenos Aires, unaware of events, Governor Bucareli orders Madariaga to prepare to sail for the archipelago, where he is to take charge of the search for the British.

"On the 26th of the same month, Bucareli orders the head of the Rio de la Plata Squadron, Madariaga, that "bearing in mind the constant spirit of the King well explained in the Royal Order of February 25, 1768 ..., it is arranged Your Excellency to go personally to the operation of unfailingly evicting the English from there with Weapons, if the admonitions ... were not sufficient..."... The preparations last until the month of May." [1874]

February 27th, at Puerto Soledad, Rubalcava arrives to confer with Ruíz Puente as to what action to take. Ruíz Puente fears that the British will attempt to oust him from Berkeley Sound. He writes to Buenos Aires for reinforcements. [1875]

"In Port Egmont he had verified the existence of three English frigates of sixteen and twenty guns and a battery of eight large caliber guns. Such a war machine had held back its rushing spirit. Rubalcava's alarm was shared by Ruiz Puente. The time for the final decision was fast approaching. Either he evicted Hunt or he was expelled by Hunt. After the British threat there was no other outcome." [1876]

February 28th, the Soledad garrison are limited as to the amount of hunting ammunition available to them. [1877]

March 3rd, Governor Ruíz Puente sends the latest intelligence to Buenos Aires with *Andaluz*.

"Then the jabeque Andaluz was called upon to transmit the information provided by Rubalcava without loss of time, (and) at the same time (Ruíz Puente) urgently requested the prompt dispatch of reinforcements." [1878]

March 4th, at the British barracks on Saunders Island, Marine Lieut. Thomas Coleman bemoans his situation in a letter to George Grenville.

1870 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1021. There is some discrepancy over the date. This may indicate merely a difference in practice. Whilst at sea, the Royal Navy changed the day at lunchtime; but on land it would only change at midnight.

1871 North is to the left of the chart.

1872 Rubalcava quoted in *La cuestion de las Malvinas contribucion al estudio de la relaciones hispano-inglesas en el siglo XVIII* M. H. Nieto 1947 p.653

1873 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.122. Brown 1922 p.405 citing *Hunt to Stephens June 3, 1770*

1874 Munilla 1948 pp.77-78 citing *Bucareli a Madariaga: 26 de Marzo de 1770. A.G.I., Buenos Aires, 552*

1875 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1021

1876 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.123-123

1877 *Reglamento de Raciones, Malvinas, 28 febrero 1770* in *AGN, XIII 3253a.* With food in short supply, a monthly ration of ammunition from official supplies had been provided so that garrison members could hunt. With the prospect of a battle with the English, restrictions were imposed.

1878 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.123

"Having an opportunity by the Tamar sloop to send to England, I readily embrace it to send you this, from the most detestable place I ever was at in my life... I have a sergeant drummer and ten; my brother officer a corporal and eight, with which we are to defend a blockhouse that has not a gun in it, or a loophole cut, but from top to bottom is filled as full as it can hold with naval stores." [1879]

March 7th, from Port Egmont, finally relieved of his command, Capt. Hunt sails for England in *Tamar*; accompanied by the store-ship *Florida*. On the same day, Capt. George Farmer sets out to survey the coast of Patagonia in *Swift*. Capt. William Maltby remains at Fort George with *Favourite*.

"A great part of the sea-coast, the many harbours among those Islands, and the long range of Patagonia, were yet unexplored. It was therefore determined that the Swift should be employed, before the winter set in, to prosecute such discoveries as the season would permit. Captain Farmer, the senior commanding the Swift, sailed on the seventh of March, 1770, on the above service, and had scarcely reached the sea in the evening, before a hard gale of wind sprung up from the south ward,..." [1880]

March 13th, the crew of *Swift* find themselves off Puerto Deseado (Port Desire) where the ship strikes a rock. [1881]

"... it was determined that the ship should remain in Port Desire for a few days, as a place of rest and refreshment; we therefore made sail for it about ten o'clock in the forenoon. We had the entrance of the harbour open, the wind blew gently out of it, the tide was setting in at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and had risen so much that all the dangers on each side of the channel were hidden, the wind too was against us. While we were deliberating what was best to be done, the ship grounded on a rock, which was totally unknown to us... she went down stern foremost in deep water, all of which happened in the space of a minute. Fortunately our boats were along side, which received about forty of the Men; the rest jumped from the bowsprit on(to) the rock, from whence they were afterwards brought to the land. As soon as we were assembled, a muster took place, which produced a melancholy discovery, that our cook and two marines were drowned; the remaining number amounted to eighty-eight." [1882]

"A few days after Hunt's departure, Farmer had the misfortune to lose his vessel in a severe gale and this left him with one sloop to guard British sovereignty in the Falklands until reinforcements arrived." [1883]

March 16th, volunteers from *Swift*, set out for the Falklands in the ship's cutter. Under Master William White.

March 20th, in Montevideo, *Andaluz* arrives with news of the British establishment on Saunders Island, and the embarrassing failure of the Rubalcava expedition to dislodge them.

March 23rd, at Port Egmont, Master White and the cutter's crew arrive after a journey of 370 nautical miles.

March 26th, in Buenos Aires, Bucareli considers recent events at Egmont.

"The English commander, far from complying with the requisition of Rubalcava, has given him fresh proof of his stubborn and reckless plan to preserve and defend the unjust position he has taken in this territory, by storing all its naval forces to receive it. ... There is no reason to doubt that the English have not only the

1879 *The Grenville Papers: being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, KG., and the Right Hon: George Grenville* William James Smith (ed.) 1853 vol.4 p.505

1880 Gower 1803 p.4. At this time, Erasmus Gower was a Lieutenant aboard *Swift.* Full account in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.239-243

1881 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/an_account_of_the_loss_of_his_majesty_s.pdf

1882 Gower 1803 pp.4-9. Much paraphrased.

1883 Brown 1922 p.405. The wreck was discovered in 1997. Items recovered are now displayed in the Mario Brozoski Provincial Museum in Puerto Deseado. *cf.* May 17, 2002

intention of keeping this post, but to occupy the entrance to the Falklands, since they made it known to Ruiz Puente that he had to evacuate it, based on what belongs to them by right of discovery." [1884]

Bucareli orders Commodore Juan Ignacio de Madariaga to prepare five ships of war.

> *"... keeping in mind the constant intention of the King as explained in the Royal Order of February 25, 1768 (...), be prepared to personally oversee the operation to evict the Yngleses from there with force if the warnings that you give upon your arrival are not enough to dissuade them."* [1885]
>
> *"... fortunately, the proud threat of the English commander authorizes us to attribute to him the first hostility."* [1886]

"... in consequence of two of His Catholic Majesty's vessels having touched at Port Egmont, in the month of January and finding it occupied by the English who not only refused to evacuate the place but even denied them admittance, a squadron of 5 frigates with 300 men were destined to sail from thence the sixth of May... to dislodge the English." [1887]

"... Bucareli, in turn, did not hesitate either. He had to reread the Royal Orders again, and well acquainted as to what the true desire of his King was, he decided to proceed. On March 26, 1770, he sent two offices to Juan Ignacio Madariaga, accompanying him with the necessary instructions, demanding their immediate fulfillment and sending him a copy of the Royal Order of February 25, 1768." [1888]

March 30th, Bucareli is informed that *Santa Catalina* and *Santa-Rosa* are at Montevideo. [1889]

April 6th, at Puerto Deseado, survivors of the *Swift* are rescued by *Favourite*. [1890]

"We saw no inhabitants during our stay at Port Desire, ... Capt. Farmer, and Mr. Thompson, our surgeon, went in the small boat about fifty leagues up the river, in hopes of making some discoveries, ... but were obliged to return on the fifth day, as they could get nothing to eat or drink. In short, it is the most barren, desolate country,..." [1891]

April 9th, at Buenos Aires, Governor Bucareli sets out his plans in a letter for Arriaga. [1892]

> *"Found the English, and ascertained the place in which they are established as Puerto de Cruzada, called Egdmont (sic) in the domain of the King on the north coast of the Great Maluina ... Your Excellency will understand the plan attached, after various considerations and investigations conducted on the matter, and that order of His Majesty ... I have now arranged to put (the plan) into*

1884 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1022 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 559 f° 330 v°*

1885 *Bucareli a Madariaga 26 de marzo 1770* in *AGI, Buenos Aires 552*

1886 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1002 citing a letter from Governor Bucareli to the Spanish Court. Also p.1004.

1887 Quoted in Brown 1922 p.408 citing *Harris to Weymouth August 23, 1770 SP (State Papers) Spain 184*

1888 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.123

1889 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.244

1890 Gower 1803 p.32. Owing to poor weather conditions, it was actually the 11th before all the survivors were aboard *Favourite* and the ship was able to sail for the Falklands. See *Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology* Alexis Catsambis, Ben Ford, Donny L. Hamilton (eds) 2011.

1891 *An Account of the loss of the Swift sloop of war on the coast of Patagonia. By a gentleman who was on board* published in *The Scots Magazine* Monday October 1, 1770

1892 There are a number of dates given for this letter; this from Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1024). An entry dated September 4, 1770 in *Correspondance des consuls de France à Cadix* Anne Mézin 2014 gives both April 6 and 26. Undoubtedly, more than one copy of the letter was sent, as that increased the chances of the message getting through. The original appears to have been handed to the commander of the *San Nicolás de Bari,* which departed Montevideo on May 26, 1770. A duplicate may have been placed with *Concepcion* which sailed in June. The records are not very clear. *cf.* August 1770

execution, to contain them, evict them, punish their pride and the(ir) attempt to evacuate us from our establishment in Maluinas ..." [1893]

"I complied literally with the order of His Majesty of February 25, 1768, which formally declares his (Majesty's) intentions and his constant will in this respect, in the measures I have taken to punish insolence and contempt with which the English responded to the moderation of the summonses which were made to them." [1894]

".., the governor of Buenos Aires assigned .., an expedition of five frigates with 1400 men of the regiment of Majorca, and the old battalion of Buenos Aires, under the command of the commander of the Royal Navy, Don Juan Ignacio Madariaga, to forcibly evict the English colony of Port Egmont." [1895]

April 16th, *Favourite* arrives back at Port Egmont harbour.

"Remaining in the ship was very tiresome, not only for want of room, but for want of exertion. The late Swift's company therefore were permitted to ramble about as they pleased. They formed small parties, and went from one island to another, amusing themselves in the best manner they could. The country abounded with long sedgy grass, which was easily converted into places of shelter. Our food consisted of geese, ducks, widgeon, teal, and a variety of other birds, which in general were so unconscious of danger, that we knocked them down with sticks." [1896]

May 10h, in the Rio de la Plata, Madariaga's fleet is finally ready. Frigates *Industria (*Juan Ignacio de Madariaga's flagship), *Santa Bárbara* (Jose Diaz Veanez), *Santa Catalina* (Fernando Rubalcava), and *Santa-Rosa* (Fransisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos), with the 3 decked xebec *Andaluz* (Domingo Perler), sail from Montevideo. [1897]

"In consequence of these (orders)were prepared five frigates: Industria, Santa Barbara, Santa Cathalina, Andaluz, and Santa Rosa. And I ordered 250 army men to reinforce the few crews on them. And in order to be able to operate on the ground if necessary, I also asked for an engineering officer and an artillery officer with everything necessary for a formal attack. ... I left Montevideo with the aforementioned 5 frigates on 10 last month" [1898]

"... the Industria, ... (26 cannons and 262 soldiers and sailors); Santa Barbara (26 cannons and 260 soldiers and sailors), commanded by don Joseph Diaz Veanes; the Santa Catalina (26 and 260 soldiers and sailors), under the command of captain don Fernando Rubalcava, and the Santa Rosa (26 guns, and 122 soldiers and sailors), and the chambequín or jabeque Andalusia (30 guns and 179 soldiers and sailors), captain don Domingo Perler. The total force transported amounted to two hundred and ninety-four men who belonged to the Grenadier companies of the Regiment of Mallorca; the boats carried on board provisions for four months and an abundant supply of gunpowder and projectiles." [1899]

1893 *Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2.*

1894 Bucareli quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1024

1895 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones Exteriores presentada al Honorable Congreso Nacional en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278

1896 Gower 1803 p.40

1897 *AGN IX-1476.* Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1024) gives the date of departure as the 11th, as does Garcia Diego (2014 p.19). In Mézin (2014) the date is given as May 9, 1770.

1898 Attack report dated June 15, 1770 in *AGN IX-1476.* Unsigned but seemingly addressed to Ruíz Puente. The wording suggests Madariaga was the author.

1899 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.123

June 3rd, in Plymouth, England, Capt. Hunt arrives. [1900] Before he can send his reports and correspondence to the Admiralty, rumours of the Spaniards visiting the harbour of Port Egmont spread.

> *"Falkland Island, which is now the Subject of general Conversation, and of which port Egmont is the principal Harbour, is not in the South Seas, as has been falsely suggested, nor is it one of the new discovered islands, but an Island on the Southward of the Coast of Brasil, and on this Side the Straits of Magellan, lying in 52 Degrees of South Latitude, and 65 of East Longitude. It lies about 5 Degrees to the East of the Coast of Patagonia; and about 15 Degrees to the South of the River Plata, on which Buenos Ayres is situated. It is not more than three Degrees from Staten Land, the easternmost point of South America, and is very conveniently situated for watering and refreshing the Seamen,.. On this Account it is of Consequence to the Spaniards, who begin to be jealous of our increasing Communication with the South Seas. For the same Reason it is of Importance to Great Britain to preserve it,.. a place of infinite Use in Case of Sickness, or other Distress. It is marked upon the general Map in Anson's Voyage, and seems to be of considerable Extent."* [1901]

> *"Dear Sir, I cannot yet find with certainty what has been the transaction at Falkland Island; I only know, that the report first spread, and the account since propagated to contradict that report, are neither of them true. I do not understand that the Spaniards have carried off our people, and you, who I suppose know that a Memorial was transmitted long since from Spain, on the subject of that settlement, and that advices were received during the winter, of two frigates preparing to go thither, will not believe those two frigates accidentally put in for water and refreshments. The best account I can get is, that the commander of the frigates required of the English commanding officer to quit the island; that the latter refused; upon which, as some say, the Spaniard made a formal claim and departed; as others say;, he left a requisition to the English to depart in six months. You will see by the papers, that a Remonstrance was voted unanimously at Guildford, but as it was pressed on at that time by Sir John Mawbey, against the opinion of the gentlemen in general who are named to present it, and who wished to see what other countries were inclined to do before this country stirred, most of those gentlemen have declined to present it.... The stocks, you see, are got up again, partly because the report about Falkland Island was contradicted, and partly because they never are much or long affected by alarms of a Spanish war...."*[1902]

> *"A letter received yesterday from Plymouth, dated June 3, after mentioning the arrival there of the Tamar sloop and the storeship from Falkland Island, adds, "The crews of these ships report, that some time ago two large Spanish frigates of 36 guns mounted upon one deck, arrived at Falkland island. And ordered the small English squadron riding there to quit that island immediately; which order was treated with the contempt it deserved; and in return they were ordered to do the same. However, after lying there eight days, without the least intercourse with each other, the Spaniards thought proper to leave the island."..."* [1903]

In the South Atlantic, during the late afternoon of the same day, the Spanish frigate *Industria*, commanded by Commodore Madariaga, arrives at the harbour of Port Egmont. Once again, the Spanish claim to be in need of fresh water. [1904]

1900 Date provided by a Parliamentary debate and mentioned in the *Annual Register.* Also Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1008 fn.12). Pascoe (2020) gives the date as the 2nd. *cf.* Almon 1792

1901 *Oxford Journal* Saturday June 9, 1770

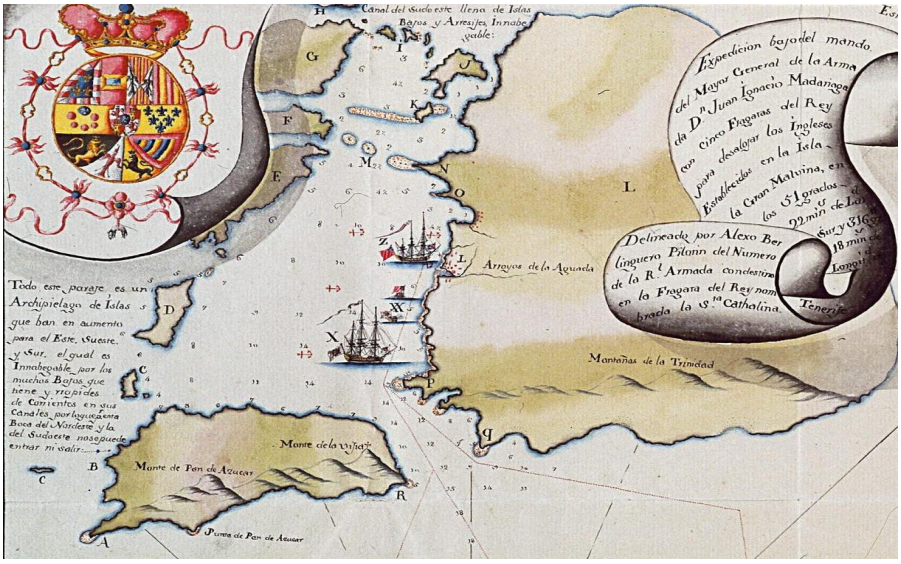
1902 *Mr Whatley to Mr. Grenville June 10, 1770* in *The Grenville Papers: being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, KG., and the Right Hon: George Grenville* William J. Smith1853

1903 *The Scots Magazine* Wednesday August 1, 1770

1904 Maltby and Gower (1803) recorded the date as the 3rd; Farmer as the 4th (sea time?). The Spanish chart on the next page shows the relative positions of the ships. Z = *Industria*. X is *Favourite*. The image contains a hyperlink.

"I resolved to enter it (the bay), which I did on the afternoon of Day 4, and I deepened near the mouth to the inner part with the intention to entertain the English with various pretexts, two or three days more, for the winds that ran from the North gave me hope for the brief meeting of all the frigates in this bay according to the precise orders I had given to their commanders." [1905]

".., a Spanish frigate, anchored in Port Egmont harbour, having been, they said, fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, put in for water, and bound to Port Solidad (sic)." [1906]


Canal del Sudoeste lleno de Islas
Bajos y Arrecifes Innabe
gable:
Todo este parage es un
Archipielago de Islas
que han en aumento
para el Este, Sueste,
y Sur, el qual es
Innabegable por los
muchos Bajos que
tiene y rapidez
de Corrientes en sus
Canales por lo que esta
Boca del Nordeste y la
del Sudoeste no se puede
entrar ni salir.
Arrayos de la Aguada
Monte de Pan de Azucar
Punta de Pan de Azucar
Montañas de la Trinidad
Delineado por Alexo Ber
Piloto del Numero
de la R.l Armada condecorado
en la Fragata del Rey nom
brada la S.ta Catholina.
Tenerife

Madariaga takes the opportunity to reconnoitre the ground by sending some 'bottles' as gifts to thank the British.

"... the blockhouse of wood with 4 embrasures for the 4 cannons.., to which they added 2 to 6 guns, landed from the frigate the Favorite, which is the only one that was in port, moored in the shelter of their batteries. The captain of grenadiers of the regiment of Mallorca, Don Benito Vial, .., was one of those who went ashore, and recognized that with his company .., and a hundred sailors, I could assault the blockhouse and battery of the new establishment, invading them from behind..." [1907]

Capt. Maltby demands that the two Spanish ships leave, but his demands are ignored. [1908]

"Trying to buy time for the rest of the flotilla to join him, he made contact with the English. It was not long before he knew what their way of thinking was. He was informed that he should leave the bay as soon as possible or be attacked. Madariaga did not obey: "I put myself in good harmony with them at the expense of some gifts," he later informed his superiors, while showing them the good condition of the artillery of the frigate and the troops with which it was equipped. Then, continuing with his policy of buying time, he sent a boat ashore to see the Governor, but, in reality, with the specific mission of observing the defenses of the base. .. The examination revealed that by landing his forces ... and attacking the base from its rear, success was assured. Madariaga resolved to execute the operation." [1909]

June 6th, in London, the Admiralty reports the arrival of Capt. Hunt, together with the news he carries. [1910]

At Port Egmont, during the afternoon, *Industria* is joined by the other Spanish ships. [1911]

"On the third of the month, anchored here a Spanish frigate, of 32 guns. The pretence was the want of water; but on the sixth, four others arrived, and the same excuse was made. However when they had reconnoitred their works on shore, our visitors informed us their intentions were hostile with respect to the settlement, and

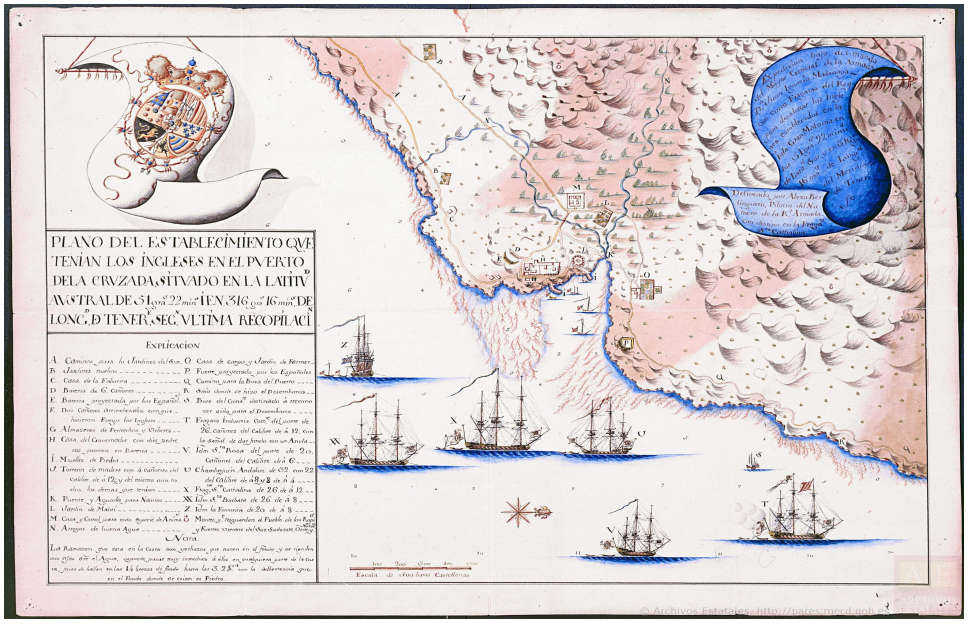
1905 Madariaga in *AGN IX-1476*
1906 Farmer quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol.33 April 1771 p.189.
1907 *AGN IX-1476*
1908 *The History, Debates and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament of Great Britain* J. Debrett vol.5 1792 p.486
1909 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.124
1910 Tracy 1975
1911 *AGN IX-1476.* British reports say the 7th (sea time) which suggests the afternoon of the June 6, 1770.

all the islands, which they demanded in the name of the King of Spain, as adjoining to the river Plata, and likewise as the islands had been purchased from Monsieur Bouganville, who being sent into these seas by the French Government on a voyage of observation, pronounced himself the first discoverer of them." [1912]

"*This day and the next day were used "to choose a good anchorage", that is to say to put themselves in a position to fire: Santa Catalina and Andaluz on the village, Santa Barbara on the English frigate. Industry and Santa Rosa stood out of reach of the English canons, ready to intervene. Those who saw the port for the first time were astonished by such a display of strength to seize this poor establishment. This movement of warships, crowded with troops, surprised the English commander, who made the frigate the Favourite to (move near) land, both to prevent it from being caught between two fires and to better defend itself from a landing."* [1913]

"The afternoon of the 6th brought the leader of the flotilla the joy of seeing the rest of the boats enter the bay. He then changed his plan and resolved to execute the commission without the use of force, trusting that the deployment of the offensive means at his disposal would be sufficient to discourage Egmont." [1914]

June 7th, *Favourite* manoeuvres to place herself closer to shore; between the Spanish ships and the settlement.


PLANO DEL ESTABLECIMIENTO QUE TENIAN LOS INGLESES EN EL PUERTO DELA CRUZADA, SITUADO EN LA LATITUD AUSTRAL DE 51 grados 22 min. Y EN 316 grados 16 min. DE LONG.D TENER SEG.N ULTIMA RECOPILACI
Explicacion
Escala de Toesas Castellanas
© Archivos Estatales, http://pares.mcd.gob.es

"The seventh anchored here four Spanish frigates which had been 26 days from Buenos Ayres, came out in company with the 'Industry' and parted with her four days before. On the arrival of those ships the 'Industry' hoisted a Spanish broad pendant. I now ordered most of the officers and men belonging to the late 'Swift' on shore to defend the settlement, and ordered Captain Maltby to get the 'Favorite 'nearer into Jason's cove. One of the Spanish frigates sent an officer on board, to acquaint Captain Maltby, that if he weighed they would fire into him, which he took no notice of but got under sail. ... "[1915]

1912 Gower 1803. Eye witness account
1913 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1034
1914 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.124
1915 *Papers relative to the late negotiation with Spain and the taking of Falkland Islands from the English, London, 1771* J. Almon (pub) 1777. Also Brown 1922 p.405

Britain's garrison has just four 12-pound cannon, a wooden blockhouse, a single frigate, and two crews.

> *"... we had nothing to oppose them, except the Favorite of 16 guns. There was indeed a block-house, originally intended to receive seven six-pounders, but the port-holes were not cut. The frame had been built in England, and was sent out at a great expence (sic), with no guns or ammunition, we therefore used it as a store-house for our provisions; but on this occasion it was cleared, and four port-holes cut, to receive four twelve pounders, that had been left on the shore by the late Admiral Mac Bride, ..."* [1916]

Favourite is fired upon by one of the Spanish ships.

> *"The Spanish frigate fired 2 shot which dropt to leeward of the 'Favorite'. ... Captain Maltby sent an officer on board the Spanish commodore to know the reason why one of the ships under his command had fired two shot at the 'Favorite'; his answer was that they were not fired at the 'Favorite' but as signals to him. We now wrote to the Spanish Commodore desiring as he had received the refreshments he stood in need of, that he would depart from hence. His answers with the preparations they were making left us no doubt of their real intention..."* [1917]

"... the English frigate hoisted her sails and began to sail. Immediately Santa Catalina and Santa Rosa did the same. An officer was sent aboard the Favorite to ask where she wanted to go and order her to anchor. It was absolutely necessary, indeed, that she should not escape to carry to London the news of the event before it was known in Madrid. The English frigate did not resist." [1918]

June 8th, Madariaga writes to Maltby (*Favourite*) and Farmer (Fort George).

> *"Finding myself with incomparable and superior forces to the frigate you command, and attending to the good harmony that reigns between our respective Sovereigns, and considering the Humanity that should be used to people that are defenceless, as you are, I intimate to you a first, a second and a third time, to quit this port. Your acting contrary, will oblige me to proceed to hostilities against you,.."* [1919]

> *"As I find myself infinitely superior in troops, artillery, ammunition, and all that is necessary to reduce a fortified place in order, - that I have more than 1,400 landing men, of which 526 are chosen troops – If you do not want to do it willingly, I will be forced to use force and you will be responsible for unfortunate consequences that will result ..."* [1920]

> *"... Finding myself with incomparable superior forces of troops, train of artillery, utensils, ammunition and all the rest corresponding, for to reduce a regular fortification, with 1,400 men for disembarking, for which 526 are of choice regular troops, as you may see, I see myself obliged in this case to intimate to you, according to the orders of my court, that you should quit that began establishment; for, if you do not execute it amicably, I will oblige you by force, and you will be answerable for all the ill results of the action and measures I shall take..."* [1921]

> *"As I am with forces infinitely superior to those of your frigate and I would not want to break the good harmony which reigns between our sovereigns or to miss the rights of the humanity... I summon you*

1916 Quoted in Gower 1803 p.42
1917 Brown 1922 p.405
1918 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1035. Clearly, the two sides submitted different accounts. Martin-Allanic states that *Favourite* manoeuvred at nightfall, but does not explain why it took her so long to take up a defensive position.
1919 *Madariaga to Maltby* quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol. 33 April 1771 p.188
1920 *Madariaga to Maltby* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1034
1921 *Madariaga to Farmer* quoted in *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire* R.M. Martin 1839

once, twice and three times, to leave this port at the moment when I shall see myself obliged to make use of the cannon. You will be treated quite differently by voluntarily withdrawing only in case you should be driven out by force, although you can always count on equal honesty on my part." [1922]

"... Madariaga resolved to hasten the attack. He had, however, to postpone it, for on June 8 and 9 they were so "cruel with Hail and Snow that they covered the Mountains from the banks to the Summits with white clothes."..." [1923]

June 9th, in the morning, with his messenger not returned, the Spanish commander writes again to *"Mess. George Farmer and William Maltby, or any others that command the English forces by sea and land, in this bay of the Cruizada."*

"Nobody ought to make an establishment, and much less to fortify themselves, in these islands, ports and coasts of Magellan, without the permission of His Catholic Majesty, my respectable sovereign; and as you have not that permission, you ought to abandon and quit this bay, batteries on shore, and the settlement which you have begun. If you will give me authentic proof that you will quickly and with good will do this, I will put with peace and quietness my troops on shore, and yours will be treated with all the consideration and attention that corresponds to the good harmony that subsists between our Sovereigns; and I will permit that you may carry with you all that you have got on shore, and belongs to you lawfully; and what you cannot carry, or won't carry, I will give you a receipt, that upon this subject the two courts interested may settle the affair. But if, contrary to all expectation, you should be determined to maintain your new Establishment, I will avail myself of the forces under my command, to make you quit the place with the fire of my guns and musquets (sic), and you will be the cause of your own ruin and the fatal consequences of the warm attack that I shall make both by sea and land, in order to obtain by force the accomplishment of my orders, if from this intimation should not result the effect I desire. ... if you not in fifteen minutes after this letter shall have been delivered into your hands, by my officer, give a categorical and favourable answer to my intent, I will begin the operations.." [1924]

Before this message can be sent, however, Madariaga's officer returns after having spent the night aboard *Favourite*. He hands over letters from both Maltby and Farmer containing a similar rejoinder.

"As you have received the refreshments of water, &c. you stood in need of, my orders from his Britannic Majesty, my royal master, are, to warn you forthwith to quit this harbour and islands, called Falkland's, having first been discovered by the subjects of the crown of England, sent out by the government thereof for that purpose, and of right, belong to his Majesty; and his Majesty having given orders for the settlement thereof, the subjects of no other power can have any title to establish themselves therein without the King's permission." [1925]

Madariaga's message is passed to the English commanders; with an additional paragraph.

"Your so-called rights are not able to stop me. If I were ambassador of Spain in London, I would demonstrate the justice and the legitimacy of the titles of my sovereign on these Magellanic islands

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1922 *Madariaga to Farmer* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1034

1923 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.125. No source cited.

1924 *The Scots Magazine* vol. 33 April 1771 p.190. Also Brown 1922 p.406. A Spanish to French translation in Martin-Allanic 1964 on p.1035 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 499-500* & *Falkland Papers p.31*

1925 Quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol. 33 April 1771 p.188 & 190

and lands, but it is now neither the moment nor my business to discuss the rights and I must confine myself to acting,…" [1926]

Both British officers respond immediately – once again with almost identical letters.

"Your letters of the 8th and this day's date I have received, in which you threaten, pursuant to your orders, to send me from hence by force of arms. Words are not always deemed hostilities; nor can I think you mean, in a time of profound peace, to put them in execution; more especially as you allow there now subsists the greatest harmony between the two crowns. I make not the least doubt of your being thoroughly convinced, that the King of Great Britain, my royal master, has forces sufficient to demand satisfaction in all parts of the globe, of any power whatsoever that may offer to insult the British flag. Therefore, was the time limited shorter than the fifteen minutes you have allowed, it should make no alteration in my determined resolution to defend the charge committed to me, to the utmost of my power;.." [1927]

"You gave me fifteen minutes to answer you, but if this time had been even shorter, it would have brought no change or interference to the firm resolution I have for defending until the last the post I was given." [1928]

Madariaga immediately notes the responses from the British officers, and replies that their reasons are not "*sufficient*" and nor was it his *".. business to question rights, only to proceed to doing; leaving, or submitting to our courts the decisions of right and property."*

"I wrote to the English commanders of sea and land the letters .., but they answered me with their official orders despising my forces, and that to the last extreme they would defend themselves … (so) I determined to make the attack, and to force them. … I myself exhorted in person the Englishmen to forsake this bay and establishment, but I found them so firm in the resolve to die rather than forsake this highly recommended establishment of his court, that it left them no discretion to forsake him, even if they are attacked by any force." [1929]

Invited to inspect the Spanish troops, Farmer sends two officers. In addition to the Spanish ships and crews, are 1400 marines equipped with 27 cannon, 4 mortars and 200 bombs.

"But the desire to fulfill his obligation under the narrowest orders of his court implored them to die with honor in action, fearing to die without honor in London." [1930]

"… that the Spaniards had sixteen hundred men, five frigates, and a formidable train of artillery convinced the English that resistance from one sloop and a wooden blockhouse would be worse than futile, but did not alter their determination to make the Spaniards proceed to such acts of hostility as could not be denied nor explained away." [1931]

Capt. Maltby, with 50 crew and two cannon, reinforces the blockhouse.

1926 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1036

1927 Quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol. 33 April 1771 p.191 citing *Capt. Farmer to Juan Ignacio Madariaga June 9, 1770.* Also *Papers relative to the late negotiation with Spain and the taking of Falkland Islands from the English, London, 1771* quoted in Brown 1922 p.407 citing *Farmer to Madariaga June 9, 1770*

1928 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1036-1037

1929 *AGN IX-1476*

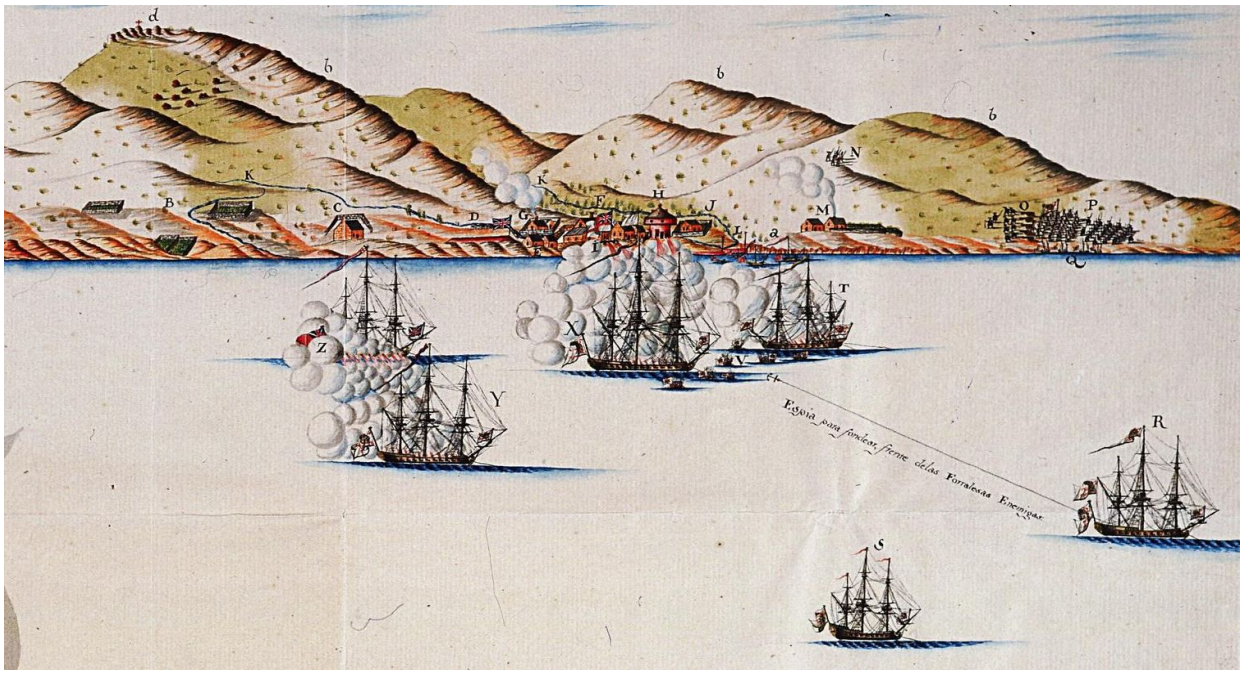
1930 *Ibid.*

1931 Brown 1922 p.407

"It was all play-acting of course. The British knew they were beaten, and the British commanders had already arranged with the Spanish officer that the Spaniards would make a show of violence and fire without harming anyone, whereupon the British would capitulate to overwhelming force having saved their honour. According to the Spanish account, the British commanders even blessed Bucareli for having sent such a manifestly irresistible superiority of force, so that they could avoid all bloodshed without dishonour." [1932]

June 10th, on Saunder's Island, Spanish forces land to the north of Fort George. One Spanish frigate sends boats directly towards the shore covered by cannon fire from the other Spanish vessels; the shot passing over the blockhouse roof. [1933]

> *"At last I planned to put into practice the attack, at the same time by sea and land, with hope that the first (rounds) fired would intimidated the sailors and the few troops they had, since in total there were 156 men, only 20 or 30 soldiers. ... our boats loaded with troops, starting the action when the other troops on my ship and those of Santa Rosa disembarked a quarter of a league with their five guns (and) were at a distance proportionate to advance to the blockhouse."* [1934]



"On the morning of the 10th, Colonel D. Antonio Guttierez disembarked his infantry and artillery "in the place he had chosen" and took up his fighting arrangements while the garrison of the fort itself took defensive measures. Finally, the artillery "made a discharge without intention of damaging either the frigate that was in the harbor or the colony," and only in the idea of testing the intentions of the English..." [1935]

Outnumbered, and surrounded, Britain's garrison surrenders.

> *"... As soon as the frigates fired, and the English discovered the companies of grenadiers at the head of the 2 columns, they made white flag without having done more than to fire their ground artillery precipitously, and the frigate was not hit by ours by the First discharge for the consideration of*

1932 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.247 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1037
1933 *Ibid.*
1934 Madariaga in *AGN IX-1476*
1935 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1037

humanity, and avoid an infallible havoc that could sour London spirits, .., but all were unharmed on sea and land, both Spanish and English, for having made the effect of terror that I wanted…. I think if the English had gathered all their People and Canons on land (they) would have cost us a lot in Blood, (although) according to the Spirit of our People (we) would always have won the victory."[1936]

"We fired some shot, and (not seeing the least probability of being able against such a superior force to defend the settlement) hoisted a flag of truce,..." [1937]

"... they set their troops and artillery onshore; several shots were then fired from the frigates over the blockhouse, and a few from us over the ships. In the mean time the Spanish troops were advancing. Situated as we were, it was totally unnecessary for us to content; the flag of truce was therefore displayed, and a capitulation ensued." [1938]

"On the tenth of June, when the Spanish force had been actually landed and some shots discharged at the blockhouse and replied to, a flag of truce was hung out..." [1939]

"Madariaga opens fire against Port Egmont, using the minimum amount necessary for the commander of the post, Captain Farmer, to affirm that he has been violently expelled. Then the capitulation is signed." [1940]

"... when Madariaga gave the order to the ships to open fire "without attempting to offend the frigate or the English Colony with the first volley, and only - said the Spanish chief - to test and prove the idea of the English, whose people assured that at the first fire they would surrender." As expected, this happened, raising the white flag." [1941]

"In fact, it had been well agreed between the Spanish aide-major and the two English captains that the Spaniards would make the simulacrum of violence and fire on the establishment without touching anyone. After this test of hostility, the English, recognizing the crushing forces of the enemy and judging their honor safe, would capitulate. The two captains demanded this aggression, "by blessing Bucareli for having assured the Spaniards a superiority so manifestly irresistible that it could shamelessly avoid any bloodshed." ..." [1942]

"... the Spaniards said they had arrived in such strength in order to enable a capitulation with honour, ... Gower says the Spaniards fired several shots over the blockhouse and the British fired a few over the ships, which satisfied honour on both sides, and the British then surrendered. The Spaniards and British treated each other with courtesy and all arrangements went smoothly." [1943]

Britain's officers seek articles of capitulation, offering the confinement of the garrison's officers and men to their quarters; the Union Flag to remaining hoisted both on land and sea until their departure. To be marked by "*the drum beating the march*." Madariaga accepts the British terms; to which he adds his own.

A final agreement is drawn up.

> "*Art. I. That we will deliver to the ſaid Commander the Block-houſe, with its guns, and whatever appertains to it within or without, likewiſe the battery commanding Jaſon's Cove, being ſenſible of the*

1936 Madariaga quoted in *AGN IX-1476.* Also in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.125
1937 Quoted in *The Scots Magazine* vol. 33 April 1771 p.189 citing *Capt. Farmer to Mr. Stephens September 22, 1770*
1938 Gower 1803. An eye witness account.
1939 Brown 1922 p.407
1940 Munilla 1948 p.78 citing *Ruiz Puente a Arriaga: 29. de Junio de 1770. A.G.I., India. gen. 412, 118*
1941 Revello 1952
1942 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1037 citing *Armada Espanola* Cesáreo Fernández Duro 1895-1903
1943 Pascoe 2020 p.36 citing *La Cuestión de las Malvinas*, Hidalgo Nieto 1947 p.624.

ſuperior forces with which we are attacked by ſea and land. — That the Block-houſe battery, and the reſt, muſt be delivered immediately to the Colonel Don Antonio Gutiarroz, Commander of the Spaniſh troops.

II. That the King's colours be kept flying on the ſhore until we imbark, and the ſame on board his Majeſty's ſloop Favourite, and that the officers and troops be permitted to remain in their quarters as before. — That they will be allowed their quarters on ſhore for the officers and troops until they imbark, and likewiſe their colours flying on ſhore and on board the Favourite, but without exerciſing any other juriſdićtion but with their own people, they being only there for a time limited until their imbarkation.

III. That we may be permitted to carry in his Majeſty's ſloop Favourite; where-ever we ſhall think proper, the officers, troops, ſeamen, ammunition of all kinds, proviſions and ſtores as much as we may think neceſſary, and depart as ſoon as we are fit for ſea.— That the troops muſt preciſely go in the Favourite frigate, with the ſeamen and whatever effects ſhe can carry, to be tranſported out of the American dominions belonging to the Catholic King, my maſter, after duly delivering every thing in proper form to Don Philip Ruiz Puenta, Governor of theſe iſlands of Magellan, reſiding in the eaſtermoſt, to which we will immediately give an account, that he may come in perſon, or ſend his deputy, without delay, to take charge of the ſtore-houſe, ſtores, &c. that the Engliſh have. As this is part of his government, he is and will be anſwerable to my Sovereign for the good huſbandry of what will be delivered to him, or to his deputy, commiſſioned for that purpoſe; and till this can be performed with all requiſite formalities, the Favourite ſhall not move, unleſs by any accident Don Philip Ruiz Puentā, or his deputy, ſhould delay coming; in which caſe, if it ſhould exceed forty days, the Favourite may ſail whenever they think Proper, with all that ſhe can carry; but ſhe can never go out until ***twenty days after one of the frigates under my comamand****; and for the further ſecurity of obſerving the capitulation, the Favourite frigate ſhall be diſmantled, by putting her rudder on ſhore.* [1944]

IV. That what we ſhall not be able to carry with us, you will give us receipts for, expreſſing every article left here, that we may be able to give an account thereof when required. – There will be receipts given for all the ſtores, &c. that his Britannic Majeſty's ſloop Favourite cannot carry. -

V. That at the time we are going to imbark on board his Majeſty's ſloop Fawourite, (after concluding the inventories, and delivering every thing to you in proper form), we may have liberty to march off under arms, with drums beating, colours flying, &c. without being incommoded or injured. — That at the time of their imbarking on board the Favourite, they muſt acquaint the Spaniſh Commodore thereof to agree upon the hour, as the Engliſh are not allowed to take arms without giving notice to the ſaid Commander, that he may give orders to be obſerved what they have defired, in order that they may not be incommoded or injured at their departure; but ſhould they do contrary to the above, it will be taken for an attempt, and they will be anſwerable for the re1ſult.

VI. That to prevent diſorder, an officer with a few men may take poſſeſſion of the Block-houſe. — For to prevent diſorder, and to take poſſeſſion of the Block-houſe with regularity and good order, the Colonel Don Antonio Guttiarroz, will march, with all his troops, and will have in the ſettlement for the preſent only a company of grenadiers.

1944 My emphasis. Madariaga needed to delay *Favourite*'s departure, in order to give his report a head start; before anyone could inform London. For two reasons. Firstly, Madariaga wanted the glory. Secondly, it was a time of peace between the two nations and Spain would need to introduce events to the British tactfully. The Commander seems to have been unaware, that a report of the earlier encounter had already been carried to England, by Capt. Hunt.

VII. That the cordage and other materials that ſerved for parapets, &c. at the batteries may be put into the ſtore houſes, under lock and key, until proper inventories can be taken, or that we may carry them on board the Favourite. —The cordage and all the materials ſhat ſerved for parapets at the batteries will be put in ſtore-houſes, which keys will be delivered to the Engliſh till the inventories are drawn in proper form, and they imbarked on board the Favourite as granted." [1945]

"The principal articles were, that the Favorite should not depart for England, till the expiration of twenty days after one of their (Spanish) frigates had sailed, That an inventory of every thing we left should be taken, for which they would give receipts. That the stores and block-house might be paid for by the Spanish government, for they did not conceive the present transactions would produce a rupture between the two states. That they would not interfere with the King's ship, nor people; and that we were to remain, in peaceable possession of our houses till we sailed. These preliminaries having been settled, the Spanish troops took possession, and we lived together on the most sociable terms:.." [1946]

"The officers of both nations treated each other courteously." [1947]

Terms are signed by Captain's Farmer and Maltby for England, and countersigned - *"Major General of the Royal Navy of his Catholic Majesty, Don Juan Ignacio Madariaga,* representing Spain. *Favourite's* rudder is removed.[1948]

"When occupying Port Egmont on June 10, Madariaga understood the need to immediately send a report of what happened to his Court. Thus, in Madrid they would have time to adopt the necessary precautions. At the same time, he wanted to avoid, by any peaceful remedy, the English doing the same, ..." [1949]

June 12th, in London, responding to rumours about a Spanish attack on Port Egmont that have spread following Captain Hunt's return, the British Government issues a denial; *"... in the public papers."* [1950]

"... rumour spreading in the City that the Spaniards had forced the English to abandon Falkland Island." [1951]

"... the French chargé d'affaires, Jacques Françès,[1952] called on Lord Weymouth... seeking confirmation of the news he had heard. Weymouth assuaged his worries, stating that both sides had behaved civilly and moderately in the islands. Weymouth was lukewarm in his attachment to Port Egmont, exclaiming "It is not my child, and I have not adopted it. It is unfortunately easier to form such enterprises than to abandon them... It would have been better if it had never been thought of."[1953]

1945 Quoted in *Papers Relative to the late negotiation with Spain* in *The Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol. 33 pp.191-192

1946 Gower 1803 p.43. Gower was present throughout the proceedings.

1947 Martin-Allanic 1964 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 559 f° 510-513*

1948 A controversial act, as it was seen to reflect upon the honour of the Captains, and their nation. Subsequently considered an insult in England. See below. Gower (1803 p.43), however, asserts that the rudder was actually in need of repair and was returned after only 4 days in a serviceable condition – *"... there has been more said on the subject of disgrace, than there was occasion."*

1949 Munilla 1948 p.89 citing *Act of the Commanders and Chiefs of Infantry, June 11, 1770* in *AGI, Buenos Aires, 352.*

1950 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.998

1951 *Chatalet to Choiseul June 15, 1770* in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.998 citing *Aff. Etr. Angl, 492, f° 216, 15 juin 1770*

1952 In charge of the Embassy, while the Ambassador was absent. Rice (*British Foreign Policy and the Falkland Islands Crisis 1770-71* 2010) names the *charge d'affaires* as Bertrand de Françés. Pascoe (2022) as Jacques Françés. Goebel (1927) and Martin-Allanic (1964) only employ the last name, as does William Anson (ed) (*Autobiography & Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton* 1898).

1953 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.249 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.998-999. Surprising in view of Weymouth's later attitude.

As the controversy gains pace in the journals, charts of the Falklands' archipelago start to appear (example right).[1954]

June 13th, in London, First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Edward Hawke, has; *"... a long private conference with his Majesty and the D. of Cumberland, at St. James's, in which, it is said the necessity of sending a Squadron to Falkland's Island was strongly enforced. It is said, that in the Journal's of the Tamar Sloop of War, some Proceedings of the Spanish Commander are mentioned, which the Ministry have thought proper to conceal at present."* [1955]

> *"... Prince Masserano immediately waited on Lord Weymouth, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and had a long conference with his Lordship, although it had been remarked, that Prince Masserano, before that Day, had not been seen at Lord Weymouth's office for upward of three Months before this critical Affair happened;.. after the Conference between Lord Weymouth and Prince Masserano was over, an English Courier Extraordinary was instantly dispatched to Madrid..."* [1956]

"Lord Weymouth, .., told Prince de Masseran that the version given (to the press) ... is false (but) that something (had) happened.." [1957]

June 15th, from London, Louis Marie Florent, the Count de Châtalet, the French Ambassador to London, arrives in Paris on leave. He informs Choiseul of the news brought back by *Tamar*. [1958]

On the same day, from London, *charge d'affaires*, Françés, writes to Choiseul; *"The interest and intentions of the ministry is certainly not to engage in the chimerical project of the establishment formed by Lord Egmont, but this same department, out of pride and weakness, will not dare to abandon it."* [1959]

In the Falkland Islands, Madariaga prepares reports on the action. [1960] He also writes to inform Bucareli that the resources on the islands are not sufficient to meet the needs of his squadron, and so he is sending all but one of his ships back to Montevideo.

After talking to the British captains, he is certain that no further ship is likely to arrive before October. For the defence of Port Egmont, Madariaga is leaving eight cannon in the charge of a company of the Buenos Aires Regiment. Two subalterns, 62 men and 8 ground gunners are to be under the command of Don Juan de Salas.

1954 This by Thomas Jeffreys of London. Exact date unknown, but Jeffreys died in 1771, so the chart is likely to have been engraved in 1770, perhaps earlier as Jeffreys' employed the French names for the two main islands, and notes variations observed by Bougainville. Jeffrey's apprentice, John Lodge, published his own Falklands map in October, 1770.
1955 *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday June 15, 1770
1956 *Northampton Mercury* Monday June 18 1770
1957 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.998
1958 *Ibid. citing Aff. Etr. Angl, 492, f° 216, 15 juin 1770*
1959 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.998. Letter received in Paris on June 20, 1770. No citation.
1960 *AGN IX-1476*

Expressing some second thoughts, Madariaga writes to tell Bucareli that he fears that if the English hear the news first, there could be "*fatal results*." Due to this possibility, it is Madariaga's intention to sail for Spain with the news. [1961]

June 16th, in London, following the arrival of a message from Sir James Gray in Madrid regarding the Falkland Islands, a Cabinet meeting is held to consider the issue. [1962]

June 22nd, *charge d'affaires* Françés, speaks to the Southern Secretary.

"Our charge d'affaires went to visit Lord Weymouth, for confirmation of the news circulating. This minister has reduced the facts to simpler proportions. The Spanish commander handed over to the English commander a kind of declaration asking him to abandon the island, but not a requisition. The Spaniards behaved with much moderation and consideration. The English received them with great politeness and invited the Spaniards to go ashore. They provided them with water, food, etc. The rest will depend on the requirements of Spain, but "England was entitled" to make this establishment. Lord Weymouth does not seem to be attached to it. "It's not my child," he says, "and I have not adopted it, but unfortunately it's easier to do similar things than it is to abandon them... we never thought about it."..." [1963]

On the same day in the south Atlantic, Madariaga, before sailing from Port Egmont for Puerto Soledad in *Santa Catalina*, orders the erection of an iron cross on Saunders Island. To denote that the area is Spanish territory. [1964]

June 24th, arriving at Puerto Soledad, Madariaga speaks to Governor Ruíz Puente.

"He informed of all these events, D. Ruiz Puente agreeing with him to leave troops at the port of Cruzada. It was decided that the English frigate, with all her people and her effects, should be allowed to sail on the 20th of July." [1965]

June 27th, an agreement is reached between Ruíz Puente and Madariaga, on how to go forward.

> *"1° Preserve the two bases (Puerto Soledad and Puerto Egmont). 2° That the frigates Santa Bárbara and Industria would return to Buenos Aires with the three companies of the Regiment of Mallorca. 3° That the Santa Rosa and the chambequín, eight days after the departure of the British frigate La Favorita, would carry everything left on land by the English and seven of the cannons landed by the Spaniards, and would take all the items to Puerto Soledad. In Puerto Egmont, Lieutenant Don Juan Serrato would remain with twenty soldiers, a sergeant, two corporals, a Franciscan, a surgeon, six exiled natives of Buenos Aires, a flag and a cannon of eight. 4° That two of the eight and five four guns brought from Buenos Aires were to be shipped, as were the bronze mortars. 5° That in consequence of the capitulated, Ruiz Puente had to send a commissioner to Port Egmont to take charge of all the belongings and stocks that the British left under inventory. 6° The English frigate had to set sail with the entire British force on board; thus Port Egmont was free of intruders."* [1966]

June 30th, from Puerto Soledad, *Santa Catalina* sail directly for Spain.

1961 With a turn around of some weeks with letters, there was no practical way in which Bucareli could challenge Madariaga's decision. It would be Madariaga that would be the one to inform the Spanish King of this 'success'.
1962 *Derby Mercury* Friday June 22, 1770
1963 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.999 citing *Aff. étr. Angl.,492, f° 236 22 juin 1771*
1964 Diego 2014 p.20. The marks and signs of possession.
1965 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1038
1966 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.127-128

"... Santa Catalina, .., also transported Madariaga himself who wished to give a personal account to the King of all that was done in the Malvinas. ... Ruiz Puente, analysing the situation and the disadvantages that, in his opinion, Puerto Soledad possessed, concluded by recommending evacuating this place and moving the colony to Puerto Egmont." [1967]

In **July**, in Paris, Adrien-Louis de Bonnières, comte de Guines is appointed as the new French Ambassador to the English Court, to replace the Count de Châtalet.

In England, Capt. Hunt prepares a description of West Falkland for the Admiralty; *"... which described the soil as black, spongy and poor, and stated that the only fish obtainable were mullets and smelts."* [1968]

July 14th, from the harbour of Port Egmont, Captains Maltby and Farmer, with the British garrison, sail for England. They have been provided with a receipt for goods seized, and an inventory noting that 20 gardens are under cultivation.

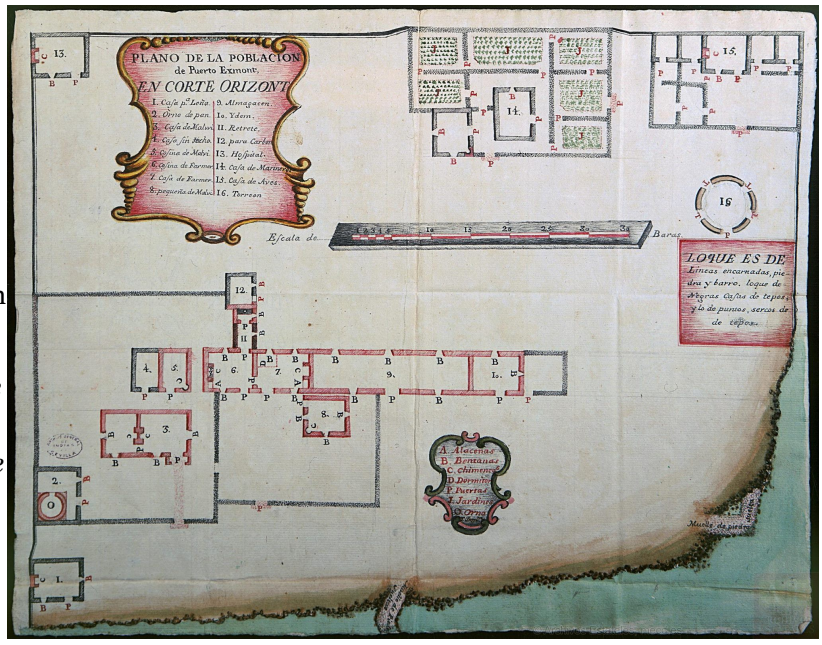
> *"... we took our departure, leaving the Spaniards erecting fortifications for their defence."* [1969]

"... Falkland Islands are taken by the Spaniards, who had permitted the Sloop to come home and bring off the People, upon Condition that they should not serve against Spain, if a War should break out between England and that Crown." [1970]

"... petty rivalries between the Spanish officials, allowed them to sail six days earlier than agreed ..." [1971]

July 19th, at Fort George, Don Miguel Bernazani arrives to organise the garrison. To be commanded by Lt. Juan Serrato; with one sergeant, two corporals and 17 men; also a chaplain, doctor, a baker and 6 convicts; *"... to tend the large vegetable gardens.."* [1972]

*"(*Bernazani) *immediately took charge of everything done by Commander Don Joseph Veanes and Colonel Gutierrez; he suspended the works that were being carried out in the batteries, he dispatched the frigate Santa Rosa to Buenos Aires, and the Andalusia to Puerto Soledad."* [1973]



Don Francisco Millado, sketches the British fortifications (right).

"The new base featured not inconsiderable amenities. A building of slate and clay walls of two poles high, five long and three wide, with their corresponding doors, fireplace, roof of boards and tarp tarred on the outside; another, fourteen poles long and five wide, six windows, five

1967 *Ibid.* pp.127-128 & 165
1968 *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth-Century* G. B. Hertz 1908 p.115
1969 Gower 1803 p.48. Eyewitness account.
1970 *Oxford Journal* Saturday September 29, 1770. *Favourite* arrived back in England on September 22, 1770.
1971 Munilla 1948 p.109. In fact, exactly 20 days after Madariaga had sailed for Puerto Soledad.
1972 Philpott 1992
1973 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.128

doors, two chimneys, with walls lined on the inside with fell of peat and partly with incarnate twill; a hospital, two houses or warehouses of stone and clay walls, a tower thirty-one feet high and about twenty orchards." [1974]

July 23rd, in Madrid, French Ambassador d'Ossun asks the Ministry for clarification of the encounter at Port Egmont in February. During a meeting, Minister Grimaldi admits that Spain views its sovereignty over the Falklands as less certain than its possessions on the South American mainland.

> *"... the prohibition to form settlements on the coasts which are beyond Cape Horn is clearly stipulated in the treaties in favor of Spain, but that* ***the Crown's right to the seas on this side is perhaps not as accurately determined and is disputed*** *by the English."* [1975]

"Grimaldi informed Ossun about the two Spanish frigates at Port Egmont – in an attempt to justify the mild behaviour of the Spaniards towards the British in contrast to to their strictness towards the French, Grimaldi added that Spain would have forcibly removed any British settlement from beyond the Strait of Magellan, but had merely protested at Port Egmont because the rights of Spain to territories on this side of the straits were not so securely established, and were disputed by Britain." [1976]

August 6th, in receipt of a message from d'Ossun, French Foreign Minister Choiseul writes back to his Ambassador in Madrid; with a complaint.

> *"Monsieur le Marquis de Grimaldi has told you, that the rights of Spain in relation to the seas which lie below Cape Horn are not sufficiently well established, and that they are disputed by the English. This language is very different from that which this minister held before when we had begun in these same islands an establishment which Spain has demanded that we yield to it as the property which belonged to it incontestably."* [1977]

From Madrid, Sir James Gray, British Ambassador to the Spanish Court, leaves the Embassy in the hands of the Secretary, Mr. James Harris. Until his replacement, Colonel George Pitt, can arrive. [1978]

August 10th, at Cádiz, a ship arrives carrying news of Bucareli's plans, drawn up four months before. [1979]

"On August 10, 1770, the mail-ship San Nicolás de Bari anchored in the Bay of Cádiz. In it came the correspondence of Bucareli to the Minister of the Indies, announcing the departure of the expedition that, led by Madariaga, was sailing to fulfil the royal order of February 25, 1768." [1980]

August 14th, James Duff, Britain's man in Cádiz, reports the arrival of a ship on the 10th.

1974 *Ibid.* A pole was 5.5 yards, making the first building over 30 feet high, 82 feet long and 50 feet wide. The second building 231 feet long and 82 feet wide. The plan above is unattributed, but dates from circa 1771

1975 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.999-1000. My emphasis. *cf.* 1765 & 1766

1976 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.249

1977 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1000 citing *Choiseul to d'Ossun 6 août 1770* in *Aff. étr. Esp., 560, f° 136*

1978 Gray had been ill throughout his term at Madrid, an office he had only taken reluctantly. As a result, little had been achieved during his tenure. Equally reluctant, his replacement Colonel George Pitt, never arrived. Subsequent events were handled by Secretary Harris. *cf.* January, 1771

1979 There is some confusion with regard to the vessel. Variously described as a merchantman, mail-ship and frigate-of-war, the *San Nicolas de Bari* is recorded as departing Montevideo with the letter in May, 1770. *cf.* Munilla 1948 p.81 (citing *AGI Contratacion 2.752*), Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1002 (citing *El conflicto anglo-espanol en 1770*) and Tracy 1975 p.52 (citing *SP (State Papers) 94/184*). Confusingly, James Duff, referred to the letter carrier as a merchant ship (*navíos de registro*) named *Concepcion*, while Braithwaite identified it as a '*frigate-of-war,*' but gave the ship's date of arrival as the 12th. Perhaps more than one vessel arrived from South America between the 10th and the 12th? See also the report of Harris dated August 23, 1770.

1980 Munilla 1948 p.81

"By the Spanish register ship, the Conception, which arrived on the tenth instant from Buenos Ayres .., I have received intelligence that a xebeque had been sent by the Governor of the Malouines to Port Egmont to notify to the commanding officer there that the English must evacuate said place as belonging to the King of Spain, which was refused nor were the officers or people of said vessel allowed to land there, tho' supplied with everything they wanted ... since the return of said vessel to Buenos Ayres an armament has been fitted out there under the command of Mr. Madarriaga consisting of 4 frigates, viz. the Industria, Sta. Cathalina, Sta. Barbara, and Sta. Rosalia, and said xebecque which mounts 30 guns, on board of which vessels and a Swedish transport, which arrived from Gallicia with stores, 300 men of the regiment of Majorca and the old battalion of Buenos Ayres were embarked and are to proceed 6th May to dislodge the English from the above-mentioned settlement."[1981]

Capt. Braithwaite, at anchor in Cádiz Bay on *Liverpool*, also writes to the Admiralty in London. [1982]

"Two days ago (sic) arriv'd at this Port a Spanish Frigate of War, last from Buenos Ayres, who brings Accounts, that The Spaniards there were fitting out a small Squadron in order to attack Falkner's Island. The letter, which I myself saw, mentions Four Frigates, & One Xebeque of 30 guns, The Troops to consist of Three Companies of Regulars, & One Regiment of Militia, & was to have sailed on the 6th of May last: In fact, the Account gains so much credit at this Place, as to make me think my Duty in acquainting Their Lords[hip]s of the same. ..." [1983]

August 17th, Bucareli's letters, dated April 1770, arrive at the Spanish Court.

"Mr. de Bucareli ... informs his Court that as a result of the threatening statement (by Capt. Hunt) and instructions which were sent to him in 1768, he had armed five frigates with the landing troops, battery and field cannons and the necessary war ammunition and that he was going to dispatch them immediately with the order to drive the English out of the establishment that they formed." [1984]

'... they were read not only by the Spanish king and government but by French ambassador Ossun. The news caused immediate consternation and an epidemic of cold feet in Spain, since there was an obvious danger of a major clash with Britain over the issue..." [1985]

August 20th, Minister Grimaldi summons the French Ambassador.

"The Marquis de Grimaldi told me that the orders on which M. de Bucareli had determined himself to this act with vigor, contained, in fact, equivocal and interpretable expressions ... It seems difficult for the Madrid Court to negotiate on the reparation of this complaint without risk of compromising more or less its rights over the Malouines Islands and to terminate this dispute without disadvantage and with dignity.

1981 *James Duff (Cadiz) to Weymouth Aug 14, 1770* quoted in Brown 1922 p.408 citing *SP (State Papers) Spain 184.*This message was received by the Admiralty on September 7th and by Lord Weymouth the day after, September 8, 1770.

1982 *Braithwaite to Stephens August 14, 1770* in Brown 1922 p.408 citing *SP (State Papers) Spain 184*.

1983 Braithwaite's letter quoted in Tracy 1975 p.52 citing *SP (State Papers) 94/184.*

1984 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1002

1985 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.250. The Royal Order of February 25th, 1768 had said, very explicitly - "… *His Majesty orders me to efficiently entrust your Excellency (to) be very careful not to allow any establishment of the English; and for those who have, expel them by force, if they do not obey the warnings, arranged to the laws, and without needing more orders, nor instruction,…"* (*Julián Arríaga a D. Francisco Bucareli Madrid, February 25, 1768* in Angelis 1852 pp.23-24). Minister Arriaga's order, signed by Carlos III, had been clear enough. The reaction in Madrid in Autumn, 1770, however, suggests that other Spanish Ministers had not been aware of it. Grimaldi almost certainly not.

On the other hand, if the King of Spain is determined to support with vigor the expedition of M. de Bucareli, the war seems sure and immediate. … (His Majesty) did me the honor to speak to me of this event in terms which seemed to me to indicate that he preferred (a) means of conciliation but that, however, he did not fear war." [1986]

Ambassador d'Ossun immediately sends a despatch to the French Court. Grimaldi also sends a message to his Ambassador in Paris, the Comte de Fuentes.

"The unjust establishment of the English in Malouine has become a very serious affair... It may produce war. ... This news has stirred us up. The King, after hearing his ministers, reflected a great deal on what should be done to preserve the rights of his crown ... and to prevent (the English) from anticipating us with a war that neither France nor Spain are (ready for)... The resolution that the King pushed at this critical moment was the one to inform the (Minister) and the London Court of Madariaga's expedition with an intention to prevent the said court from taking a violent action, … to avoid war for an object that does not deserve it." [1987]

"The Spaniards too have been insulted by the English commander who has threatened to expel them after six months. This is what has determined Bucareli, governor of Buenos Aires, to make an expedition against the establishment of Port Egmont... The unfair establishment of the English in the Malouines has become a very serious issue ... It might cause war...

This novelty has worried us extremely. The King after listening to his ministers has reflected much on what should be done to preserve the honor and rights of his crown, to contain the English, and to prevent them from declaring a war that neither France nor Spain are willing to sustain, with founded hope of success.

The resolution that the King has adopted at this critical moment has been to inform first the London Court of the Madariaga expedition, with the intention of preventing said court from taking a violent party, as presumably it would if it found out by another means…" [1988]

"On this date, the Madrid court had lost all memories of the Order of February 25 (1768), or at least, considered the time to put it into practice unfavourable. Bucareli's news produced deep concern. ... Spain was frankly scared, and wanted to do everything possible to avoid war." [1989]

"... the Minister of State concluded, all the same, that one could not blame Bucareli, regretting that he was not content with a protest. ... It is on this argument (British threats) that the Prince de Masseran will rely in his dealings with the British Government, and on this argument alone. We shall be careful not to let them know that Bucareli would have acted as he had done without the threat of the English commander, and that the commander of the two Spanish frigates had instructions from Bucareli to "drive the English out if he found them (in) inferior strength."..." [1990]

"On August 20, Minister Grimaldi informed Fuentes, the Spanish ambassador to the French court, of the situation in the Malvinas (sic) Islands. The threat of the English commander Hunt, who had summoned the Spaniards to leave the archipelago, had prompted the governor of Buenos Aires to send an expedition under

1986 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1003
1987 *Grimaldi to Fuentes Aug 20, 1770* in Brown 1922 p.417
1988 Quoted in Munilla 1948 p.82 citing *Grimaldi a Fuentes: 20 de Agosto de 1770. A. H. N., Estado, 4.129*
1989 Munilla 1948 pp.82 & 83
1990 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1004-1005 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 531, f° 344*

Madariaga's command ... This would mean a war that neither France nor Spain was yet able to undertake with a well-founded hope of success." [1991]

"... in his letter to Fuentes, Grimaldi enclosed the instructions that were to be sent to the Spanish ambassador in London, Prince Masserano, for which Grimaldi desired the French government's approval before Masserano approached the British government." [1992]

August 22nd, relations between the English and Spanish courts deteriorate further following a publication in *The Gazeteer* of a cartoon depicting the Spanish King as a madman.

On the other side of the globe, James Cook claims for Britain the coastline that he has spent four months exploring – New South Wales, Australia.

August 23rd, from Britain's Embassy in Madrid, James Harris sends news to London.

> *"The following fact, which was brought from Buenos Ayres to Cadiz by the ship St. Nicolas de Bari, does not correspond with the favourable sentiments expressed towards us by this Court. It sets forth that, in consequence of two of his Catholick Majesty's vessels having touched at Port Egmont in the month of January last, and finding it occupied by the English, who not only refused to evacuate the place, but even denied them admittance, a squadron of five frigates, with three hundred men of the regiment of Majorca, and the old battalion of Buenos Ayres, were destined to sail from thence the 6th of May, under the command of Monsieur Madariaga, with orders to dislodge the English establishment there."* [1993]

August 24th, Spain's Minister Julián de Arriaga, despatches a new instruction to Buenos Aires for the attention of Governors Bucareli and Ruíz Puente. This says that the Royal Order of February, 1768 must be applied **only** to establishments discovered on the Atlantic coast of South America. Not the Falkland Islands.

> *"The King has learned of the letter of Your Excellency from April, of the determination (you have) made to evict the English from its new establishment at Puerto Egmon (sic), sending to this end the war frigates that were in Montevideo, commanded by the Captain of Navio Don Juan Ignacio Madariaga in charge of this expedition, ...: His Majesty asked me to warn Your Excellency that if upon receipt of this order there had been no execution, suspend this operation immediately dispatching the orders corresponding to this effect to the Governor of the Malvinas Don Felipe Ruiz Puente and Mr. Juan Ignacio Madariaga, ...The King encourages that the protests (be) repeated, without proceeding further, ... This is in respect to the aforementioned establishment of the Port of Egmon (sic), or any other in the same Islands, the order of February 25, (17)68 remains in force for the respective mainland of the continent of those coasts to Cape Ornos (sic), Strait of Magallanes (which was in mind) and the part of the South that was communicated to the Viceroy of Peru as responsible to him."* [1994]

1991 *Islas Malvinas: Expulsión de los ingleses de Puerto Egmont. Crisis diplomática y negociaciones (A través de la documentación del Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Francia, 1770-1771)* Guillermo R. Moncayo 1986 in *Malvinas, Georgias y Sandwich del Sur: Perspectiva Historico – Juridica* Argentine Council for International Relations 1986 citing *Grimaldi a Masserano, 20-8-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 560, español, pág. 220/25.*

1992 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.250

1993 *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury* Harris J. (3rd Earl – ed.) 1845 vol.1. Also Debrett 1792 vol.5 p.465 and a version in Spanish in Groussac 1910 p.167. This letter arrived in London on September 10, 1770

1994 Quoted in Groussac 1910 pp.165-166. Recognition that the Treaty of Utrecht 1713 did not apply to islands some 300 miles off the coast? Despite all the assertions, in 1766, that it did?

"... fearing that these hostilities would make the negotiation of peace more difficult,... with England, for the peaceful transfer of that place, he (the King) issued urgent orders to the Governor of Buenos Aires to suspend, if possible, this attack, and to limit himself to a new protest against the establishment of the Port Egmont, or of some other place in the Malvinas Islands; "but to carry out, with force and vigor, the orders relative to the occupation of any point on the coast, Cape Horn, the Strait of Magellan, and the southern part of the continent, or" mainland."..." [1995]

"... Thus was confirmed the difference between the Malouines and the other domains." [1996]

"By Royal Decree of August 24, 1770, addressed to the (Buenos Aires) governor, it was cautioned that, if upon the arrival of this order, the eviction of the English in Port Egmont had not been executed, that order should be suspended by despatching orders to the governor of Malvinas and D Juan Ignacio Madariaga ... to the effect, that the King's mind is that only the protests (should) be repeated ...: (but) "That notwithstanding this order, (that order) of February 25, 1968 remains in force for the respective coast of the mainland to Cape Horn, Strait of Magellan, etc."..." [1997]

"Thus the Spanish government admitted yet again (after Grimaldi's statement to French ambassador Ossun a month earlier on 23 July 1770) that Spain's rights in the Falklands were weaker than those in other Spanish possessions. ... It was a note worthy exercise in shutting the stable door after the horse had bolted." [1998]

Minister Grimaldi also writes to Bucareli, attempting to explain the Spanish government's position.

> *"... it is certain that England will regard our action as a formal attack, a break, and a breach of peace. We would have liked that such an attack and expulsion were not undertaken, that we would have been satisfied to recognize the position of the establishment and protest against the usurpation, reserving to us to take other means until that we are in a better position to support the war, but finding ourselves faced with the fait accompli, it is essential to act accordingly. At present we are doing our best to try to stop the storm by negotiation, but .., I believe that we will have the war, whatever we do to avoid it... "*[1999]

August 25th, in Buenos Aires, Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo, replaces Bucareli. [2000]

August 26th, Ambassador d'Ossun's despatch arrives at Versaille; *"Choiseul read and approved the proposed instructions to Masserano, and they were duly sent on to London."*[2001] Madrid's instructions are detailed. [2002]

> *"The Prince de Masseran will attenuate the news recently received from Buenos Aires concerning the departure of a squadron intended to drive the English out of Port Egmont.... The King [of Spain], who prefers peace to everything in the world ... was pained by the fact that the governor of the English*

1995 Angelis 1852 p.22

1996 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1008. Also Munilla 1948 p.85 citing *Real Orden. Arriaga a Bucareli: 24 de Agosto de 1770. A.G.T., Indiferente gen., 413.*

1997 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278.

1998 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.250-251

1999 *Grimaldi to Bucareli August 24, 1770* in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1008. Munilla 1948 p.87 cites *Grimaldi a Bucareli: 25 de Agosto de 1770, A.G.I., India. gen., 1.630.*

2000 Apparently in an interim capacity until August 16, 1771

2001 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.250-251

2002 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1005-1006 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 560, fº 221 Grimaldi to Fuentes. Translation of the Ambassador of Spain.*

establishment forced those of (His Majesty).., to fulfill the duty imposed upon them by the oaths they swore when they received their employment, oaths which (His Catholic Majesty) can not invalidate in honor and in conscience.

The English commander of Port Egmont did not content himself with answering a protest with another, although his was unfounded. He threatened, with impoliteness, pride and provocation, to shoot at our ships, if they did not (leave).[2003] *He did more, verbally summoned the chiefs of our ships and, in writing, (instructed) the Spanish governor, to withdraw and evacuate the island in the precise term of six months, threatening to drive him away with superior forces if he did not do so precisely at the end of that time.*[2004] *...*

Besides, if the English base their right to the Malouines Islands on the supposition of being the first to discover them, can they deny that M. de Bougainville was previously the one who discovered them and that ***he settled there first****? The right of M. de Bougainville, .., resides currently in the King [of Spain], but Bougainville did not have (a right), because Spain had acquired it by the* ***oldest discovery*** *and by the uncontested possession, consented and virtually declared in* ***treaties*** *by all the powers of Europe.''*[2005]

''... if necessary, let His Excellency understand that the matter can be referred to negotiation.'' [2006]

From Paris, a fast messenger is sent to London. Ambassador Masserano is to take the argument to the British.

''...fortunately, the proud threat of the English commander authorizes us to attribute to him the first hostility.''[2007]

"Grimaldi dispatched letters to Masserano which urged him to use every effort to prevent the threatened conflagration." [2008]

"The ambassador should not "lose a moment" to inform both the British King and his ministry and assure them, "in the name of (His Catholic Majesty) ..." that she "was deeply hurt and that she never thought that such a feeble object should deserve a break." Nevertheless, the condemnation of the establishment of Port Egmont, the cause of the incident, should be considered as null and void, both the threats of the English commander and the expedition of Madariaga and a declaration on both sides confirming the happy situation of good harmony existing between the two nations, which is what (His Catholic Majesty) expects of the nobility of the British King and the upright and prudent maxims of his ministry. Such is the important mission that Prince Masseran will execute. On the merits of the affair, he will have the duty of repelling the pretension of England, to claim possession of the Malouines, by virtue of the discovery. This claim is wrong. The discovery was made by Spanish navigators going to the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan. There are acts of possession recognized by all Europe, and by England itself in the Treaty of Utrecht, ..." [2009]

2003 December 16, 1769?

2004 December 10, 1769

2005 A rather rambling instruction, perhaps indicative of Grimaldi's unease. The only treaty that Spain was inclined to refer to, was the Treaty of Utrecht 1713. A treaty that Grimaldi already knew was unlikely to support a Spanish claim. Little more than bull and bluster. My emphasis throughout.

2006 Quoted in Munilla 1948 p.83

2007 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1004-1005 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 531, fº 344.* For the supposed threat (s), see December 10 & 16, 1769.

2008 Brown 1922 p.417

2009 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1006

August 27th, from Madrid, d'Ossun writes to Choiseul to say that the Spanish people were supportive of the ejection of the British from Port Egmont. [2010]

August 28th, in Paris, Minister Choisuel assures Spain's Ambassador Fuentes, of the full support of France.

> *"I have said a word to the King in the evening and I can assure you that the Catholic King can count on all occasions and in any event on the King's cousin."* [2011]

August 30th, in London, Spain's Ambassador Masserano has an interview with Northern Secretary Lord Rochford preparatory to a meeting with Lord Weymouth. Masserano is made aware that the Court of St. James will be seeking the return of Port Egmont and a punishment for Governor Bucareli; assuming that Madariaga has evicted the British garrison. [2012]

"... Masserano referred to a conversation he had had with Lord Rochford, recalling that the latter had told him that the establishment of the English in the Malvinas Islands had been a nonsense of Lord Egmont to which all the ministers had been opposed, but once in possession of the place they could not admit acts of aggression on the part of Spain to remove him." [2013]

September 5th, during an interview with the Southern Secretary, Masserano assures Weymouth that any action taken by Governor Bucareli at Port Egmont did not have the sanction of the Spanish Crown, but also that it is not yet certain that there has been an eviction. [2014]

"Lord Weymouth asks him if on receipt of the news of the departure of the squadron of Madariaga, the Spanish government sent a counter order to the governor of Buenos Aires. The Prince de Masseran, who does not know that such an order has been sent, replies that "such orders would never have arrived in time". The English Secretary of State insists on whether Spain really knows about the results of the expedition and whether the Spanish Commander has seized English ships stationed in the port. The Ambassador points out that materially we can not yet have knowledge of the facts, ..." [2015]

"Masserano said the king of Spain earnestly hoped that Governor Bucareli's action, taken "entirely without express instructions from the king", would not endanger the good relations existing between the two crowns. ,,, Weymouth said the use of force made it difficult to avoid unpleasant consequences, but the fact that Bucareli had acted without orders opened one possible avenue of solution: was Prince Masserano authorised to disavow Bucareli's action? Masserano was forced to admit that he did not have such authority and would have to await further instructions." [2016]

September 6th, at the port of Cádiz, *Santa Catalina* arrives carrying news of the English expulsion from the Falkland Islands. Port authorities quickly cover over the ship's name and the vessel's arrival is not registered. [2017] Madariaga, who had been expecting a hero's welcome, orders the crew to remain on board. [2018]

2010 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.136-137. There is no evidence that the matter was made public within Spain.
2011 *Choiseul to D'Oddun Aug 28, 1770* in Brown 1922
2012 Munilla 1948 p.101 citing *Maserano to Grimaldi: August 31, 1770. Office 1947. A.H.N., State, 4,274*
2013 Revello 1952
2014 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1027
2015 *Ibid.*
2016 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.251
2017 *Harris to Weymouth Sept. 13, 1770.* Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1038) gives the date as the September 5, 1770, as does Diego (2014)
2018 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1038

"... arrival of a Spanish war frigate, probably St. Catherine... mystery around this frigate on which no one has been admitted, various conjectures, the most plausible being that it has brought news from the Malouines (or Falkland) Islands." [2019]

"On the sixth of this month about noon arrived in the Bay of Cadiz the St. Catharine, one of the frigates which is supposed to have been on the expedition to Port Egmont, ... As no one has been suffered to go on board or even remain along side her, it is difficult to know from which of the two places she last came; it is however most probable from the latter, and that she brings the news of the good success of the expedition. ..." [2020]

"They write from Madrid, that the Court has sent a squadron with 1500 men to Buenos Ayres to retake the fort, which the English have made themselves masters of in the island of Malouines; and that they flattered themselves that it was by this time under the Spanish Dominion." [2021]

September 7th, in London, in receipt of Braithwaite's letter of August 14th, Lord Weymouth immediately sends instructions to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"... give Orders for manning all the Guardships up to their proper Complements; And, at the same Time that Your Lordships will direct them to be prepared in all Respects for immediate Service, You will give the necessary Orders for providing, & properly fitting out, a Number of frigates, proportionable to that Equipment." [2022]

Weymouth summons Masserano, who again assures him that Bucareli had acted without orders.

"On September 7, in an interview held by Masserano with Weymouth, the latter expressed to him "that he had orders from the King his master to assure His Majesty through me of the reciprocal and sincere friendship that he professed for him, for which reason he truly desired that the incident at Egmont be settled amicably as soon as the honour of his Crown permitted, and that for this purpose there was no other remedy, if the frigates sent by Bucareli had executed his orders, but that my Court should disapprove of the expulsion and conduct of the General, ... and that we should repair the hostility made in full peace, putting them back in the same situation in which they were, and that when this was done we would enter into the discussion of the right that each one claimed to have to that place" . The conversation around the subject was very long and both parties hinted at the possibility of war, if an agreement was not reached quickly." [2023]

September 8th, in Spain, President of the Council of Castile, Count Aranda, writes to Grimaldi to say that they must be ready to fight. [2024]

"When the news became known in Spain, the Count of Aranda expressed to the Marquis of Grimaldi that he regretted that the English had not been taken prisoners and their ships sunk, in view of having been offered to leave the place freely, resisting until shooting was started..." [2025]

September 9th, in England, Northern Secretary Lord Rochford, informs King George III of Bucareli's plans for the expulsion of British forces from the Falklands.

2019 Mézin 2014 p.320 quoting from the correspondence of the French consuls in Cádiz.
2020 *Harris to Weymouth September 13, 1770* quoted in Brown 1922 p.418 citing *SP (State Papers) Spain 185*
2021 *Reading Mercury* Monday October 8, 1770 referring to September mail from the continent.
2022 Quoted in Tracy 1975
2023 Revello 1952
2024 Munilla 1948 p.95 citing *Aranda a Grimaldi: September 8, 1770. AHN, State, 2.858*
2025 Revello 1952

Ambassador Masserano again speaks to Lord Weymouth of his concerns regarding a possible over-reaction by Britain – particularly as there is, as yet, no confirmation that Bucareli's expedition has actually attacked Port Egmont.

> *"The Spanish Ambassador here having informed me, that he had good reason to believe his Catholic Majesty's Governor of Buenos Ayres has taken upon him(self) to make use of force, in order to dispossess the English of their settlement at Port Egmont in Falkland's Islands; adding, that he was directed to make this communication, to prevent the bad consequences which might arise from its coming through other hands, and expressing his wishes, that whatever the event at Port Egmont might be, in consequence of a step of the Governor, taken without any particular instruction from his Catholic Majesty, it might not be productive of measures at this Court dangerous to the good understanding which at present subsists between the two crowns."* [2026]

Weymouth informs Masserano that the orders issued to the British commanders in the Falklands, called for restraint.

> *"... to warn the subjects of other powers, (if any such were found there) to withdraw themselves from thence; but that I knew that those instructions did at the same time direct that officer to make a joint settlement with the subjects of any European powers he might find there, if they refused to depart upon proper warning being given, referring the discussion of right to their respective Sovereigns;.."* [2027]

Weymouth adds that the lack of any particular instruction to Bucareli; *".. left an opening which made me not dispair (sic) of feeling this matter accommodated, without recourse to extremities, which I knew His Majesty's inclinations would induce him to avoid, as far as his honour would permit; but that this depended entirely upon His Catholic Majesty."* [2028]

"The Secretary of State assures the Ambassador of the sincere desire of His Britannic Majesty and His Council for the maintenance of peace ... The Spanish ambassador must first obtain from his court two preliminaries: the disavowal of the conduct of the governor of Buenos Aires, and the restoration of the English to Port Egmont. It will then be possible to negotiate on the question of law ..." [2029]

Spain's Ambassador responds that, if the expulsion had taken place, it would not be possible for his King to disavow Bucareli, and that to restore the British to Port Egmont would be to recognise in England a right she had never had. Masserano also expresses a concern that if England arms, then Spain and France must follow.

In Paris, the Austrian Ambassador meets with French Foreign Minister Choiseul and Spain's Ambassador Fuentes to counsel moderation. [2030]

After the meetings, Choiseul writes to his *charge d'affaires* in London.

"... a confidential letter in which he confided in him what his suspicions and forecasts were: England would ask for the recognition by Spain of its rights (?) in the islands and the restoration of the status quo prior to the occupation of Port Egmont. However, either Spain consented to such sacrifice or, otherwise, it should proceed with the greatest skill to lengthen the negotiation until it reached the necessary level of war preparation." [2031]

2026 *Weymouth to Harris September 12, 1770* published in full in the *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday February 26, 1771
2027 *Ibid.*
2028 *Ibid.*
2029 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1028
2030 *Fighting for the Falklands in 1770* Peter Burley 1982 in *History Today* vol.32 issue 6 1982
2031 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.139

September 10th, from Madrid, with the King declaring that he does not fear a war with England[2032], Chief Minister Grimaldi writes to Masserano. Once again, the letter is sent via Fuentes in Paris. With the weekly reports, so as not to attract the attention of spies. Choiseul is to be brought up to date by Fuentes. [2033]

> *"The way in which the English were expelled from Port Egmont leaves me little or no expectancy to arrange this matter without a war, because it is not the honour of the Crown, or its interests to restore the English in Port Egmont. A thing which we will never agree."* [2034]

Grimaldi also responds to the letter from the Count of Aranda of the 8th, telling him that Spain's "*war machine*" is not well assembled. [2035]

September 11th, in London, after seeing George III, Lord Weymouth summons Masserano.

> *"... I appointed a meeting with the Spanish Ambassador, and told him, that I had his Majesty's command to demand a disavowal of the proceedings of his Catholic Majesty's servants at Port Egmont, in which force had been used against his Majesty's subjects settled there; and also to demand, that the affairs of the settlement should be immediately restored to the state in which they were before such proceeding."* [2036]

Masserano responds; *"... that he had no instructions from his Court on that head, and could give no answer to that question, without hearing again from Madrid..."* [2037]

> *"At the late visit of a certain ambassador to Lord Weymouth, it is said, that he insisted on knowing the destination of our men of war now fitting out; but his Lordship assured him, that the English would by no means be accountable to any nation on that head; upon which the ambassador replied, that if the English thought proper to drive his country into a war, his court would be prepared for it: and immediately turning upon his heel, abruptly left the English minister."* [2038]

On leaving Weymouth, Masserano writes to Grimaldi to report the British demands. [2039]

From Madrid, on the same day, a Royal Order is sent to Buenos Aires, reminding the Governor of the importance of keeping the Soledad garrison supplied. [2040]

September 12th, from London, Weymouth writes to Secretary Harris in Madrid, outlining the conditions necessary for Britain to cease rearming.

> *"Having, by the King's order, communicated to you the substance of what has passed on this occasion, I desire that you will immediately wait upon Mons. Grimaldi, and tell that Minister, as the strongest instance of the sincerity of His Majesty's friendship for his Catholic Majesty, and of his wishes to preserve the peace, you are directed to repeat to him the contents of this letter, and to ask, whether his Catholic Majesty, by disavowing a measure which his Ambassador here acknowledges not to have*

2032 Brown 1922
2033 *Grimaldi a Maserano: 10 de Septiembre de 1770. A.H.N., Estado, 4.274*
2034 *Grimaldi to Fuentes Sept. 10, 1770* in Brown 1922 p.418 citing *Les Rapports de la France et de l'Espagne* L. Bart (Paris) 1915 p.169
2035 Munilla 1948 p.95 citing *Grimaldi a Aranda: September 10, 1770 AHN, State, 2,858*
2036 *Weymouth to Harris September 12, 1770* published in the *Kentish Gazette Tuesday February 26, 1771*
2037 Quoted in Tracy 1975
2038 *Ipswich Journal* Saturday September 15, 1770
2039 *Maserano a Grimaldi: 11 de Septiembre de 1770, 1.950. A.H.N., Estado, 4.274.* Arrived Madrid September 21, 1770.
2040 Areco 1885 pp.43-44

been authorized by his particular instructions, and by restoring things to the precise state in which they stood before Mons. Bucarelli undertook this rash expedition, will put it into his Majesty's power to suspend those preparations, which, under the present circumstances, his honour will not permit him to postpone." [2041]

"Harris was instructed to ask for the restoration of the islands, without, however, any clear indication as to the lengths in controversy to which the state was prepared to go." [2042]

In Paris, on the same day, Walpole, *charge d'affaires* and Secretary of Britain's Embassy to the French Court, writes to Weymouth informing him that Choiseul has offered his services as mediator. [2043]

September 13th, in Spain, Count Aranda writes to Carlos III with a warning. [2044]

"Even if our easily-accomplished seizure of the Malouines does not cause an immediate break, it will create a desire for revenge" [2045]

Aranda adds that Spain is enjoying a period of good relations with its European neighbours and therefore has less enemies to ally with Britain. [2046] He also suggests that reinforcements be sent to America. [2047]

September 16th, at the Palace of Versailles, Minister Choiseul speaks to Britain's *charge d'affaires*, Walpole, who presents a copy of Weymouth's letter to Harris. Walpole tells Choiseul that, if Bucareli's planned expulsion has taken place, then the English King will demand that the act be disavowed and Port Egmont restored. Choiseul responds that he finds the proposals, "*very reasonable*." [2048]

"(Choiseul) expressed himself highly dissatisfied at the Proceeding of Monsieur Bucarelli, and that such a Measure which might be attended with the most Serious Consequences, should have been taken, without having acquainted the Court of France, who remained entirely ignorant of it till now..." [2049]

Unaware that Britain's Admiralty have ordered the preparation of 16 ships-of-war, Choiseul also expresses the hope; *"... that the Court of England would not make any preparations for Arming of Ships, which would give an unnecessary Alarm; & occasion discredit in different Countries."* [2050]

"Through the first two weeks of September, the French minister contrived to send vague and on the whole encouraging messages to Madrid pronouncing decisively for neither peace nor war but urging a prompt decision one way or another." [2051]

Choiseul writes to instruct d'Ossun to complain that Spain's ally had not been forewarned.

2041 *Weymouth to Harris September 12, 1770* published in the *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday February 26, 1771
2042 *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth-Century* G. B. Hertz 1908 p.117
2043 Tracy 1975 p.55. Britain's Ambassador to Paris was Simon Harcourt, 1st Earl Harcourt. Appointed in 1768, he had been somewhat tardy in taking up his position. While he remained absent, Walpole, and later Colonel John Blaquiere, filled in as *charge d'affairs*.
2044 *Dictamen de Aranda. 13 de Septiembre de 1770. A.H.N., Estado, 2.858*
2045 Quoted in Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Aranda to Carlos III, 13 September 1770.*
2046 Munilla 1948 p.97
2047 *Aranda to Grimaldi: September 13, 1770. A.H.N., State, 2.858.*
2048 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1030
2049 Tracy 1975
2050 *Ibid.* The Admiralty order for the preparation of ships was sent out on September 12, 1770.
2051 Brown 1922 p.419

"M. D'Ossun, then ambassador from France to the Court of Spain, from whom I heard this anecdote, was directed to remonstrate against this act of aggression, which embarrassed the Court of Paris; he found equal surprise at Madrid, for the (1768) order was forgotten ... till the attack was defended by the production of the order." [2052]

September 17th, King Carlos chairs a meeting of his Ministers to discuss Britain's likely reaction. [2053]

"(Grimaldi) advises the abandonment of the recently conquered Port Egmont. But, at the same time, he states that doing so does not imply, in any way, a recognition of the alleged illegality of expelling the Anglo-Saxons. It is, only, a demonstration that "the King has forced them to evacuate that land, for being his and not for needing it."..." [2054]

"Grimaldi, .., returned to his line of appeasement and advised the abandonment of Port Egmont if the British demanded it, without implying recognition of the sovereignty of Great Britain over the enclave, ... The reason given was that, in case of conflict, it would be necessary to send to the Falklands a fleet equivalent to the one the British mobilized, which exceeded the capability of Spain. Grimaldi's theses were unanimously accepted,.."[2055]

On the same day, Choiseul writes to d'Ossun in Madrid, directing him to reaffirm French support under the terms of the Family Compact. [2056]

> *"...you will confer with the marquis Grimaldi: I believe that peace or war is at the disposal of Spain; you will not neglect anything to let me know the resolution that Spain will make, and you underline to her that whatever she (does) it is necessary to do so quickly...."* [2057]

September 18th, in Paris, Choiseul speaks to Walpole to tell him that he has written to Grimaldi in Madrid; *"... exhorting him in the strongest manner, and with all the reasons he could think of, to procure from his Catholic Majesty a declaration under his own hand, acquiescing in what the court of England demanded, and to despatch this without loss of time."* [2058]

September 19th, in England, Admiralty press warrants are dispatched to Portsmouth. Twenty-two more ships are to be prepared, including *Albion* and *Prince of Wales*.

> *"The Spanish Ambassador has not been seen at St. James's on Court and Levee Days as usual, since the issuing of Warrants for impressing Seamen. ... The Spanish Ambassador, it is said, has absolutely refused to answer any Questions concerning Falkland's Island, saying that he has no Orders from his Court on that Subject."* [2059]

In Spain, after considering Grimaldi's words at the meeting of Ministers, Carlos III requires that new instructions be sent to Soledad requiring the abandonment of Port Egmont. Ruiz Puente is to maintain a watch, however, and report if the English return. [2060]

2052 Earl of Carnarvon to the House of Lords, January 22, 1800 in *Parliamentary History of England* W. Cobbett 1819 vol.34 p.1239. *cf.* February, 1768
2053 Munilla 1948 p.98
2054 *Ibid* pp.98-99 citing *Grimaldi Report: September 17, 1770. AGT, Buenos Aires, 552*
2055 Garcia Diego 2014 pp.20-21
2056 Munilla 1948 p.94 citing *Choiseul a Ossun: 17 de Septiembre de 1770*
2057 Choiseul quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.139
2058 *Walpole to Weymouth September 18, 1770* in *Lord Chatham and the Whig Opposition* D. A. Winstanley 1912 p.380
2059 *Northampton Mercury* Monday October 1, 1770
2060 Munilla 1948 p.99 citing *Real Orden Arriaga a Ruiz Puente: 19 de Septiembre de 1770. A.G.I., Indiferente Gen.,412,32.*

*"Ruiz Puente was ordered to evacuate Port Egmont and transfer the usable material and personnel to Puerto Soledad, headquarters of the Spanish colony, ... **leaving (only) the cross put by Madariaga**,.. As reprisal was judged probable, the Governor of the Malvinas was also ordered to repel any attack on Port Solitude, (and) in relation to the English he had to keep watch if they returned to Port Egmont or settled elsewhere, in which case (he) was to simply make a complaint and communicate it immediately to Spain."* [2061]

September 20th, in Paris, Ambassador Fuentes receives a despatch from Minister Grimaldi, regarding a French vessel found off the coast of Chile. Grimaldi complains about such enterprises.

> *"The embarrassment in which we find ourselves today with England would not perhaps remain without the voyage of M. de Bougainville, who awakened the English."* [2062]

"... when the two allied crowns have the greatest need to remain united, the mistrust of the Spaniards remains total. Some in the Madrid Court remain convinced that, without Bougainville's attempt in the Falklands, the recognition of Commodore Byron and the establishment at Port Egmont would not have taken place. They are also convinced of the exclusive rights of Spain to the navigation of the South Sea." [2063]

September 21st, Walpole reports to London that he believes France is keen to avoid a conflict. [2064]

In Madrid, Grimaldi receives Masserano's letter of September 11th reporting Weymouth's reaction to the news. He notes the demands, if an action has taken place, that Port Egmont be restored and Bucareli punished.

September 22nd, at Motherbank, near Portsmouth, *Favourite* anchors. [2065]

"It was Yesterday reported that the Favourite Sloop of War is arrived at Spithead, with an Account that Falkland Islands are taken by the Spaniards, who had permitted the Sloop to come home and bring off the People, upon Condition that they should not serve against Spain, if a War should break out between England and that Crown." [2066]

"It was September 22, 1770. Then, the cabinet of St. James knew from the lips of the protagonists themselves what the episode occurred in the Malvinas Islands had consisted of. A change in the negotiation was immediately noticed. The tension increased." [2067]

"... bringing the news that the British had been expelled from Port Egmont. Now the cat was well and truly out of the bag,.." [2068]

In Paris, in receipt of the weekly despatches from Madrid, Spain's Ambassador, Count Fuentes, confirms to Minister Choiseul that the British have been expelled from Port Egmont. [2069]

From London, a letter is addressed to Walpole in Paris instructing him to warn Choiseul against preparing for war; *"... as it depends entirely upon His Cath. Majesty to render those Preparations productive of no Interruption to the present Peace, it is much to be wished that the Armament here may not be accelerated by*

2061 Garcia Diego 2014 pp.20-21. My emphasis. No garrison, but the claim of sovereignty maintained.
2062 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1043
2063 *Ibid* citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 560, f° 348 Ossun a Choiseul 20 sept. 1770*
2064 In need of money to rearm, Choiseul approached the King's Council with a request for 8 million livres for the navy. Agreed, but never forthcoming. *cf. The Duc de Choiseul: The Lothian Essay* Roger H. Soltau 1908
2065 *Admiralty to Weymouth September 24, 1770*. Also Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1040
2066 *Oxford Journal* Saturday September 29, 1770
2067 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.140-141
2068 Pascoe 2020 p.38
2069 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1033

Measures of the same kind, taken in France, which will certainly be the Case, if Orders are given there for that Purpose." [2070]

From Spain, Grimaldi writes to Buenos Aires.

> *"Although we have already received a response from London on this Business, we cannot decide yet whether it will be possible to avoid a War. Appearances are otherwise, because it is credible that the Opposition Party (in London) will use this incident to force the Ministry to declare it. … our peace is hanging by a thread…"* [2071]

Minister Arriaga despatches further orders to Ruíz Puente requiring that he should remove any British marks and signs remaining at Port Egmont. No damage must be caused in the process.

"The purposes of the Crown that must have already seemed vague enough to the American rulers, became more obscure upon receiving the explanatory order of September 23, which specified that the British signals should be erased. (But) existing buildings were excluded from this practice" because His Majesty wants everything to remain in the state that has been found, which will be useful,…"…" [2072]

September 24th, in receipt of his instructions of the 12th, Secretary Harris immediately requests an interview with Minister Grimaldi.

In Portsmouth, England, Press Gangs; *"… are out Day and Night, and are continually picking up Men. Gangs are also sent to Southampton, Isle of Wight, Lymington, and all Places adjacent, where it is expected they will get great Numbers."* [2073]

In London, an Admiralty Office letter is sent to the Master of Lloyd's Coffee-House in Lombard Street.

> *"The Favourite Sloop of War being arrived off the Mother Bank from Falkland Island, brings an account, that a Spanish Man of War and five frigates, with Artillery and Land Forces on board, had dispossessed his Majesty of the Settlement of Fort Egmont. I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give you this Information, that the Merchants, and others who are any ways interested therein, may be fully acquainted therewith."* [2074]

Ambassador Masserano speaks to Lord North.

> *"(North) it was a serious thing that in the middle of peace they had been evicted from Egmont. I (Masserano) reproached him, that in the midst of peace they had gone to occupy a place where all the treaties, and especially that of Utrecht, forbade them to go, and that we were not the first aggressors, but Hunt was.*
>
> *He (North) excused himself by saying that those were uninhabited lands, and when I (Masserano) replied that in that case they could go into our uninhabited areas of the two Americas, he answered that they did not intend to go to Chile or to the coast of Patagonia; to which I told him that they had already gone there and that they were sailing where they should not. I then went on to show him the good faith*

2070 *Rochford to Walpole September 22, 1770* quoted in Tracy 1975
2071 Quoted in Munilla 1948 p.102 citing *Grimaldi to A. Bucareli: September 22, 1770*.
2072 Munilla 1948 p.100 citing *Real Orden Arriaga a Ruiz Puente: 22 de Septiembre de 1770. A.G.I. Indifferent Gen.* Arriaga's reasoning is unclear. Britain's flags had been lowered after Madariaga's action and returned to the British captains. Only Spain's cross and flags remained.
2073 *Oxford Journal* Saturday September 29, 1770
2074 *Derby Mercury* Friday September 28, 1770

with which we proceeded, and I proved it to him by telling him that if the King had not so desired peace he could have failed to notify His Britannic Majesty through me of Don Francisco Bucareli's resolution, and in the meantime arm himself and make all the necessary arrangements to defend himself in case of war."[2075]

"24 September - when the news of what had happened with the Madariaga expedition had already spread in England, with the arrival of the English frigate Favourite from the Malvinas, Masserano had an interview with Lord North, in which the latter did not accept that Captain Hunt was the real culprit of what had happened ... Masserano also observed that England was armed and increasing its power, adding: "I know that the Secretary of the Admiralty told one of his friends the other night that such a considerable armament as the present one had never been seen, which would consist of 60 ships." The idea was to intimidate us and get a great deal out of us - the ambassador stated..." [2076]

September 25th, in Madrid, Secretary Harris sees Minister Grimaldi.

"(I) waited on Mr. Grimaldi, whom I found already anticipated by a courier he had received from Prince Masserano, on the subject I had to lay before him;.. I begun by saying, I was come to speak to him on an affair, which had given his Majesty the greatest concern and surprize, not only because it attacked so deeply the dignity of his crown, but also because it was of a nature which put it out of his power to apply such remedy as he wished:.. I had orders to repeat to his Excellency, what had already been said to prince Masserano in London; and to propose, as the only means of preventing the most fatal consequences, that his Catholic Majesty should disavow the proceedings of Governor Buccarelli; and that he would give the necessary orders for the English, established in Falkland's Islands, to be restored to their settlement there, on the same footing they were before this inconsiderate expedition:.."[2077]

Grimaldi vacillates.

*"... Mr. Grimaldi answered me in very **vague terms** concerning the expedition and its success; that we had reason to foresee such an event would happen, since their disapprobation of our establishment on Falkland Island was notorious, and that it had often been the subject of discussion; that, however, he was sorry, exceedingly sorry, it had taken place, and that the moment they heard it was intended, they had despatched a vessel from Corrunna (sic) to prevent it, which unfortunately arrived too late; that still he could not blame the conduct of Mons. Bucharelli, as it was founded on the established laws of America. "Notwithstanding," said he, "we are so very desirous of peace and have so much to lose by war, that we would avoid it at any rate."... he did not doubt that upon his laying my memorial before the King and his Counsellors, I should receive an answer which would be thoroughly satisfactory to us, and at the same time save their honour."* [2078]

"Orders, Harris, was informed, had been sent to Prince Masserano to lay before the British government several ideas which had been suggested and which as they differed from the British in terms and not in essentials, he trusted would be adopted." [2079]

2075 Quoted in Revello 1952. No citation.

2076 *Ibid.*

2077 *Harris to Weymouth September 28, 1770* published in the *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday February 26, 1771

2078 *Harris to Weymouth September 28, 1770* in Harris J. (3rd Earl – ed.) 1845 vol.1 p.51. My emphasis. Gil Munilla (1948 p.103) asserts that Grimaldi provided Harris with the first official news of the expulsion of British forces from Port Egmont, but accepted that the information was insufficient. Harris's message to Weymouth confirms that the details given were sparse. For example, Madariaga's return to Spain was not mentioned.

2079 Brown 1922 p. 422 citing *Harris to Weymouth September 28, 1770* in *SP (State Papers) Spain 185*

"As Harris rightly said, if Charles III broke the peace, he was obliged to accept British demands. Then he would have to rely on Weymouth's promise, repeated by his representative in Madrid, ensuring that once the status quo of 1769 was restored, the question of the right to the islands would be addressed. This was understood by the Spanish government, eager to avoid war. All their efforts are directed, from then, to find a way to give satisfaction to the English without compromising the honor of the King and the nation, nor the essential rights of the Monarchy." [2080]

"... the Minister of State expressed regret. As soon as he knew what was coming, he "sent a ship from Coruña to prevent it". This ship arrived too late. However, Bucareli can not be disapproved for "basing his conduct on the laws of America". Spain desires "so much peace" and has "lost so much in war" that she will avoid it any way. His Catholic Majesty will settle his acts on his own dignity and the good of his people and will grant "what will be compatible with these two conditions". The issue will be discussed in Council and there is no doubt that a prompt answer give complete satisfaction to the English." [2081]

In London, a *Proclamation* is made - *"For encouraging Seamen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's Ships of War."* [2082] A bounty of 30 shillings is offered to every Able-Seaman, and 20 shillings to every Ordinary-Seaman aged between 20 and 50.

> *"All the Letters received by our Merchants from Madrid, brought by the last Packet, mentioned a Report, which prevailed in that City, of an intended Rupture with England; and that every Hour they expect a Declaration of War to be made there."* [2083]

September 26th, from Paris, attached to the Spanish package for Masserano, Choiseul sends a message to the French *charge d'affairs* in London.

> *"The case now seems to me reduced to a single point, which is whether Spain will grant the two conditions demanded by England. ... Anyway, what we have to desire is to extend, if possible, until the end of the year, peace between us and England to give time to our sailors and traders to return to our ports and avoid the loss we suffered at the beginning of the other war, at the same time prepare ourselves in every way so that we have nothing to fear in America and especially in Asia...*
>
> *We have, in fact, two objects, one of preventing war, if that is possible without compromising the honor and dignity of Spain (this object depends largely on the Court of Madrid); the other, if the war is inevitable, to do it with all our strength, jointly with Spain, but to delay the period three months, which is necessary for us to put our seamen under (orders) and to be prepared for all events, I hope with advantage."* [2084]

Minister Choiseul also writes to the Marquis d'Ossun in Madrid, instructing the French Ambassador to urge the Spanish to play for time.

> *"... we have eight thousand sailors fishing in Newfoundland who return at the end of October... we must acquiesce I think, in the English proposals, but after, if (they) want the war in Spain, to get into the discussion of the right to sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, then ... I can assure the King of Spain we will be ready..."* [2085]

2080 Munilla 1948 p.103 citing *Grimaldi a Tanucci: 25 de Septiembre de 1770. A.G.S., Estado, 6.103.*
2081 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1044 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 560 f ° 394*
2082 Reported in the *Oxford Journal* Saturday September 29, 1770
2083 *Northampton Mercury* Monday October 1, 1770
2084 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1038 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 493 f ° 72 et Chouseul a Frances 26 sept.*
2085 *Choiseul to D'Ossin Sept. 26, 1770* in Brown 1922 p.420

"... the question of the French minister's sincerity must inevitably arise. It has been contended with no little plausibility that Choiseul was, in reality, playing a double game, that, while he professed to be seeking for peace, he was engaged in scheming for war..." [2086]

"Choiseul, although he seemed to have a preference for peace, actually left to the cabinet of Charles III the privilege of adopting whatever policy he saw fit. Deep down, he believed that war was preferable, for with it he could defeat his bitter enemies and entrench his already wobbly authority. But he stumbled upon new inconveniences. He was publicly accused of leading the kingdom into a new war. His enemies gave him no peace. In the Council, new requests for subsidies to feed the anaemic royal treasury provoked growing opposition. On the 26th of September he wrote again to d'Ossun: should Spain, even if it wanted war, suddenly accede to the English demands; France itself would benefit, because the time thus obtained would allow more than nine thousand French sailors who were at the time engaged in fishing on the banks of Newfoundland to return to port and who would otherwise be easy prey to the enemy. There would be time to declare war, during the negotiations on rights over the islands. France would then be properly prepared." [2087]

In London, Lord North visits Spain's Ambassador Masserano, who is ill with gout. Masserano complains about the threats made by Capt. Hunt and his requirement that the Spanish leave the Falklands within 6 months – "*a land that did not belong to England*." North counters that the islands had been uninhabited and that there were "*some slight arguments on both sides,*" concerning the right of possession of the islands.

"The ambassador did not think that his court could grant England a satisfaction which would seem to grant her a right which she did not possess. Lord North pointed out that the English officers who went to the Falklands were only instructed to protest the presence of foreigners but not to expel them, the legal issues to be dealt with by the governments. Prince de Masseran asked if England would disarm "in the event that the case can be settled". Lord North did not want to make any commitment before "seeing the end of these disputes," but he repeatedly reaffirmed that "we can be certain that we want only peace."." [2088]

After the visit, Masserano pens a letter to Minister Grimaldi informing the Spanish court that England was incensed at the news brought by *Favourite,* and had increased war preparations. [2089]

September 27th, at La Ganja, Count Aranda and Minister Grimaldi have an audience with Carlos III. It is decided that Spain will propose that the English return to Port Egmont, prior to a mutual abandonment by both nations. Grimaldi informs Masserano.

"Grimaldi ... offers four points that, in his opinion, can be considered as the only definitive solution. The English will return to their establishment in the Falklands, while Spain officially appears to ignore the return. Then, the Ministry of His British Majesty will agree to abandon the islands, after stating to Parliament that they find them burdensome, thereby avoiding possible criticism from the opposition party. Carlos III will declare "to have felt that Mr. Francisco Bucareli did not consider the consequences that could result from the effect of fulfilling the obligation of his oath"; but also the English Government must express its feelings over the conduct of Commander Hunt. Finally, in test of its good dispositions, England will disarm the forces that it prepares in its southern ports." [2090]

"... With regard to the departure of the English from Port Egmont, which is certainly the most important condition, the rights recognized by the Treaty of Utrecht will be recalled. If the English do not want to consent

2086 Winstanley 1912 p.380
2087 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.139-140
2088 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1042
2089 Munilla 1948 p.110 citing *Maserano a Grimaldi: 26 de Septiembre de 1770. Oficio 1.965. A.H.N., Estado, 4.274.*
2090 *Ibid.* pp.104-105 citing *Grimaldi a Maserano: 27 de Septiembre de 1770. Oficio núm.1. A.H.N., Estado, 4. 274.*

to abandonment outright, we will change the proposal by "obliging each other to abandon for ever the reciprocal establishments, the English after a few months of reoccupation (four at most), the Spaniards will then abandon Soledad". ... If these conditions are accepted, the Prince de Masseran will sign a convention; he receives for this purpose the full powers necessary. To these instructions is attached a draft convention." [2091]

"In new instructions sent to the Prince of Masserano, Minister Grimaldi proposed: 1. - that the English return by themselves to Port Egmont and that they be restored there as they were; 2. - that after the world had known that the question of honour had been repaired, they would leave the establishment after a few months; 3. - that the King declares his displeasure by the conduct of Bucarelli, at the same time that the King of England will declare that he has been annoyed by the reckless threat of Commander Hunt." [2092]

"In spite of Aranda's more aggressive stance,.. neither Grimaldi nor Carlos III appeared ready yet to plunge Spain into war. In the orders that Grimaldi sent to Masserano on 27 September and 3 October, he sought a middle ground that would effectively satisfy Britain's immediate demands but which would also protect Spain's honour and protect Spanish imperial interests." [2093]

In England, on the same day, the *Northampton Mercury* lists ships put into commission.

> *"In all 34 Sail of the Line, six Frigates, and one Sloop, being under the Command of Vice-Admiral Geary, Rear-Admiral George Lord Edgcumbe, and Commodore Hill."*

September 28th, in Madrid, Harris has a further conversation with Grimaldi.

> *"Mr. Grimaldi took me aside, and said he had laid my memorial before the King, and that his Majesty was resolved to do everything in his power to terminate in an amicable manner this affair... orders had been given to Prince Masserano to lay before your lordship the several ideas which had been suggested on this head;... he trusted one of them would be adopted."* [2094]

On the same day, Harris writes a private letter to Lord Weymouth.

> *"There is not the least reason to doubt their sincere desire here of the continuance of peace; as well from their inabilities of supporting a war as from the dread they have of its consequences: not merely respecting its success, but from the effects it may produce on the minds of the people; who, though at present they are kept in subjection by military force, yet would manifest their discontent the moment necessity should require that force elsewhere. In respect to their army, their infantry is very incomplete, and notwithstanding the active efforts of General O'Reilly, still very ill disciplined.*
>
> *Their cavalry is, indeed, on a better footing, yet far short of their establishment, and their horses much inferior to what they formerly were. Their navy, since the arrival of the Frenchman Gaultier, is considerably augmented, and repaired; they have, however, very few seamen, and the encouragement given to several strangers has disgusted some of their best officers. Their revenues were never in a worse condition; the immense sum brought this year by the Flota was barely sufficient to pay the debt*

2091 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1045-1046

2092 *Islas Malvinas: Expulsión de los ingleses de Puerto Egmont. Crisis diplomática y negociaciones (A través de la documentación del Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Francia, 1770-1771)* G. R. Moncayo 1986 citing *Grimaldi a Masscrano, 27-9-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 560, español, pág. 394/9*

2093 Stiles 2012 citing *Ministerio de Cultura (España), Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Estado, Legajo 4274, (Inglaterra – Correspondencia Diplomática, 1770), Grimaldi to Masserano, San Ildefonso, 27 September 1770 and 3 October 1770*

2094 *Harris to Weymouth September 28, 1770* in Harris J. (3rd Earl – ed.) 1845 vol.1 p.51

then due; and they are under the necessity of contracting fresh ones, to support even the ordinary expenses of the Court." [2095]

"... on September 28, 1770, he informed the British ambassador, Harris, that Charles III had decided to accede to British petitions in all that was not contrary to his dignity. Grimaldi indicated to Harris that it was not possible to fully satisfy the English requests, that is, to disavow Bucareli, restore Port Egmont and then discuss the right to the islands. In exchange, he proposed that Spain should tolerate the return to the British establishment, so that London could present it to the opposition as a success, and then abandon it, citing the burdensome nature of its support. Both nations would express their regret for the actions of their respective representatives, Bucareli and Hunt, and Britain would proceed to demobilize the squadron that prepared for its shipment to the islands. About Bucareli, Grimaldi, with a good dose of cynicism, said that the King of Spain declared "to have felt that Dn. Francisco Bucareli did not consider the consequences that could result from the effect of fulfilling the obligation of his oath". In fact, the Spanish cabinet considered it unlikely that the British would accept these proposals." [2096]

From London, on the same day, messages are sent out to the English colonies in North America and the Caribbean informing the Governors and commanders of the attack at Port Egmont. They are told to guard against further aggressions by Spain. [2097]

"It is said that Lord Chatham is much against the tedious Form of demanding the Restitution of Falkland Island from the Spaniards; his Lordship, as they have first begun Hostilities, being of Opinion, that some important Blow should be struck immediately on our Part. The Lords of the Admiralty have ordered 14 Frigates to be put into Commission." [2098]

Jackson's OXFORD Journal.
SATURDAY, September 29, 1770. Number 909.
This JOURNAL, though published on Saturday Morning, will always contain the moſt material Articles of INTELLIGENCE inſerted in other Country Papers on the Monday following.
Tuesday's poſt.
SCOTLAND.
COUNTRY NEWS.
LONDON, September 25.
By the KING, a PROCLAMATION,
For encouraging Seamen to enter themſelves in his Majeſty's Ships of War.
GEORGE R.
GOD ſave the KING.

September 29th, the *Newcastle Courant* reports.

"They write from Amsterdam, that the Merchants are in great agitation, on account of the falling of the stocks in England, which they look upon as the prelude of a rupture between this kingdom, France and Spain."

In the *Oxford Journal* (right).

"The Moment a War is proclaimed, Lord N(ort)h has declared he will resign. Betts (sic) of 100 to 20 are now laid, that a War commences before the 1st of November next. A categorical Answer has been demanded from the Court of Spain, whether they would immediately relinquish all Pretensions to Falkland Island."

October 1st, from London, French *charge d'affaires* Françès writes to Choiseul to say that Lord Weymouth is disinclined to make any statement about disarmament until Britain's two conditions – disavowal and restitution – have been addressed. Weymouth has also made it clear that he cannot view France as a mediator. [2099]

2095 *Ibid.* pp.63-64
2096 Diego 2014 p.21. No source cited.
2097 Brown 1922
2098 *Derby Mercury* Friday September 28, 1770
2099 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1044

October 3rd, from Madrid, the Marquis d'Ossun writes to Choiseul to inform him that he believes that the Court is willing to concede the two main points that England demands – disavowal and restitution – but that the latter retains a "*point of friction*" as the English should return themselves to Port Egmont, without recognition by Spain.

"To do otherwise would be dishonorable and prejudicial to the right of sovereignty over the Malouines." [2100]

On the same day, Grimaldi writes to Masserano to instruct him to continue to play for time, and extend the talks under any pretext. [2101]

October 4th, in Madrid, Harris speaks again to Minister Grimaldi.

> *"I found his ill-humour was caused by an express he had just received from Fontainebleau, which informed him of the apprehensions of that Court of the naval armament we were making. He spoke to me on it with a degree of alarm and impetuosity I never found in him. He said it was an ill return to the early intelligence they had given of the expedition to Falkland Island; that he would consider it as a lesson for the future, and not again by his frankness draw himself into a situation to incur the censure of his master, and the reproach of his allies; he could not but suppose that we were meditating some treacherous stroke by the warmth with which we had given these orders, and the celerity with which they were executed.*
>
> *In a word, my Lord, it would be tedious for you to read the strange inconsistent sallies his passion induced him to make. I let it take its vent, and then replied, that although I had not the same leisure as his Excellency to reflect on this fact, yet I stood in no need of it to see it in a very different light. That he could not but perceive that it was unbecoming the dignity of the King my master to sit idle while an act of direct hostility had been committed on his subjects in America, of which, indeed, though he had notice, yet he had no positive assurance of the consequences it would produce! …*
>
> *I ventured also to add, my Lord, that these preparations would cease, if the instructions given to Prince Masserano corresponded with the assurances he had authorized me to make in my letter to your Lordship …"* [2102]

Harris adds; *"I have great reason to believe that His Catholic Majesty is inclined, personally, to come to an accommodation with us at almost any rate…"* [2103]

October 7th, from Paris, Choiseul writes to Françès exhorting him to urge Masserano towards French mediation.

> *"Do the impossible so that the Prince of Maserano preferably follows my instructions to those of his court, which lack common sense."* [2104]

"In their original form Masserano's instructions contained a suggestion that both countries should evacuate the Falkland Islands, but Choiseul, realising that England would never assent to such a proposal, contrived to obtain its withdrawal." [2105]

"In a letter addressed to Frances, chargé d'affaires of the French Embassy in London, (Choiseul) set the criteria to be followed in the negotiations with the English ministers… Choiseul agreed on the reciprocal disavowal

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2100 *Ibid.* pp.1057-1058
2101 Munilla 1948 p.111 citing *Grimaldi to Maserano: October 3, 1770. A.H.N., Estado, 4,274*
2102 *Harris to Weymouth October 4, 1770*
2103 Harris J. (3rd Earl – ed.) vol.1 1845 p.57
2104 Quoted in Munilla 1948 p.107 citing *Choiseul a Francés: 7 de Octubre de 1770. (Aff. étr., Angleterre, 493)*
2105 Winstanley 1912 p.384

sought by Spain, (and) he agreed to reinstate (restitution) as demanded by the English, (but) omitting the evacuation clause subsequent to that restoration "because in good faith," he said, "it is laughable."..," [2106]

October 8th, in London, the Admiralty are ordered to send five ships to Kinsale and Cork; to take on troops.

October 9th, in Paris, Choiseul tells Walpole that Masserano has full powers to settle with the British Government, and will propose that both nations abandon the Islands.

From London, Françès informs Choiseul of his belief that the English are not enthusiastic for war.

> *"The City desires (peace), and I do not see any heat in their minds. The merchants regarded the Falkland Islands as useless, so do the most qualified sailors, who are of the opinion that England had no right or interest in forming an establishment there."* [2107]

In Madrid, Harris, aware of rumours of troops being despatched to Spain's South American colonies, seeks an interview with Minister Grimaldi. [2108]

> *"... I ... easily perceived from his conversation that my conjectures were not ill-founded. He told me His Catholic Majesty was brought to this extremity by our armaments still being continued and that although he would avoid war and was ready to sacrifice anything but his honour to preserve peace, yet his Kingdom was not so reduced as to suffer himself to be menaced."*

October 10th, from Paris, Choiseul writes to Françès in London.

> *"I have reflected that the negotiation of the Prince de Masseran would surely fail if he did not take the view of limiting the convention to the two articles… which must be granted with good grace."* [2109]

"The Ambassador would win by limiting himself to that which the English asked... we must be careful not to put into the conversation the question of mutual evacuation, for I do not believe that any English ministry would dare bring this evacuation article before Parliament..." [2110]

In London, meanwhile, and acting on his instructions from Grimaldi, Masserano proposes a convention; *"... in which he is to disavow any particular orders given to Mons. Bucarelli, upon this occasion, at the same time that he is to acknowledge, that he acted agreeably to his general instructions, and to his oath, as governor. He is further to stipulate the restitution of Falkland Islands, without injury to his Catholic Majesty's right to those lands, and he expects that his (Britannic) Majesty is to disavow the menace of Captain Hunt..."* [2111]

October 11th, at Fontainebleau, Choiseul informs Louis XV of the situation, and of the need to arm in case of war; *"... since Lord North did not want to stop the armaments, it is important that we make parallel arrangements. The king rallied to this opinion."* [2112]

After leaving his King, Choiseul meets with the Spanish Ambassador, Fuentes, to review the despatches being sent to Masserano in London; *"The new instructions given to the Prince de Masseran do not substantially modify the preceding ones, but indicate the points on which he could prolong the discussion: 1 the disavowal of Bucareli: he must not "testify that this officer has not fulfilled his duty"; 2 the return of the English to Grande-Malouine, which the "Spanish flag" can not bring back."* [2113]

2106 Moncayo 1986 citing *Choiseul a Frances, 7-10-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 493, inglés, pág. 136.*
2107 Quoted in Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 9-10-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 493, inglés, pág. 137/46*
2108 Munilla 1948 p.108 citing *Harris to Weymouth: October 11, 1770.*
2109 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1050
2110 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1050
2111 *Lord Weymouth to Mr. Harris October 17, 1770.*
2112 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1055 citing *Aff. étr. Angl.,493, f °160 11 oct 1770*
2113 *Ibid.*

Choiseul composes a - *Draft convention to finish the affair of Falkland* – which Fuentes approves.

"A preamble affirms the displeasure of His Catholic Majesty with an expedition made without his knowledge, but of which he informed His Britannic Majesty spontaneously and amicably to avoid the "odious" consequences; an article 1 disavows the commander of Buenos Aires, ..; an article 2 agrees that the English will be able to return freely to Port Egmont, where they will find all that belongs to them. An amicable negotiation will agree the right of possession of the Malouines Islands to prevent new events in that part of the world." [2114]

The draft convention is forwarded to *charge d'affaires* Frânçes in London, with a covering letter from Choiseul.

October 12th, France's Navy Minister submits plans for an increase in the size of the fleet, the defence of French colonies and improvements to the port of Brest. In case of war. [2115]

October 13th, Ambassador Masserano has an interview with Lord Weymouth. [2116]

"(Weymouth) saying "that once satisfaction had been given he would be able to negotiate amicably on the merits."., he renewed "confidentially" the most positive assurances... on the question of law, once reparation had been made." [2117]

October 14th, rumours reach Paris of twelve more English warships being prepared for combat.

In London, at a further interview with Lord Weymouth, Ambassador Masserano presents the proposal prepared in Madrid on September 27th – an English return prior to a mutual abandonment [2118] Weymouth is not impressed.

"The points stipulated by the Spanish minister were not even discussed. Grimaldi's (proposal) was, in Weymouth's opinion, "such an inadequate offer" that there was no possibility of continuing to talk about it. The English refusal to do so was emphatic... Weymouth again demanded unconditional reparation." [2119]

During the evening, Masserano receives Grimaldi's missive of October 3rd, requesting he play for time.

October 15th, in London, Weymouth and Masserano meet again. Masserano suggests a convention which includes mutual disavowal of Bucareli and Hunt.

Weymouth demands a categorical response to British demands as to restitution. However, the Spanish Ambassador prevaricates, telling Weymouth that he needs to consult with Madrid; repeating that the first injury was caused by the British – who threatened to drive Spain out of its own territory after six months. Weymouth begs to differ.

> *"England, formed an establishment without driving anyone out of it, in a place where there was nobody. ...Nevertheless, I wish to complete this affair as soon as possible, Spain may make a declaration in writing, but England will not give anything in writing, and the testimony that she is satisfied will be the suspension of all preparations for war"* [2120]

"Spain's proposals differ from England's demands. ... The Prince de Masseran could not obtain the principle of a convention (without) reference to his Court. Lord Weymouth will do the same and the negotiations will be

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2114 *Ibid.* pp.1055-1056
2115 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.258
2116 *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689 – 1789* Chance & Legg 1922 p.115
2117 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 15-10-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 493, inglés, pág. 206/215*
2118 Munilla 1948 p.110
2119 *Ibid.*
2120 Weymouth quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1061-1062 citing *Aff. étr. Angl.,493, f ° 206-215 15 oct*

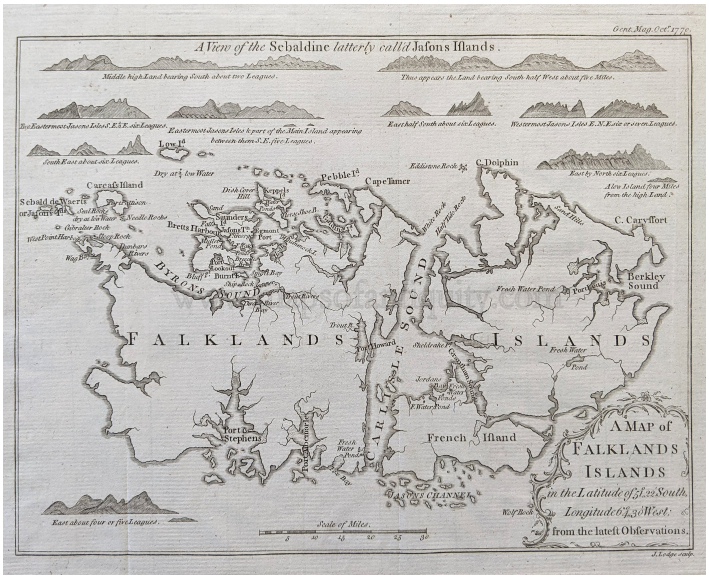
delayed by three weeks…. The Prince de Masseran (suggests) that when (the British) are there, the "ministerially promised" negotiation will begin on the question of law. Lord Weymouth replied that he makes no commitment in this regard… What is needed is first to avoid war." [2121]

"On 15 October Lord Weymouth expressed to the Prince of Masserano, on behalf of His Britannic Majesty, the rejection of the plan submitted to the English Government. Here are the reasons: 1. Great Britain judged every form of convention inadmissible, for it would establish a kind of reciprocity over an inferred insult. She could only demand repair. 2. the disavowal of the governor of Buenos Aires should be pure and simple, without preamble to justify action or reference to the threats of the English commander; 3. it was considered, as regards reinstatement, that the respective positions could be approached as regards the substance, but that agreement on how to verify consent could not be agreed. The British refusal placed the Spanish ambassador in need of requiring further instructions from his Court." [2122]

"Weymouth called on Masserano at the Spanish embassy after the Cabinet meeting on 18 (sic) October 1770, and emphasised that the Cabinet had been surprised at the Spanish proposals, which were not inconformity with Britain's demands. The disavowal of Bucareli must be pure and simple, without any mention of threats by the British captain, and Britain would sign no convention that implied equal pretensions on the part of the two powers – aggressors could make no demands. To that, Masserano replied that it was the provocation that had provoked the insult – the Spaniards had been the first party to have been offended, by the occupation of a territory which had been usurped from them and by the threat to expel them within six months from their own territory; that threat had been the origin of the entire dispute. Weymouth objected that such considerations touched on the question of right, which had not been established." [2123]

In Cádiz, two of the Acadian families from Bougainville's settlement finally arrive back from Montevideo. After a delay of three years. [2124]

In London, the October issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* publishes a map of the 'Falklands Islands' by John Lodge (right). [2125]


A View of the Sebaldine latterly called Jasons Islands.
Middle high Land bearing South about two Leagues.
Thus appears the Land bearing South half West about five Miles.
Low Id
Pebble Id
Cape Tamer
C. Dolphin
Carcass Island
Sebald de Weerts or Jasons Id
C. Carysfort
Berkley Sound
FALKLANDS ISLANDS
HYDRUS SOUND
ARLINGTON SOUND
Port Stephens
French Island
A Map of FALKLANDS ISLANDS in the Latitude of 51.20 South. Longitude 61.30 West: from the lateft Obfervations.
Scale of Miles.
J. Lodge sculp.

At the Soledad garrison, food supplies are running out.

"In October his (Governor Ruiz Puente) cry was of despair. Either it helped him, or else the death sentence was sealed for its inhabitants. Hunting was hard to get. The inhabitants hunted for ten to twelve leagues, and after eight to ten days they returned sometimes "without a bird, burdened only with inexplicable fatigue", barefoot, hungry and soaked. They were fed dried meat, so scurvy soon visited the presidio. There was a shortage of

2121 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1061-1062 citing *Aff. étr. Angl.,493, f ° 206-215 15 oct*
2122 Moncayo 1986
2123 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.258
2124 *Correspondance des consuls de France à Cadix* Anne Mézin (ed.) 2014 p. 336
2125 *Some Account of Falklands Islands, of which an Accurate Map is annexed* in the Gentleman's Magazine October 1770 p.480. John Lodge had been apprentice to Thomas Jeffries. Surprising similar to that published by Carrington-Bowles, dated January 1770 (see above), with, in most cases, the same words being used under the silhouettes. John Lodge's name appears in the bottom right-hand corner. Who copied who, is not clear.

firewood; the rooms felt the weight of time and the lack of good materials; cold, water and snow penetrated them without major inconvenience. To make matters worse, the only one who knew how to repair them died, and the bakery and part of the oven collapsed." [2126]

October 16th, in London, French *charge d'affaires* Françès goes in search of other ministerial opinions. Northern Secretary, Lord Rochford indicates to de Françès that a "*categorical, precise and definitive"* response is needed from Spain. Lord North tells the *charge* that he cannot speak "*ministerially*" but suggests that Britain could make a "*counter-declaration when the declaration of Spain has given satisfaction to England*." Only then could the question of legal right be considered. Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, protests to de Françès that Britain was inclined to the maintenance of peace which could be achieved by a "*simple and absolute consent to the two requests made to Spain*." [2127]

"... the French charge d'affaires in London, Jacques Françès, visited several British ministers to sound out opinions. Lord Rochford said he hoped for a clear, categorical answer from Spain, since the issue had been discussed long enough. Françès found that the Prime Minister, Lord North, was not prepared to have official contacts with foreign ambassadors, and insisted that everything they discussed was merely private. ... North said Britain's armament would continue until satisfaction was achieved, but finished by saying he would be most obliged if France would continue with her efforts towards peace." [2128]

Françès finally speaks to Ambassador Masserano, before writing to inform Choiseul of the result of his inquires.

"A conciliatory declaration by Spain is necessary. ... Thus, all things considered, Françès writes that he sees no way out except the absolute consent of Spain to English conditions." [2129]

From Spain, on the same day, Madrid orders the Viceroy in Buenos Aires to prepare for war. [2130]

October 17th, Britain's Admiralty reports that 30 ships of the line are being readied for active service. When asked whether the number can be increased, the response is that 10 more can be available by the end of the month. Lord Weymouth writes to Secretary Harris, in Madrid. Copied to Walpole in Paris. To inform them that the convention suggested by Prince Masserano is unacceptable in its present form. [2131]

> *"Prince de Masseran has proposed a convention, in which he will deny that any particular order was given to Mr. Bucareli on this occasion, at the same time as he will confirm that he acted to general instructions and his oath as governor. He will also stipulate the return of the islands of Falkland, without prejudice to the rights of His Catholic Majesty and he waits for His British Majesty to disavow the threats of Captain Hunt which he says, gave occasion for the measures taken by the Spanish governor. This is the substance of the proposed convention for which the prince told me he had full power to act. ... so little in conformity with the requested and expected satisfaction (it) caused a great surprise and a great pain to His Majesty since any delay brings new difficulties to this friendly accommodation that His Majesty has a sincere heart (to achieve). I have received the order to tell the Spanish Ambassador ... to ask the Court of Madrid to disavow the proceedings of the governor of Buenos Aires and restore things precisely in the state where they were before the reckless enterprise of*

2126 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.166

2127 Each interview detailed in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1063-1064

2128 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.259. Lord North did not recognise the title of 'Prime Minister'. In 1770, all ministers were of equal rank beneath the monarch.

2129 Martin-Allanic (1964 pp.1063-1064). No date given, but Martin-Allanic states that these inquiries took place after Masserano's conference with Weymouth and were detailed in a letter dated October 17, 1770 (*Aff. étr. Angl.,493, f ° 232-250 Françès a Choiseul 17 oct, 1770*)

2130 *Real Orden Arriaga a Vértiz: 16 de Octubre de 1770. A.G.I., Buenos Aires, 293*. Also Groussac 1910 p.166

2131 Arrived Madrid October 25, 1769

this governor (which can not be justified), as the least acceptable repair of the insult received. His Majesty believed that it remained only to discuss the manner of putting this disavowal and this restitution to execution. ..,

His Excellency (Masserano) replied that he had no power to proceed in this matter except by means of a convention and that he would have to write to Madrid for further instructions. I have orders, therefore, to signify to you that it is the will of His Majesty that you go without loss of time to the Marquis de Grimaldi, and that, having exposed him to the whole affair as I present it to you, you ask him to to communicate the answer of His Catholic Majesty that you will transmit to me immediately... "[2132]

"... when the King's moderation condescended to demand of the Court of Madrid to disavow the proceedings of the Governor of Buenos Ayres and to restore things precisely to that situation in which they stood before the rash and unwarrantable undertaking of the Governor as the smallest reparation for the injury received that he could possibly accept, His Majesty thought there was nothing left for discussion except the mode of carrying that disavowal and that restitution into execution. ... that reparation loses its value if it is to be conditional and to be obtained by any stipulation whatsoever... "[2133]

"His Majesty believed that nothing had to be discussed, except how the disapproval was (to be) verified and that restitution was put into effect." [2134]

"Lord Weymouth's letter to Mr. Harris speaks of the "restitution of the Falkland Islands" instead of Port Egmont. If, in its declaration, Spain does not specify the conservation of its rights, England will be "mistress of events" and will reserve for herself the moment which will be convenient for her to make war, after having completed her preparations." [2135]

In Paris, the Austrian Ambassador, Count de Mercy-Argenteau, reminds Minister Choiseul that Archduchess Maria Theresa was not bound to become involved in a war over the Americas, which had been excluded from the terms of their alliance. [2136]

October 18th, in Madrid, Harris receives intelligence that Spanish troops are forming up in Murcia, Andalusia and Galicia; *"General O'Reilly who is in the highest favour seems to direct all these military operations."* [2137] However, he reports that Spain is only likely to have ten ships ready and armed before the end of November. [2138]

October 19th, from Grenada, an infantry regiment sails to reinforce Buenos Aires. [2139]

October 22nd, in Paris, Choiseul receives news of the meeting between Weymouth and Masserano of the 15th.

2132 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1065 citing *Aff. étr. Angl.,561, f ° 75-76 et f ° 278-279 Weymouth a Harris 17 oct, 1770.* This letter was shown to Minister Choiseul and Spain's Ambassador Fuentes by Walpole on its arrival in Paris.
2133 *Weymouth to Harris October 17, 1770*
2134 Groussac 1910 pp.176-177 citing *Weymouth to Harris October 17, 1770.* See also Debrett 1792 vol.5 p.472
2135 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1070
2136 *Ibid.* p.1057
2137 Brown 1922
2138 Tracy 1975
2139 Munilla 1948 p.109 citing *Real Orden Arriaga a Vértiz: 19 de Octubre de 1770. A.G.L. Buenos Aires, 293.*

October 23rd, in London, Françès again goes to see Lord North to appeal for Britain to disarm and to express his concerns regarding the "*affected*" silence of Lord Weymouth. North confirms that disarmament cannot commence until Port Egmont is restored to the British Crown.

On the same day, Masserano's courier arrives in Paris en-route to Spain.

"... he visited the Spanish ambassador Fuentes with a letter from Masserano to Grimaldi, in which Masserano stressed that Lord North had said that Spanish preparations did not allow Britain to cease arming until the matter was solved, and that the question of right of sovereignty could likewise only be discussed after Britain had obtained satisfaction..." [2140]

October 24th, Choiseul updates Louis XV of the situation, and of the preparedness of Britain for war.

"The King decided that the Navy would continue to be put in a position of readiness, that the garrisons of the colonies would be strengthened and that an important army corps would be sent to Brittany ready for any eventuality. However, he confirmed to the Duke of Choiseul his will to avoid war..." [2141]

October 25th, from London, Lord Weymouth writes again to Britain's Embassy in Paris.

> *"... you are by no means to discourage the Due de Choiseul from using his influence in the Spanish councils in the manner which he judges most likely to reconcile His Catholick Majesty to this moderate and reasonable satisfaction demanded in my letter of the 12th past to Mr Harris. ... if that influence has been properly exerted, I shall find the happy effects of it in my next conference with Prince Masseran with whom alone I can proceed to further discussion upon the mode which His Excellency shall be authorized to propose, for realizing the conditions of that satisfaction which has been so explicitly demanded..."* [2142]

October 29th, at the Spanish Court, in receipt of Weymouth's letter of the 17th, Harris goes to see Grimaldi; seeking a response to the British Government's demands.

> *"I wish to God,.. I knew what you expect; I thought we had done so much that there remained nothing for us to do. ... We have allowed ourselves to be in the wrong; we have offered the most ample reparation; surely it is very hard, in the point wherein we are insulted you will not listen to our solicitations, although they are such as you might acquiesce in without the least diminution of the satisfaction we give you."* [2143]

> *"...the true thought of the King of Spain: 1 the most sincere desire to accommodate the dispute and to preserve peace; 2 that of giving England "a reasonable satisfaction for the insult she thinks she has received by the expedition which forced the English out of Port Egmont; 3 (and an) intention to lend themselves to the terms that would best suit the views of this ministry in the making of the treaty."* [2144]

Harris responds.

> *".. the insulted person should never admit satisfaction under some conditional restrictions, because if he did it would be a kind of denial of the injury;.."* [2145]

2140 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.259
2141 Martin-Allanic 1964. p.1066
2142 *Weymouth to Harcourt October 25, 1770* in Chance & Legg 1922 p.116. Apparently, Harcourt was back at his post. *cf.* Footnote to September 12, 1770
2143 Grimaldi quoted in Harris (3rd Earl – ed.) 1845 vol.1 p.57
2144 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1076
2145 *Harris to Weymouth November 7, 1770* quoted in Groussac 1910 pp.178-180

"The young English diplomat... had received orders from Lord Weymouth to obtain from His Catholic Majesty a reply to the demands made by the London Court. The Marquis de Grimaldi replied that he would seek the king's orders, but the affair should be concluded either by a convention or by some other act which states that disavowal and restoration in the island had been acceded to, in explicit terms, in writing. The Prince de Masseran has been given the power to treat the affair and to conclude it, but if Harris had the necessary powers, he could enter into negotiations.... In return, the King of Spain demanded... that the whole dispute should be "ended all at once, without any continuation (that) can disturb the good harmony of the two Courts"..." [2146]

Grimaldi speaks to King Carlos III, who refuses to disapprove of the action by Bucareli or to consent to the restitution of Port Egmont to Britain; without there being in place a fixed agreement as to a mutual abandonment and with a stipulation that neither nation would form thereafter further bases in the islands.

"These two conditions could not be separated without injuring the honour of Spain." [2147]

October 30th, in Paris, Ambassador Fuentes visits Choiseul with a letter from Minister Grimaldi. Authorising Spain's Ambassador in London to play for time; "*... in the interests of France*." However, Masserano is given authority to discuss a mutual abandonment of the Falklands, within a few months of Port Egmont's restitution. Choiseul assures Fuentes that France is preparing for a rupture should it occur.

In London, Françès dines with Lord North; informing him of; "*... the efforts of the Duke of Choiseul to obtain from Spain a pure and simple declaration of his acceptance of the two demands of England.*" [2148]

October 31st, from Puerto Soledad, Governor Philipe Ruíz Puente writes to Buenos Aires requesting urgent assistance.

> *"The needs of this colony have grown for lack of fresh meat, of game to take its place, and for the horrible lodgings that we occupy, not to mention the shortage of fuel and the continual unsteadiness of the weather we experience, so that if you tell me unequivocally that it is impossible to send assistance, without a moment's loss, it will be necessary to abandon this possession (or) see its inhabitants die… I can find no other remedy … than to give fresh meat, the few beef cattle with which I was beginning to develop a herd, at the expense of great care and a complete ban on their use, may serve. But no matter how long this resource lasts, which must be brief because they are few, I continue to run the same risk if I receive no assistance."* [2149]

Some of the original French settlers ask to leave the Spanish garrison site. [2150]

"The poor health, scurvy and full infirmary after the Spaniards had been in the islands for less than three years was in sharp contrast to the robust health the French and British enjoyed throughout their time there. The Spaniards were, and remained, unable to run their settlement properly." [2151]

November 5th, from Madrid, Minister Grimaldi writes again to Masserano to assure him that Spain is ready to accept a compromise, provided that there should be; *"reciprocal and authentic security."* [2152]

2146 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1076
2147 *Ibid.* p.1073 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561, f ° 127 29 oct*
2148 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1070 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 493, f ° 284-298 30 oct*
2149 *Puente a Bucareli February 18, 1770* in *AGN IX 16-9-2*
2150 Bernhardson 1989 p.117
2151 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.256-257
2152 Stiles 2012 citing *AHN, Estado, Legajo 4274, Grimaldi to Masserano, San Lorenzo, 5 November 1770, No. 9*

"Grimaldi's modifications were minimal and he continued to maintain the same tone, ... The basis of the new instructions was communicated to Harris in vague terms – only by saying that the matter should be settled "now definitively and decisively" ... Maserano was sent the Minute of a Declaration ... In it, as a new solution, ... the English are allowed to return to the Falklands; and the mutual abandonment of the Islands is proposed." [2153]

Grimaldi also writes a *memoir* to Choiseul in Paris, entitled - '*Examination of the principles which are followed in Spain on the Malouines affair with those which it seems to have been adopted in France*' Grimaldi concludes that any peace is likely to be short-lived, and that Spain does not believe that the English will disarm.

"The Minister of State recalls the demands of England. Spain was disposed to accept them with some "softening": Bucareli's disavowal compensated by that of Hunt, the return of the English to Port Egmont, rights on the Malouines Islands, ... facilitated by a reciprocal renunciation. The important thing is that Spain requires (that) the English "do not remain established in these areas". ..." [2154]

"In Paris, meetings of the king's council of 5 and 6 November were turbulent, the duc de Praslin demanding more money for the fleet, supported by Choiseul, even though the king's credit was exhausted – the Controller of the Treasury, the abbé Terray, tried to resign but was turned down by the king. But nothing final could happen until Spain's reply to the British demands was known." [2155]

November 7th, in Madrid, Secretary Harris is summoned to see Grimaldi to be told that Masserano has new orders to accommodate English demands, but as Carlos III; "*... has gone so far as to save the honour of his (British) Majesty, (perhaps) his Majesty would also contribute to the saving of his (honour),.."* [2156]

In London, Ambassador Masserano submits two draft agreements, both of which include a reciprocal rejection of the officers' (Bucareli and Hunt) actions. Lord Weymouth declines to accept either.

November 9th, in England, with war a possibility, a summoning of Parliament is considered by the British Ministry. King George however, is doubtful as to the expediency of recalling Parliament a week early.

> *"I am convinced that it would be improper, as (the Spanish) Court and that of Versailles would upon it auger that we are resolved at all events to accommodate the present dispute, and consequently would encourage them to raise perhaps so much in their demands as would make war absolutely necessary;..."* [2157]

November 10th, the *Newcastle Courant* reports; *"When the Bey of Tunis gave offence to France, and insulted their national honour, they sent immediately a fleet of ships to assert and vindicate it: But when the Spaniards seized a British island clandestinely; and insulted the British flag, our Ministers tamely submitted to memorials, remonstrances, negotiations, - and to finish the detested picture, a mediation by the Bourbon family. ... There is no question so often asked, as, "Shall we have peace or war?" ... the public ought to know it, that the Princess of Wales, Lord Mansfield and Lord North, are for peace. The K(ing) was sometime ago inclined to resent the insult of taking Falkland Island, but since the return of his mother, he is not so determined. However, Lord Rochford, who knows the secret disposition of the Court of Spain,.. is for war."*

2153 Munilla 1948 p.113

2154 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1081-1082 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494, f ° 140-146 & Aff. étr. Esp., 561, f ° 510 piece n° 6.* Choiseul presented this letter, among others, at the French King's Council meeting of November 15, 1770.

2155 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.260

2156 *Harris to Weymouth November 7, 1770*

2157 *The Correspondence of King George III with Lord North from 1768 to 1784* W. B. Donne 1867 vol.1

November 13th, in London, King George III, speaks at the State Opening of Parliament.

> *"By the act of the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in seizing by force one of **my possessions**, the honour of my crown, and the security of my people's rights, were become deeply affected. Under these circumstances, I did not fail to make an immediate demand, from the court of Spain, of such satisfaction as I had a right to expect for the injury I had received. I directed also the necessary preparations to be made, without loss of time, for enabling me to do myself justice, in case my requisition to the court of Spain should fail of procuring it for me;..."* [2158]

"Françès sees it as favorable to peace. I do not see it in the same sense as he.." [2159]

"North in fact prepared two King's speeches for the opening of Parliament, one martial, the other peaceful, according to what might then be the attitude of the Spanish court." [2160]

"Choiseul at first interpreted the king's speech as tantamount to a declaration of war." [2161]

".., speaking of Falkland Island, the king designated it as "one of [his] possessions", and not as a settlement of Great Britain. The cabinet can indeed order an establishment (a "plantation") which becomes national only by the sanction of Parliament; this is fortunately not the case of Port Egmont." [2162]

"The King's proclamation ... was as moderate as circumstances could permit. The monarch avoided attributing the enterprise of the Spanish government to orders from Madrid and referred only to the act of the governor of Buenos Aires. New money was requested to continue preparations for war. In the ensuing discussion, the Prime Minister was charged with clarifying the character of the conflict by saying that "... with regard to the right of the Island, this question is not at all involved in the present dispute, in which it is (only) a matter of the manifest insult made in the deepest peace to the Crown of England."..." [2163]

November 15th, at the Palace of Versailles, Minister Choiseul brings the King's Council up to date with the correspondence from Madrid.

"The crucial piece is the draft declaration to be made by the Prince de Masseran to the British minister. In the preamble to this declaration, Prince de Masseran will announce "the special power with which he is equipped" to conclude this affair in the desire to "preserve peace and harmony" disturbed by the act of June 10, 1770, follows the disavowal of this act and its initiator Governor Bucareli, determined by the obligations and threat of Captain Hunt; then the consent of His Catholic Majesty that the English return to the Great Malouine (West Falkland) ... restored to the state before June 10. Finally, the two sovereigns promise, by this declaration of the King of Spain and the counter-declaration that the King of England will make, to abandon first Soledad, the(n) second the Port (of) Egmont, and that all the Malouines, from (a date) fixed by England, remain deserted, ... Each paragraph of this draft declaration has been commented (on) by the Marquis de Grimaldi,... He agrees, for example, not to mention Captain Hunt, but (Masserano) must maintain reciprocity in disavowal. For the return of the English to Port Egmont it must be made clear that they must go on their own, otherwise it would

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2158 *Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons during the 13th Parliament of Great Britain, commonly called the Unreported Parliament* J. Wright 1841 vol.2 p.38. My emphasis. In his address, George III went on to talk about "*his colonies in North America*". He did not refer to the establishment on West Falkland as a colony. It was not a colony – colonies required legislation approved by Parliament. Using the term "*my possession*" identified Port Egmont as a Crown Possession. Not dissimilar to the Isle of Man or Guernsey, today.

2159 *Choiseul to d'Ossun November 19, 1770* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p. 1088 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f °205 19 nov*

2160 Hertz 1908 p.118. See also *Memories of the Reign of King George the Third* Horace Walpole 1845 vol.4 p.184

2161 Winstanley 1912 p.393 citing *Harcourt to Weymouth November 20, 1770*

2162 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1085-1086

2163 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 14-11-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 91/97*

be "a humiliation for us without any advantage for them". As for the article on mutual evacuation, ... If the English did not wish to have it appear in the declaration and counter-declaration, it should be the subject of a special agreement, backdated or postdated, but firmly fixing the time for evacuation. ... The Prince de Masseran is authorized to publish all the parts of the proceedings, with comments, to prove that Spain "has made every effort to prevent the war for such a small subject." The whole world must know that war comes only from the bad will of the English minister. ..." [2164]

"Grimaldi suggested ... (that) the British could send two or three frigates to Port Egmont and expel the Spaniards, thus expunging the insult of 10 June 1770 – but Grimaldi did want it to be known that this suggestion came from him; it was to be put forward by France. ... At the meeting of 15 November Louis XV and his council considered the correspondence; the king approved of most of Grimaldi's proposals but rejected his suggestion that France should propose that Britain should return and expel the Spaniards from Port Egmont, as being "neither noble nor useful"." [2165]

November 16th, in London, Choiseul's instructions as sent to the Comte de Guines, [2166] note; *"The main difficulty exists, in fact, at a single point: does the London Court grant a counter-declaration to Spain in which is formally stipulated the respective evacuation of the Malouines Islands at a time which will be set by England? ... even if this counter-declaration should remain secret for six months, the King thinks that the Prince de Masseran can give the declaration on the two points that England has asked for satisfaction."* [2167]

November 17th, at Fontainebleau, Lord Harcourt, Britain's new Ambassador to the French court, arrives and is immediately invited to dine with Minister Choiseul; *"Naturally he was invited to dinner, and the Malouine Islands were discussed; Harcourt confessed himself "ill-instructed" about them, and somewhat astonished at the importance given to them by France."* [2168]

November 19th, in London, Weymouth is informed by letter from Walpole that; *"... Masserano's instructions would allow him to leave out of any settlement a declaration of Spain's claims."* [2169]

On the same day, Masserano's instructions arrive in London. In possession of Grimaldi's draft-declaration, Masserano adds two more of his own; each giving more ground.

"Once the new instructions of the Spanish Court had arrived, the prince of Masserano drafted three declarations for submission to the English Ministry. The first project was designed according to the rigorous instructions of his Court: the mutual disavowal of the governor of Buenos Aires and of the English commander was included; the restoration of the English in the state prior to the expulsion was allowed; and the two sovereigns pledged to leave the islands they occupied. The second proposal, .., also contained a mutual disavowal of the Spanish expedition and the reasons that had caused it, but without naming anyone and the proposal that in a term to be fixed by the will of the King of England, after the re-establishment, the islands would be mutually abandoned." [2170]

Masserano's final draft ignores mutual abandonment, in favour of a statement reserving Spain's historic claims.

2164 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1079-1080 citing *No.5, Aff. étr. Esp., 561, f° 173-174*

2165 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.262

2166 Appointed Ambassador in July, it is not clear when de Guines actually arrived in London. It has been suggested that de Guines had delayed his departure until the new British Ambassador to the Court of King Louis arrived in France. These instructions may have preceded him.

2167 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1084.

2168 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.262

2169 Quoted in Tracy 1975

2170 Moncayo 1986

"... rights to which his Catholic Majesty declares that the reinstatement consented to by him ... can not affect and remain unalterable."..." [2171]

November 21st, in London, the Admiralty inform Weymouth that all *guardships* are manned to over 60%.

Spain's Ambassador Masserano meets with Lord Weymouth. Masserano opens with the suggestion that both nations make a declaration which safeguards the honour of their respective monarchs. Masserano reads out Grimaldi's proposals: mutual criticism of Hunt and Bucareli, a British return before, after a suitable period, mutual abandonment.

"At the end of the first article, Lord Weymouth stops him. He can not accept the mutual disavowal of Bucareli and Hunt, which he has already refused. .... (Moving) on to the second article, that of recovery, Lord Weymouth recalls that the Prince de Masseran promised him that the English will find there all that they have left "to the last nail", in the words of the Spanish ambassador. It will be necessary for the English to meet someone there to make this restitution "article by article". Prince de Masseran has no doubt that his Court (will) give orders in this direction. Lord Weymouth asks for the original or at least a copy of these orders, which will be sent to the Governor of Soledad, so that this return to the island will not give rise to any trouble. Agreement is made on this point." [2172]

On the question of mutual abandonment, Weymouth refuses to accept the condition.

> *"When we have resumed possession of our establishment, (then) we will discuss what will be done."* [2173]

"The Prince de Masseran points out that these islands belong to the King of Spain, (and) the English occupied one in (a time of) peace, ... The English can not derive any benefit. Their abandonment must be definitive, or they should be expelled whenever they establish themselves there. The discussion is long ... The conference lasted five hours." [2174]

The interview ends with Weymouth promising to examine the proposal and discuss the matter with his King.

November 22nd, in Britain's Parliament, William Pitt, Earl Chatham, addresses the House of Lords.

> *"I object to our negotiating at all, in our present circumstances. We are not in that situation in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate. A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the island restored? Are you replaced in status quo? If that had been done, it might then, perhaps, have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the Crown of England. But will you descend so low? Will you so shamefully betray the King's honor, as to make it matter of negotiation whether his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not? ... Let me ask, my Lords, when the first communication was made by the court of Madrid of their being apprised of the taking of Falkland's Island, was it accompanied with an offer of instant restitution, of immediate satisfaction, and the punishment of the Spanish governor? If it was not, they have adopted the act as their own, and the very mention of a disavowal is an impudent insult offered to the King's dignity.*
>
> *The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished, and profits by the theft. In vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and ought to be treated accordingly.... If I am not mistaken, we have been in possession of these islands since the year 1764 or 1765. Will the ministry assert, that*

2171 *Frances a Choiseul, 24-11-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág, 178/93*
2172 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1091-1093 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494, f° 694-197*
2173 *Ibid.*
2174 *Ibid.*

in all that time, the Spanish court have never once claimed them? That their right to them has never been urged, or mentioned to the ministry?

If it has, the act of the governor of Buenos Ayres is plainly the consequence of our refusal to acknowledge and submit to the Spanish claims. For five years they negociate; when that fails, they take the islands by force." [2175]

On behalf of the Ministry, Lord Gower responds.

"... by his own acknowledgement, our right to Falkland's island was litigated from the first: he forgets that the Spaniards often applied to our ministry upon this very subject, and that of consequence our pretensions to the exclusive possession, are neither so ancient nor so clear, as the noble Lord would insinuate."

"Chatham in reply pleaded for the rescue of 'an injured, insulted, undone country' from the craft of Spain and the criminal indifference of the ministry. Vigorous naval preparations would alone save England and her colonies from lying 'at the mercy of the house of Bourbon.' He was supported by Shelburne, but the motion was lost by 65 votes to 21, and his attempt to call Hunt to give evidence at the bar of the House was no more successful. Other speakers might still be babes to him, but they were more judicious. In the Commons Dowdeswell moved a similar resolution on 22nd November with the assistance of Burke and Pownall, but the ministry triumphed by 225 votes to 101." [2176]

"... the Opposition in the Commons demanded that the full papers on the Falkland islands from 12 September 1769 to 12 September 1770 be laid on the table of the House, to permit the government's handling of the affair to be investigated, but Lord North said it would be inappropriate at such a critical juncture, when it was not clear whether there would be peace or war, and the motion was defeated by 225 votes to 101." [2177]

November 23rd, in London, Weymouth summons Masserano. On the Ambassador's arrival, Weymouth returns the draft-declaration.

Weymouth repeats the British demand for the disavowal of Bucareli and the return of the situation on the Gran Malouine as it was before June 10, 1770; *"... without in any way affecting the question of law or that of the abandonment of these islands."* [2178]

Masserano responds by offering the second draft-declaration that he has prepared. This fudges the criticism of Bucareli and Hunt with a disavowal in more general terms; *"His Catholic Majesty "disavows this undertaking as well as His British Majesty disavows the motives which caused it"*. Weymouth rejects this too. Spain's Ambassador then accuses Britain of having another agenda, that of war. Asserting that this is proven by Weymouth's refusal of a reasonable offer. Weymouth protests.

Despite this, Masserano tries to move on to an alternative to mutual abandonment. Weymouth interjects to say that such would be conditional satisfaction for the insult his country has suffered, and that the satisfaction need only be simple – restitution without conditions.

2175 William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, had been Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Leader of the House of Commons, Lord Privy Seal and, finally, Prime Minister between 1766 and 1768. Approaching the end of a glorious political career, Chatham was no longer in power but still held considerable influence in Parliament. He considered Lord North's approach to foreign policy as weak.

2176 Hertz 1908 p.122

2177 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.263 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1093

2178 Weymouth quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1094-1096 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 233-252 23 nov*

> *"If you think this territory is yours, we believe, on our side, that it is ours. … The thumb of territory in question is ours. The English have found no one in the island."* [2179]

"Lord Weymouth did not want to hear either the question of law or a counter statement, and again began to quibble, ... The ambassador recalls how the English had appropriated it on the pleasure of a lord of the Admiralty, and that Spain would never suffer any nation to occupy a single inch of its territory. Prince de Masseran handed him his new draft declaration. ... The Englishman, unwavering, kept to his two simple demands, returning the second draft to the ambassador. The latter finally suggests a project that would be completed by a special convention, anti-dated or post-dated at the discretion of the British Ministry. Lord Weymouth does not want to lend himself to this useless "subterfuge." He keeps to the two conditions he demands, no more. .. Prince de Masseran proposes to write a third (version). Lord Weymouth considers it useless if it does not bring pure and simple satisfaction, according to the order of his Sovereign. He will be at the disposal of the ambassador each time he wants to speak to him and he concludes: "Everything is in your hands." The Prince de Masseran replies, "Peace or war are at your will." ..." [2180]

Masserano immediately reports the conversation to Madrid. Despite Weymouth's aggressive opposition to anything but a simple satisfaction, without conditions, Masserano assures Grimaldi that; *"It's true that everyone generally wants peace."* [2181]

At much the same time, Lord Weymouth, sends new instructions to Harris in Madrid.

> *"As Prince Masseran continues to hold a language which gives very little reason to expect just satisfaction for the insult committed in the midst of profound peace, and the most friendly declarations of the Court of Madrid, … you may take such method as you shall think most advisable, to apprise, as privately as possible, the Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar of this uncertain state of affairs, and of letting him know that, General Cornwallis, and other officers, .., are ordered to their posts, and are to embark immediately. You will also apprise his Majesty's consuls at Cadiz, Alicante and in other ports of Spain, of the danger of a rupture,.."* [2182]

King George writes to Lord North.

> *"I saw Lord Weymouth on his coming from the Spanish Ambassador; the projet produced differed but little from that of Wednesday. Lord Weymouth has renewed the demand of the Governor of Buenos Ayres being disavowed, and the island restored unattended by any discussion on the right. Prince Masserano said he saw we meant war, but on going said he would draw up another projet, which Lord Weymouth declared he could not accept unless agreeable to the demand."* [2183]

"In two successive meetings that Lord Weymouth had with the Spanish ambassador, the English minister rejected the two projects on the grounds that both made conditional the satisfaction demanded. There remained only the weak recourse of the third project in which, instead of resorting to the mutual abandonment of the islands, Spain reserved its rights based on the antiquity and priority of discovery and possession..." [2184]

November 24th, from London, *charge d'affaires* Françès sends news of Weymouth's rejection to Choiseul.

In England, all land officers are ordered to report to their posts.

2179 *Ibid.*
2180 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1094-1096 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 233-252 23 nov*
2181 Stiles 2012 citing *AHN, Estado, Legajo 4274, Masserano to Grimaldi, London, 23 November 1770, No. 2002*
2182 Quoted in *The London Magazine* Vol.40
2183 Quoted in Donne 1867
2184 Moncayo 1986

November 25th, Lord North asks Parliament to increase the Navy's strength from 16,000 to 40,000 seamen.

At the old Palace of Westminster, Françès approaches Lord North regarding Masserano's meetings with Weymouth. Concerned about the rejection of Spain's draft-declaration.

"It was obvious that Lord North had no knowledge of it. He read it carefully. Finally, he declared to reject reciprocity in disavowal and not to suffer that in the declaration the question of right should be treated. It would be postponed and we will see, "thereafter that the ministry is very little attached to the island Falkland, if the satisfaction is given now"." [2185]

North confirms that mutual abandonment is unacceptable, and that Spain must redress the insult without conditions. Mutual abandonment would not be tolerable to Parliament, and Ministers would be "*risking their heads*"[2186] if they agreed to it.

"Lord North confirmed that England would not wage war for Port-Egmont, but the insult must be repaired."[2187]

In Spain, the ex-Governor of Buenos Aires, Francisco Bucareli y Orsua, arrives in Cádiz.

"Francisco Bucareli y Orsua, had returned to Spain at the end of his term as governor of Buenos Aires. He had barely landed at Cadiz when he received a confidential note from D. Julian de Arriaga, dated November 25, advising him, by order of the King, to keep secret the order of February 25, 1768 (by) which had he ordered the dislocation of the English from the Malouines, "but that he could say that such operations are regulated by the laws of the Indies."..." [2188]

"Bucareli was naturally somewhat discomfited at the king of Spain's imminent disavowal of his conduct, since he had simply carried out his orders, but he was cordially received at court, was assured that the disavowal was a mere political necessity which in no way compromised his dignity, and to prove the point, the king appointed him a gentleman of the Privy Council." [2189]

In London, later that same day, Ambassador Masserano speaks to Lord Gower, the Lord President of the Council. Lord Gower takes the same position as Lord North while confirming George III's friendship with the Spanish King. [2190]

November 27th, in Paris, in receipt of Françès's letter of the 24th, Choiseul speaks to Lord Harcourt. Disturbed by Weymouth's rejection of the proposals, Choiseul exhorts Harcourt to write to London.

> *"... that we may know their final determination, what they want, and what they wish, that I may make a last effort to obtain the satisfaction they desire."* [2191]

"Choiseul, who had flattered himself that peace was in sight, was aghast to hear that the Spanish offer had been summarily rejected;..." [2192]

In London, Southern Secretary, Lord Weymouth, has a further meeting with Ambassador Masserano. Little is achieved. Weymouth continues to demand that Bucareli is disavowed; the Falklands restored, and any question of sovereignty, deferred. Masserano accuses him of duplicity; desiring a war; *"which Weymouth energetically*

2185 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1100
2186 Merely a figure of speech
2187 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1100
2188 Munilla (1948 p.116) citing *Real Orden Arriaga a Bucareli: 25 de Noviembre de 1770. A.G.I., Indif. Gen., 412, 137. (minuta)*
2189 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.265
2190 *Ibid.*
2191 Winstanley 1912 p.390 citing *Harcourt to Weymouth, November 27, 1770*
2192 *Ibid.*

denied. Masserano returned to his residence having achieved nothing, whereupon the new French Ambassador the comte de Guines was announced. He and Masserano at once struck up a friendship, and acted from then on in concert." [2193] Masserano quietly advises a number of Spanish ships at anchor in the Thames, to leave. [2194]

November 28th, the Comte de Guines, France's new Ambassador to the Court of St. James, formally presents his credentials to Lord Weymouth. Aware that Choiseul's man, Françès, has an evening appointment with Weymouth, King George writes to Lord North.

> *"... I have but little hopes of any change in the conduct of the Court of Spain, yet I shall be very anxious to learn what shall pass between you and Mr. Frances; therefore, if he leaves you by ten, I wish you would call on me; if not, that you will send me a line, for every feeling of humanity, as well as the knowledge of the distress war must occasion, makes me desirous of preventing it if it can be accomplished, provided the honour of this country is preserved."*

Lord North and Françès meet.

> *"Lord North said that England did not want to keep the islands, which had no value for them, and if Spain met the satisfaction claimed, then they were* ***likely*** *to* ***evacuate****."* [2195]

"Françès was charged with a message from de Guines to Lord North in which the French Ambassador expressed his surprise that Lord Weymouth had rejected all of Masserano's proposals, and particularly his latter offer, which was very reasonable, as these proposals gave England what she wanted in the form desired. The only conclusion to be drawn was that England desired war for an unworthy object. ... He (Françès) then asked whether or not England would abandon the Gran Malvinas (sic) after they had taken possession. He was led to ask this because North had said several times before that he could not comprehend why the Spanish court had no confidence in them. The answer of North was important because the subsequent discussions pivoted about his suggestion. He (North) said that ***he could not speak officially*** *on this matter but if Françès would promise that this conversation would not be made public he would say in confidence that they did not desire to keep the island, that it was worth nothing to them and if Spain would give the satisfaction demanded they would certainly evacuate."* [2196]

"The facts appear to be that, at the end of November, when negotiations seemed to have reached an impasse, Lord North told M. Frances, ... that, ***speaking unofficially****, as the matter did not fall within the province of his department, .., he would say in confidence that they did not desire to keep the island, and it was worth nothing to them, and if Spain would give the satisfaction demanded they would evacuate. M. Frances' attempts to secure some kind of formal confirmation of this statement were unsuccessful."* [2197]

2193 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.265

2194 Munilla 1948 p.120 citing *Maserano a Grimaldi: 28 de Noviembre de 1770. A.H.N., Estado, 4. 274.*

2195 *Frances a Choiseul, 29-11-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 260/73.* My emphasis. Moncayo (1986) mistakenly suggests that this meeting was with Lord Rochford. Note that the word used was '*evacuate*', not '*abandon*.' Whatever was said, Lord North's conversations were not official. A position that the Minister repeatedly made clear to Françés. Not official, simply because Lord North was not directly involved in the negotiations. North was First Lord of the Treasury, one of a modern Prime Minister's titles, but back then ministers of whatever rank were, more or less, equal. George III made the final decisions. Among the King's Ministers, diplomatic relations with Spain fell to the Department of the Southern Secretary – Lord Weymouth, at this time. Rochford did not take over as Southern Secretary officially until December 19, 1770, but seems to have been asked by the King to get involved from around this date. Weymouth's obstructive attitude may have been causing concern.

2196 Goebel 1927 p.307/308. My emphasis. An attempt by the French to go behind Weymouth's back? *cf.* March, 1771. Also 1772, 1773, 1774 & 1775

2197 Field 1928 paras. 46/47. My emphasis. *cf.* May, 1775.

That same evening, Britain's Cabinet of Ministers resolve to recommend war if Spain fails to accept its demands. In a letter from Weymouth; *"... Harcourt was told... that now his most important work was to procure intelligence of military and naval preparations in France; ..."* [2198]

November 29th, in London, Northern Secretary, Lord Rochford, opens a meeting with Masserano by pointedly emphasizing Britain's claim to the Falkland islands. He tells Spain's Ambassador that Britain will only be prepared to discuss the issue of sovereignty once restitution has been made. Masserano responds that there would have to be a mutual abandonment first, or that Spain's position will appear compromised. [2199]

Rochford ends the conversation by suggesting that war would therefore appear inevitable. [2200]

"Lord Rochford assures us "very positively that we are not intending to keep the Falkland Islands and that, by virtue of the reinstatement granted, no request will be made to Spain, which could endanger the peace"..." [2201]

In Paris, the King's Council meet. Louis XV is concerned that the situation remains unresolved. With the French treasury depleted, war is impossible and the King will only countenance a fight if Spain itself is attacked. Louis determines to write to Carlos III. [2202] So the King pens a personal letter to Carlos III, reminding him of the bonds between the two countries and of the necessity of maintaining peace; adding that in his view, Spain's demands of the English wounded the vanity of that nation too vitally to permit of their being accepted. [2203]

From London, Masserano despatches a Royal courier – Vega – with reports for Madrid.

November 30th, in the *Kentish Gazette*:

> *"A few days since Lord Weymouth told the Spanish Ambassador, that, "if he did not give in a satisfactory answer before the expiration of this week, he should be asked no more questions, but that immediate recourse should be had to the ultima ratio Regum."..."* [2204]

"In a heated atmosphere of bellicosity, interview after interview was held, in which peace was discussed but war was set as the only solution. War was discussed in the English parliament and announced in the London newspapers. At the end of November, the English ministers mentioned war as something already inevitable."[2205]

2198 Winstanley 1912. p.390

2199 *British Foreign Policy and the Falkland Islands Crisis 1770-71* G. Rice 2010 p.288. Also Goebel 1927 p.309. Rochford would eventually take over the official negotiations from Weymouth; but his involvement in November, 1770 may indicate the King's frustration with Weymouth. Despite war preparations, George III did not want a fight.

2200 Goebel (1927 p.310) asserts that the meeting between Rochford and Masserano was followed by a meeting between Rochford and Françès, where Rochford confirmed to Françès that Britain had no intention of retaining the islands. I can find no evidence of this meeting and Goebel's assertion appears to fly in the face of the recorded conversation with Masserano. It seems more likely that Goebel conflated the Françès/Lord North meeting with that between Rochford and Masserano. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1105), without citing a source (Goebel?), suggests that the meeting with Rochford took place with both Masserano and Françès present. Apparently, Martin-Allanic could find no evidence of a second meeting either.

2201 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1105 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 259-265 29 nov.* Not supported by the evidence. Rochford would later deny any suggestions by him of British abandonment. Vigorously deny, in fact. To the point of threatening war. See 1772, 1773, 1774 & 1775

2202 *Ibid.* p.1098

2203 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.265

2204 *Kentish Gazette* Friday November 30, 1770. *Ultima Ratio Regum* translates as *'the final argument of kings'* (a recourse to arms). Again, not compatible with the quotation by Goebel (1927 p.310) above.

2205 Revello 1952

December 1st, in London, *charge d'affairs* Françès, speaks to Lord North. Yet again, the British Minister confirms that there can be no discussion over *"right"*, but only upon the question of *"satisfaction."*

"Frances sought to reconcile the position of the two parties. He proposed that once the insult had been repaired by the plain and simple declaration demanded by England, the English Monarch would announce to the Spanish Ambassador the positive orders he would give to his ministers to proceed to an immediate negotiation on the basis of mutual evacuation. This conciliatory proposal was dealt with in a conference that Frances had with the English Prime Minister. ... But the minister did not comment on the proposal made by Frances. He explained, showing the unusual duplicity characteristic of the British ministers in these negotiations - "that he understood not to be bound in anything, that it should be understood that all that had been said would be regarded as not agreed upon."..." [2206]

December 2nd, Françès has a further conversation with Lord North. Again, the Minister confirms to the Frenchman that; *"... this affair is not his department."* [2207]

"(Françès) asked ... How could the two Courts get closer if England refused to explain the content of the disavowal she wished, and if, .., she remained silent about her intentions with regard to the Falkland Islands? Would she want, after the restoration, to keep them ... This silence is proof of England's partiality to go to war, the present disputes being only a pretext. Lord North (declares) that England has not adopted any resolution of this kind, but that by (Spain's) resistance to giving a simple satisfaction to "repair a manifest and dishonourable insult," Spain will make war inevitable." [2208]

December 3rd, North and Françès speak. North confirms everything he had said previously. [2209]

*"Lord North only proposed what Lord Weymouth repeated a hundred times and Frances let himself be caught. This can only weaken the **official** conferences of Prince de Masseran with Lord Weymouth."* [2210]

"In a letter addressed to Minister Grimaldi, Masserano told him that in an interview held by Mr. Francés, the French ambassador with Lord North, the latter had told him that the Spanish proposals were inadmissible "that the entire Council of His Britannic Majesty had declared it so, and that he had adhered to the opinion that satisfaction could not be received with any clause that obliged to deal with the rights of those islands. He added that the King [of Spain] should trust in this Ministry, that he did not doubt that if satisfaction were given as requested, the islands would be abandoned a few months later", expressions that he repeated to him days later. This occurred on December 3, 1770." [2211]

2206 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 3-12-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 285/86.* A rather partial perception. North did not comment, because he was in no position to. These negotiations were within the remit of the Southern Secretary, not the Treasury.

2207 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1122 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 285-296 Françès a Choiseul 3 dec.* Rumour of these regular conversations between North, Francés and, later, de Guinnes would lead Lord Chatham (William Pitt) to assert, caustically, that Britain had two Cabinets. Chatham went so far as to suggest that a member of this supposed second Cabinet – who he named as Stuart Mackenzie – led the negotiations that finally resulted in an agreement in January, 1771. In 1911, on behalf of the Foreign Office, Bertrand de Bernhardt searched through the records both with the Master of the Rolls, and the British Museum, where the archives were kept in the early 20th century. He could find no trace of Mackenzie's existence. However, during the period in question, there was a Scottish MP representing Ross-shire who was James Stuart-Mackenzie. A confidant of George III, and keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Quite what part he could have played is unclear. There are no public records or other evidence of his involvement.

2208 *Ibid.*

2209 *Ibid.* p.1123 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 285-296 Françès a Choiseul 3 dec*

2210 Choiseul to Louis XV December 7, 1770 in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1125. My emphasis.

2211 Revello 1952. No citation

A suggestion of French mediation, however, provokes a response from the British Minister.

> *"England could not, by dignity, have recourse to the mediation of another power."* [2212]

"England will decline, as long as it is possible, its final resolution. The Prime Minister agreed to further discuss the terms of the draft declaration, and asked that Spain promptly give Prince de Masseran new powers to grant the simple declaration. ... He would also (consider) a paper containing the reservations of Spain as to the right. He confirmed, moreover, all that he had said previously." [2213]

"For domestic reasons, North could neither publicly promise the abandonment of the colony nor agree in writing to Spanish reservation of rightful control of the islands. If Spain would placate the English hardliners by restoring Port Egmont to England, North would ***privately agree*** *to abandon the settlement later..."* [2214]

"(Jacques Françès)... asked if Britain intended to retain the islands, perhaps with some ulterior motive in mind. North answered that Britain would not go to war over the Falklands, but that if Spain simply accepted Britain's demands, she would see how little importance Britain attached to them. North, like Weymouth before him, emphasised several times that Britain attached no value to the Falklands, implying – though never stating in so many words – that Britain did not intend to retain them once satisfaction was obtained." [2215]

In Paris, Masserano's courier – Vega – arrives with messages for Fuentes and Choiseul.

At the Palace of Versailles, Minister Choiseul has a private meeting with Louis XV. Choiseul complains that the Spanish Ambassador in London has not been listening to him.

> *"... we have become confused in statements, counter-declarations, conventions, in contradictory demands ... the English minister has reduced the matter to the simple: there is an insult, (he) asks for satisfaction and will not deal with anything until the satisfaction is given to the insult. I believe all the more because they are right, (and) that if such a thing had happened to a French possession, I would behave just like the English ministry. ... but at the same time it is not right that by repairing the insult Spain loses its rights and that that is why, ... I would have kept to that reservation, without deciding on the reciprocal abandonment, ... the proposition of reciprocal abandonment, ... annihilates the reparation of insult."* [2216]

Directed to do so, Choiseul writes to both the Comte de Guines and *charge d'affaires* Françès, in London, suggesting that an accord may be possible if it includes an expression of regret from the Spanish King over Bucareli's action. But there must also be a reservation of Spanish rights to the archipelago. [2217]

2212 Lord North quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1123 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 285-296 Françès a Choiseul 3 dec.*

2213 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1123 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 285-296 Françès a Choiseul 3 dec.* Goebel (1927 p.311) provides a different version, with North telling the Frenchman that Britain had no wish to keep the Falklands due to the expense involved. This does not ring true. North was not in a position to discuss terms or consider any reservations. This affair fell to Lord Weymouth's department.

2214 Gustafson 1988 p.14. My emphasis. Gustafson refers to this as the "*so-called Secret Understanding.*" However, Gustafson's source is Goebel's (1927) erroneous interpretation. No evidence supports it. Rumour of a secret arrangement to abandon, only arose in January, 1771

2215 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.267

2216 Choiseul quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1114 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 169 Choiseul a Françès 3 dec*

2217 Many works suggest that Choiseul was operating without his monarch's supervision. This was not the case, but the intrigues of the French court were working against the Foreign Minister and rumours that he was in favour of a war were designed to alienate him from the King. Louis XV played a greater part than is generally acknowledged..

"I propose that the Prince de Masseran give the declaration as you will find it attached, that he ask the English for the counter-declaration which I am likewise enclosing. ..,

If the Prince de Masseran wishes to follow this course, which is clear and simple, and is accepted by the English, the King and I are very anxious to have it approved by Spain. If the English refuse to do so, war must be waged,..." [2218]

In support of his proposal, Choiseul attaches a draft-accord.

"Declares that His Catholic Majesty, considering His love with which he is animated for peace and His special friendship for His Britannic Majesty, disavows the enterprise which occasioned, on 10 June last, the expulsion of the English who were in the Malouines or Falkland Islands at the port called Egmont. The Prince de Masseran declares also to His British Majesty that the English can return to settle in Grande-Malouine, by them called Falkland, as they were there before June 10 of this year, the day on which the violence was executed, and His Catholic Majesty undertakes to have delivered to them on their return, the effects they left at the port called Egmont, June 10, by an officer on his behalf according to the inventory that was made then. Said declaration of the Prince de Masseran is an authentic proof of the genuine sorrow of the King, his master, on a fact which could have disturbed the good understanding between the two Crowns, but can not prejudice the ***former rights*** *of His Catholic Majesty, to the islands called Malouines and by the English Falkland, rights founded on the antiquity and primacy of discovery, on possession and upon treaties, which rights His Catholic Majesty declares that the restoration agreed on his part, to the port of Egmont, will not undermine."* [2219]

Choiseul also attaches a draft-acknowledgement (acceptance) to be signed on behalf of George III.

"The King of Great Britain, animated by the sincere desire to give proof of his friendship to His Catholic Majesty, accepts as satisfaction for the event of June 10 the declaration that the Prince de Masseran, Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary to his Court, was allowed to give him from His Catholic Majesty, as well as the reservation regarding the (question of) right..." [2220]

"Choiseul sends instructions to his charge d'affairs in London, M. Françès. ... (enclosing) a "draft declaration, a written project to which the most convenient name will be given." Its content satisfied the British demands: it guaranteed the return of Port Egmont, and it disavowed the expedition. But, at the same time, it omitted the name of Bucareli and formally reserved to Spain the right of ownership of the islands. The French minister proposed that the project be shown jointly to Lord North by the representatives of the Catholic and Christian Monarchs." [2221]

December 4th, from London, with Royal Navy vessels rendezvousing at Spithead, Lord Weymouth asks the Admiralty to equip a further fifteen ships of the line.

2218 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1114 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 276.* See also *North to George III Dec 26, 1770* in *George III to Lord Rochford December 6, 1770* in *The correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1783, printed from the original papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, arranged and edited by the Hon. Sir John Fortescue* John Fortescue 1928 p.191

2219 Quoted in Martin-Allinic 1964 p.1115 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 278. My emphasis.* Slightly different translation in Pascoe (2020) p.38. A letter from Rochford to Harcourt dated December 21, 1770, referring to a despatch from Harcourt on December 12, suggests that Choiseul had also presented his proposals to the British Ambassador. This wording did not make the final draft. See below.

2220 Martin-Allinic 1964 p.1115 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 278*

2221 Munilla 1948 p.118 citing *Choiseul a Francés: 3 de Diciembre de 1770. (Aff, étr., Angleterre, 494, fols. 81, 82 y 85).*

From Paris, in a despatch from Minister Choiseul to the French Ambassador in Madrid, Choiseul accepts that war appears inevitable. [2222]

In London, Britain's Cabinet of Ministers meet to discuss the acceptance of Spanish proposals for a declaration. Lord Rochford asks the meeting whether the other Ministers were prepared to accept a simple disavowal of Governor Bucareli's actions, together with the restoration of the British to Port Egmont. Lord Weymouth remains silent. [2223]

December 5th, Lord Weymouth seeks royal permission to break off diplomatic relations and recall Secretary Harris from Madrid. Concerned, George III writes to Lord Rochford.

> *"... From the moment Lord Weymouth expressed yesterday a wish that Mr Harris might be recalled and that I had from others heard he had at the meeting the night before avoided answering the proper question You had put whether all present were ready to advise the accepting the declaration if containing simply a disavowal of Mr Buccarelli and a restoration of the Island; I have seen the above proposal as intended to prevent any accommodation. I owne (sic) I have no expectation the Spaniards will end this affair amicably yet I do not wish they should have it to say that they would have complied provided we had not recalled the Secretary of the Embassy without giving them an opportunity to conform to our uniform demanded (sic)..."* [2224]

December 6th, Rochford responds to George III.

> *"(I am) ... clearly of opinion that Mr. Harris ought at all events to acquaint the Spanish ministry that Negociation is at an End here with prince Masserano and that in twenty four hours he will quit the court of Spain unless our Demand which has been uniform is simply and instantly complied with with..."* [2225]

Lord Rochford also informs the King of the preparedness of the naval force; expressing concern regarding the condition of many of the vessels. George III writes back that same day.

> *"... we are now informed that... [the first] forty Ships are fit for service excepting a deficiency of about 6ooo men which may be immediately got by Impressing from Protections and other methods that will be pointed out by the Admiralty, these with the fifteen Ships now lately ordered would make a respectable Fleet and enable us to begin the War, if necessary, with success; but it is not the number of Ships nor their being completely manned which proves their strength, for if these Ships are deficient in any Respect the disappointment will be equally felt; and it appears by the Ships that were sent to Corke that their bottoms were not clean of course they ran great risk of foundering at Sea, and if the remainder which are now supposed to be ready should turn out to be in the same condition, the most dreadful consequence may be apprehended from it..."* [2226]

2222 Winstanley 1912 p.380 citing *Le Règne de Louis XV* H. Carré 1909 at 390. This may have been an attempt to apply pressure on Madrid to favour his proposals.

2223 Deduced from the letter of George III to Lord Rochford of December 6, 1770. Rochford's increasing involvement suggests that the King was losing faith in Weymouth's abilities to resolve the situation without recourse to war. Worth noting that Rochford was by now taking the lead, not North.

2224 Fortescue 1928 p.175

2225 *Rochford to George III, December 6, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.176

2226 Quoted in Tracy 1975. Some of the vessels sent to embark troops from Ireland had been damaged during the voyage.

In London, France's Ambassador, the Comte de Guines, speaks to Lord North on a number of matters, before reaching the question of the Falkland Islands. North tells the Ambassador that the slow reactions of Madrid, and their inclination to distrust the British, are creating further problems. [2227]

Later that same day, de Guines and Françès attend a '*ministerial conference*' being held by Lord Weymouth. Bertrand de Françès introduces the Falkland Islands dispute by questioning the failure of three governments to find a means of conciliation. Weymouth protests that Britain's only desire is peace.

"Françès responds that ... Spain is convinced that England desires war and that it will do it, whether the satisfaction it demands is granted or not. It is believed in Madrid that the demand of England (a re-establishment without negotiating the question of law) conceals only the intention to reserve for itself a pretext for breaking off. ... Lord Weymouth blindly adheres to his (demands): the satisfaction due to England can in no way be diminished even verbally. When this satisfaction has been so granted, it will be seen that she sincerely desires to keep the peace, as she has constantly proved by the moderation of her conduct." [2228]

Weymouth tells the French Ambassador that talks with Spain have reached an impasse.

From Madrid, Grimaldi sends a message to Ambassador Masserano in London.

"... it is agreeable to give this Court (St. James) the satisfaction which it has asked, as to the disavowal and the re-establishment, but (Spain) does not in any way wish to depart from the express condition that at the same time ... the said Court will give you another (declaration) by which it consents and binds itself to mutual abandonment after a certain time (which it will specify), that is, to say of the said island, on behalf of the English, and that of the Soledad, on the part of the Spaniards... If the Court of England does not accept this request, it is clear that it wants the war sooner or later." [2229]

Writing in a similar vein to Spain's Ambassador Fuentes in Paris, Grimaldi notes that; *"Without (mutual abandonment), we can not, indeed, preserve the rights of Spain, not only on the Malouines, but also in the Straits of Magellan, or, on the other side, on the islands of Chiloè, which the English would find uninhabited like the Malouines. ... without this counterpart (it) "would be equivalent to an admission on our part, that they have some rights and that ours are not impregnable..."..."* [2230]

Grimaldi also asks Fuentes to ascertain the extent of assistance that France could offer if war broke out.[2231]

From Madrid, at much the same time, French Ambassador d'Ossun writes to inform Choiseul that, in his opinion, King Carlos III will not be content with a mere reservation of his rights.

At a Versailles Ministers' meeting, the Controller General, Terray, declares the treasury exhausted.

"The King "kept an indifferent silence". Shortly thereafter Mme. Du Barry, with the support of the Abbé De la Ville, a Jesuit and in charge of Spanish affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gradually closed the narrow network that supported Choiseul." [2232]

December 7th, in Paris, Choiseul brings Louis XV up-to-date.

In London, a Cabinet meeting is held during the evening. King George is not present.

2227 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1135
2228 *Ibid.* p.1135
2229 *Ibid.* p.1141. Also *Grimaldi to Masserano, December 6, 1770 (Arch. Gen. Sim. Est.,leg 6980)* quoted in Goebel 1927
2230 *Ibid.* p.1138 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 371-376*
2231 Brown 1922
2232 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.141

December 8th, in Spain, Masserano's courier – Vega – arrives at the Spanish Court in Aranjuez.

"The letters he brought included several reports by Prince Masserano from London, which contained ominous news: the British were immovable on their basic demands, all officers on leave had been recalled, and the governors of Gibraltar and Minorca (the latter British again since 1763), who had been on leave in Britain, had been ordered to return to their posts at once. There were also letters from Fuentes in Paris stressing the parlous state of French finances." [2233]

Carlos III asks his ministers for their opinions. Count Aranda, responding immediately, is for war.

In London, Rochford informs George III of the Cabinet decision regarding Harris's recall.

> *"The sending to recall Mr Harris & for him to make the categorical Demand was proposed and long Debated, but on Lord Weymouth's declaring that he would not on any account instruct Mr Harris to renew the Negociation, .., the Rest of your Majesty's servants rather than be disunited in this critical situation acquiesced so far, as to resolve to send no messenger at all. ... it would not be doing Justice to Lord Weymouth not to report that he shewed the greatest temper and moderation, and on being very much pressed by me to say whether he would or would not accept the Conditions if they came at last, his answer was that though contrary to his Opinion Higher demands were not made, yet as he should allwayes when he could possibly, Acquiesce with the majority of the Cabinet that he certainly would recommend accepting them if they came in time."* [2234]

Britain's Ambassador to the Court of the Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II, writes to Rochford to express concerns that the dispute with Spain could kindle a general conflagration.

From Spain, a Royal Order to Buenos Aires confirms the importance of resupplying the Soledad garrison. [2235]

December 9th, in England, Weymouth speaks to Rochford to argue for the recall of Harris. [2236] Weymouth confides that he is thinking of leaving office but does not wish to be seen to be in conflict with the administration.[2237]

From London, *charge d'affaires* Françès writes to Choiseul, saying that he has spoken to Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who affirmed that Spain; *"will not experience any difficulty in negotiating in this matter after the agreed satisfaction."* [2238] Ambassador de Guines writes to the French Foreign Minister, to say that he has not given up hope that war will be averted.

> *"... if Spain grants outright disavowal without reciprocity and recovery without addressing the question of law. ... A few days later, the Prince de Masseran will be able to present a memorandum to deal with the question of law,.."* [2239]

Ambassador Masserano writes to remind Minister Grimaldi in Madrid, that he still awaits a courier to discover whether Carlos III is willing to *"trust the good faith"* of the British and the *"implication"* that they will evacuate Egmont after Spain has given *"satisfaction."* [2240]

2233 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.268
2234 *Rochford to George III, December 8, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.179.
2235 *Real Orden Arriaga a Vértiz: December 8, 1770. A. G. I., Buenos Aires, 43*. Also Areco 1885 pp.43-44 *cf.* 1769
2236 *Rochford to George III, December 10, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.182
2237 See December 15, below.
2238 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 9-12-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 333/39.*
2239 De Guines quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1138 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 340-342 9 dec*
2240 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.68 citing *Masserano a Grimaldi, diciembre 9 de 1770.* What implication is not clear.

A View of the Riot Dec.r 11.th 1770.
But that we are forbid
To tell the Secrets of the Upper House.
We could a Tale unfold, whose lightest Word
Would harrow up the Reader's Soul.
Shakesp. alterd.

December 11th, in London, during a debate in the House of Lords, the government is criticized. Accused of subservience to Spain regarding the ownership of Falklands Island. The meeting becomes fractious (left), as reported in the journals.

December 13th, Françès hands Choiseul's letter and draft declarations, of December 3rd, to the Spanish Ambassador. Masserano refuses to accept them without explicit instructions from Madrid. [2241]

"... (Masserano) vigorously rejected the suggestion and refused to admit instructions that were not issued from Madrid." [2242]

"The Prince de Masseran, after much reflection, replied that all his instructions had enjoined him not to separate from the reparation granted by Spain the question of substance. He had already been blamed for departing from his instructions. Finally he could not bring himself without being assured in advance that a haphazard approach would not risk compromising the dignity of His Catholic Majesty. Nothing could overcome his obstinacy." [2243]

December 14th, Françès seeks a further meeting with Lord North. After some consideration, North agrees but emphasises that; *"... the affair (is) the responsibility of Lord Weymouth."* [2244] At the interview, Françès hands a copy of Choiseul's December 3rd letter to Lord North, who agrees to pass it on to Lord Weymouth. [2245]

Informing Choiseul, Françès describes the British Cabinet's distrust of any French involvement and the warlike character of Weymouth. [2246] He adds that; *"We can not hope to prolong the peace beyond the month of January if we do not give the requested satisfaction..."* and notes that he has asked North to arrange a joint meeting with Weymouth so that he can fully explain the French proposals.

"Lord North fixed his position strictly. He accepted, of course, the restitution and unauthorization offered, but said he could never agree to recognize Spain's exclusive right to the islands, always denied by England. According to the minister, the maximum aspiration of the Catholic King should be that the English, by pure generosity, renounce to express, officially, in the Declaration, the nullity of these supposed Hispanic rights." [2247]

December 15th, at Versailles, Louis XV pens a letter to his cousin, Carlos III. After assuring the Spanish monarch that France is willing to go to Spain's defence if needed, Louis asks Carlos whether the dispute over the distant archipelago is actually worth going to war over.

2241 Masserano could not yet have seen the letter from Grimaldi dated the 6th.
2242 Munilla 1948 p.118
2243 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1138 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 421-424 14 dec.* Governor Pownall, in his February 13th address to parliament, suggested that Masserano was eventually persuaded by the French to adopt their proposal.
2244 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1173
2245 *North to George III, December 15, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.184. It is not clear whether the draft declarations were also given to the Minister.
2246 *Frances to Choiseul, December 14, 1770 (Aff. Etr. Espagne, 561)*
2247 Munilla 1948 p.118.

"It is (a) constant, by all the laws, that a stripped possessor must be re-established before discussing the substance of his claims. ... war is a formidable scourge for Sovereigns and for the people, adds the King of France. It is only inevitably, and after having exhausted all the votes of conciliation compatible with honor, that we must resort to this last means of (achieving) justice. The blood and the treasures of our subjects are in our hands a sacred deposit which we must sacrifice only for just causes. It is not likely that that of Port Egmont would appear in the eyes of Europe a legitimate motive for disturbing the public peace..." [2248]

In London, aware that Lord North is attempting to organise a meeting between himself, Lord Weymouth and the French *charge d'affairs*, George III asks to be kept informed. [2249]

Lord North arranges to see Françès just before a Minister's Cabinet meeting, which Weymouth declines to attend.[2250] C*harge d'affaires* Françès presents Choiseul's draft declarations; combining a disavowal of Bucareli; the restitution of Egmont to British forces and a reservation of a Spanish right to sovereignty. North refuses to recognise any Spanish right to the Islands, but does agree to put the proposal to Cabinet, which he does, a short time later.

Lord Weymouth formally resigns his office as Southern Secretary. [2251]

December 16th, Lord North, now fronting the negotiation until a replacement is found for Weymouth, speaks to Françès. During three hours of discussion, the sole issue in contention is that of Spain's demand for a reservation of its claims to the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.

"All (North's) resistance was directed to the reserve of the rights of Spain and the acceptance of this reservation by England: to admit it was to recognize rights to Spain and to counterbalance the reparation due to England. Françès pointed out that Spain had never been denied rights over the Malouines-Falkland Islands. The re-establishment of the English at Port Egmont put the Spaniards in a worse position than before. This justified the reservation which was to give rise to a subsequent convention, which would prove "in the eyes of the nation and all of Europe" that the satisfaction given had not been conditional." [2252]

"The question of the reservation of rights was the most controversial issue for British ministers. Frances explained to the Prime Minister that England had never disputed Spain's rights to the islands; that there was no act proving the claim or opposition of England; and that a furtive establishment, not recognized by Spain, could not make it lose its rights. Lord North acknowledged that England had not, in truth, answered the rights of Spain, but had not recognized them either." [2253]

2248 *Choiseul et la France d'outre-mer apres le trait de Paris* E. Daubigny 1892 pp.264-267 (letter in full). Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1158 fn.76) questions this letter's provenance as no certain copy had been found in any French or Spanish archive during his research. However, Kohen & Rodriguez (2016 p.63) refer to this letter, but cite *Luis XV a Carlos III, 20 Deciembre de 1770 en AGN, Estado, leg.2850*. It is known that Carlos responded in a message dated December 22, 1770. A private letter sent by special courier from Versailles to Madrid in seven days is possible; but not likely in the two days suggested by the date in the Kohen & Rodriguez citation.

2249 Donne 1867 Letter 57

2250 *North to George III, December 15, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.185. Moncayo (1986) gives the date of the 18th for this presentation citing *Frances a Choiseul, 19-12-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 400/407*

2251 Governor Pownell, in the House of Commons, stated that Weymouth resigned on the 15th. Walpole gives the 16th, while Bernhardt (1911) puts the date as the 21st. Pascoe (2022), December 12th. Later, there was much speculation as to why Weymouth resigned but, prior to the issue of the Falklands crisis blowing up, he had been seeking a leave of absence. What is certain is that Weymouth initially retired to his country estate, before being made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*Kentish Gazette Friday December 21, 1770*)

2252 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1152 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 494 f° 399-407, 19 dec*

2253 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a Choiseul, 19-12-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 400/407* and *Frances a Choiseul, 22-12-1770, A. E. C. P., volumen 494, inglés, pág. 418/28*

In Madrid, Minister Aranda complains to Carlos III.

> *"This is what happened on the logwood coasts. They took it from us without fearing a declaration of war.... Is it possible, that between the two (Bourbon) nations there are insufficient arms to destroy the English commerce? That there might not be enough warships to counter those of the British, or to at least be deployed in such a way to contain the enemy and disrupt their military operations?"* [2254]

December 17th, in London, George III writes to Lord North requesting to be kept informed. [2255]

From Madrid, and unaware of the state of the negotiation in London, Minister Grimaldi writes to instruct Ambassador Masserano to demand his passports, if the situation does not improve. [2256] Grimaldi also writes to Spain's Ambassador in Paris – Fuentes.

"... complaining that the king of Spain was being expected to make a humiliating submission to Britain... As Grimaldi saw it, the Spaniards had only four options: (a) to declare war and start it at once; (b) to commence hostilities without declaring war; (c) to ask Prince Masserano for a rapid answer as to whether Britain accepts the Spanish declarations, and whether we shall have peace or war; and (d) to wait patiently for Britain to declare war on Spain at any time she chose." [2257]

Unaware of Weymouth's resignation, Secretary Harris writes to him from Spain.

> *"Grimaldi, I am convinced, will strain every nerve to accommodate affairs not either from conviction or from a pacific disposition but because France wishes it and because he receives repeated instances from M. de Choiseul to effect it. Nevertheless I fear the restless and ambitious temper of M. D'Aranda who has on the one hand represented to the king that the honour of the Spanish nation would be exposed by acceding to our propositions and on the other has painted the state of both its army and finances in the most flattering (and I may venture to add) false colours and at the same time has artfully insinuated that we are by no means in a similar condition. I fear these arguments will have more weight than they ought..."*

In the Falkland islands, at Puerto Soledad, *Industria*, arrives from Buenos Aires, with supplies for the garrison.

"The final months of 1770 were alarming for Puerto Soledad. A British counterattack was feared, and to repel it he (Ruiz Puente) did not have the adequate defensive means. The garrison had been reinforced. Forty-seven infantrymen, eleven gunners, twelve sailors not counting NCOs, two inhabitants, eight servants, and fifteen convicts (plus two bakers, two carpenters, a caulker, a blacksmith, a cooper, and three bricklayers) was all that it could come the case of an aggression. The batteries of San Carlos, Santiago and San Felipe were armed with four guns of 4; four to 12; eight from to 8; two to 6; eight by 3 and two iron mortars." [2258]

"... Industria unloaded 734 quintails of hardtack, 424 of salt pork, 424 of spices, 965 of fuelwood, 40 of beef lard, and salt... Livestock consisted of 30 head of cattle, 36 rams and ewes, 300 hens, turkeys and ducks, five pregnant sows, four mares and two stallions." [2259]

2254 Quoted in Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Aranda to Carlos III, Madrid, 16 December 1770.* Aranda's letters can be found in Duro 1895-1900 vol.6 pp.140-151
2255 Donne 1867
2256 *Grimaldi to Masserano December 17, 1770 (Arch. Gen. Sim. Est., leg 6980 fo. 9)*
2257 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.268
2258 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.166
2259 Bernhardson 1989 p.118

December 18th, in Madrid, Grimaldi hears from Choiseul; *"...whose tone was close to desperate."*

"He wrote personally to Grimaldi, saying negotiations in London had failed and war was imminent:..." [2260]

In England, the Admiralty orders a general press, without regard to any protections save those approved by Parliament. To be implemented immediately. Press gangs set out again.

> *"This night there was a very hot press on the river Thames; they paid no regard to protections, but stripped every vessel of all hands that were useful. They boarded the Glatton, East Indiaman; but the crew made a stout defence, got on shore, and came into London about twelve o'clock. It is computed that on the river, and on shore, they took upwards of 700."* [2261]

December 19th, in London, after consideration, Britain's Ministers reject Choiseul's proposals.

"Britain flatly refused to accept that wording, ..." [2262]

Weymouth's resignation is made public. Lord Rochford is appointed Southern Secretary.

> *"Lord Rochford is removed to the office for the Southern Department, And Lord Sandwich appointed to the Northern. It is imagined that Lord Rochford will display great ability in the conduct of the affairs now under his direction, as he must necessarily understand the concerns in his new department much better than those of his formed office, having spent many years of his life at the Southern Courts."* [2263]

The proposal that Harris be recalled from Madrid, rejected on the 15th, is now adopted by Cabinet.

"The withdrawal of the English representative at the Spanish court could only be interpreted as a preliminary to a declaration of war." [2264]

In Paris, Choiseul, aware of Grimaldi's letters of the 6th, writes to Madrid to argue that the only way to avoid war is to make the demanded restitution and trust the British to deal with the sovereignty issue later. He suggests that some reservation may be acceptable to London, but that the English would not be inclined to respond.[2265]

From London, Masserano writes to Grimaldi. He suggests that Spain rely on Lord North's vague assurances of a general disinterest in the islands, rather than on Choiseul's proposals, which do not include any commitment by the British to evacuate. [2266]

December 20th, in London, Lord North declares to Françès that if peace is dependent upon a reservation of rights by Spain, then war is inevitable. [2267]

At the same time, Masserano has an interview with Lord Rochford; the new Southern Secretary.

> *"The Spanish Ambassador has had very high words within these few days with Lord Rochford. In one part of their conversation the Ambassador was speaking in high terms of the honour of his master – on which Lord Rochford stopped the Minister short, with "Sir, it is for you to talk only of your master's passion, wilfulness, temerity; the talk of honour belongs to me alone, on the part of my master."..."* [2268]

2260 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.268
2261 *Annual Register* 1770
2262 Pascoe 2020 p.39
2263 *Kentish Gazette* Friday December 21, 1770
2264 Winstanley 1912 p. 401
2265 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1146 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 443-446 19 dec*
2266 *Masserano to Grimaldi December 19th 1770 (Arch. Gen. Sim., Est., leg, 6980, fo. 10)* quoted in Goebel 1927 p.326
2267 *Frances to Choiseul December 22, 1770 n. 66 (Aff. Etr. Angleterre 494)*
2268 *Reading Mercury* Monday December 24, 1770

In Spain, at the King's Council meeting, Grimaldi presents the opposing arguments of Choiseul and Aranda. Carlos III, however, is not prepared to choose. Ambassador d'Ossun writes to Choiseul. [2269]

"The opinions of two [ministers] and that (of) Count d'Aranda, who has trained them, are for war; they strongly suggest that if His Catholic Majesty deferred to the two English propositions, he would essentially wound the dignity and the rights of the Crown. ... These gentlemen have set the nation to desire war with an ardor that approaches enthusiasm. The Catholic King is strongly affected by the arrogance of the British Ministry. He has ancient grievances against the English, and, moreover, a propensity for the sentiments of the old knights, and although this monarch says he desires peace, I would dare to believe that he is inclined to war..." [2270]

In London, during the evening, Françès calls upon Lord North, who is dining with friends.

> *"If we can draw any consequence from a drunk man, I would not be afraid to assure you that not only do these people not want to go to war, but that they will have no difficulty on the merits when the insult is rectified, I have seen clearly that My lord North does not flatter himself in the ministry only for the maintenance of peace. He had the heart on his lips, he told me with effuse that he had flattered himself until now that you (the Duke of Choiseul) had more influence over the Spanish Court – that he would, for the moment only, want you to govern it, because all would soon be reconciled."* [2271]

"It was clear that Lord North and the other ministers did not desire war, and that North expected to remain in power only if he avoided war. ... Françès pointed out that Britain had never contested Spain's right; a secret establishment not recognised by Spain could not diminish Spain's rights, ... North insisted that any such agreement must be neutral in effect; it must not leave Spain with a better title and rights than she possessed before the violent expulsion. The acceptance by Britain of a reservation of Spanish rights must not amount to an acceptance by Britain of a right which Britain had in fact neither contested nor accepted. Neither side should gain:..." [2272]

December 21st, Françès calls upon Lord North once again.

"Françès found him "sombre and taciturn" and more inflexible, perhaps from fear that Françès might derive advantage from his cordiality the previous day. North said he and his colleagues had hoped Choiseul would prove able to obtain the simple satisfaction Britain desired from Spain, but were now disappointed to find he was proposing a new project of agreement – it looked like more delaying tactics. Françès asked him bluntly which he preferred – a delay or war? Lord North finished the meeting by saying that if Spain sincerely intended to reach agreement, she would give her ambassador full powers to conclude one." [2273]

From London, Lord Rochford sends instructions to Secretary Harris to return to England.

> *"All negotiations having been for some time at an end between Lord Weymouth or myself and the Spanish ambassador,.. I am to signify to you the King's pleasure that your longer stay at Madrid appearing entirely unnecessary, you prepare to return home with all convenient speed."*

"... it was thought necessary to Order Mr. Harris to come away from the Court of Spain; after taking leave."[2274]

In the Mediterranean, Commodore Proby is warned that war is imminent.

2269 *D'Ossun to Choiseul Dec 20, 1770* in Brown 1922
2270 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1168 citing *Aff. Étr. Esp., 561 f° 447-449 20 dec*
2271 *Françès to Choiseul December 22, 1770* in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1180
2272 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.267
2273 *Ibid.*
2274 *Rochford to Harcourt January 7, 1771* in *SP 78/282/5*

"Reluctantly the decision to proceed to war had been taken, but no detailed plans had been made for immediate offensive operations. ... there apparently was little real hope of cheap victory once hostilities were begun. ... In the papers of King George is a sketch plan for an amphibious assault of Ferrol ... He sent this and another plan for an attack on New Orleans to Weymouth. Attacks upon French India and Spanish peninsular and colonial cities might have persuaded the French to make peace on British terms, and the attack on Ferrol if it succeeded would have meant the destruction of an important part of the Spanish navy. But with the possible exception of the Indian, they would not have been easy campaigns, and in the absence of detailed plans could hardly have been undertaken rapidly. However, it is doubtful that British sea power had any quick way of bringing pressure on France. Moreover it was winter, and winter naval operations were still uncertain, ..." [2275]

In France, at the Palace of Versailles, at a King's Council, Choiseul is providing an update when Louis XV suddenly exclaims; *"I had told you I did not want war."* [2276] Determined to remove Choiseul from office, Louis XV cannot avoid acknowledging that his Minister was the author of the most recent Family Compact with Spain. Louis feels that he should first inform Carlos.

> *"Your Majesty is not unaware how much the spirit of independence and fanaticism has spread in my kingdom. Gentleness and patience have led me so far, but, pushed to the limit, and the parliaments forgetting themselves so much as to dare to dispute the sovereign authority which we hold only from God, I am resolved to make myself to obey in every possible way. In this situation, the war would be a horrible evil for me and for the peoples, but my extreme tenderness for V.M., the intimate and perfect union that reigns between us, cemented by our family pact, will always make me forget everything when it comes to these interests. Ministers are just my organs, as well when I think myself obliged to change it, there is no need to fear that this event may disturb our affairs in any way, and as long as I exist, M. can count on me as I rely on myself. With this, if M. M. can make any sacrifice to preserve peace, without injuring his honor, he will render a great service to the human race and to me in particular at this moment. I assure you of my tenderest and most perfect feelings with which I will be eternally, my brother and cousin. Your Majesty,.., Louis. Versailles, this 21st of Dec. 1770."* [2277]

December 22nd, in Spain, in receipt of the letter from Louis XV of December 15th, Carlos III immediately writes back to his French cousin pointing out that he has tried to accommodate France's desire to maintain peace, and has overlooked an infinity of injustices to prevent quarrels from occurring, but that this approach seems only to have made the English more difficult. Arguing that England will only be satisfied when Spain and France are humiliated, he asks whether Louis can reconsider, and prepare for war. [2278]

"In Spain, a personal and secret letter had been received shortly before from Louis XV, addressed to Charles III, in which, while on the one hand he stressed the maintenance of the Family Pact, on the other, he pleaded with the Spanish Monarch to preserve peace even at the price of a sacrifice of self-love. This letter, .., made an enormous impression at the Court of Madrid. Once the cabinet was assembled, the conciliation party (in which Grimaldi was present) managed to gain ground to the detriment of the "Aragonese" or Aranda party." [2279]

2275 Tracy 1975

2276 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1148. A very public criticism, to discredit and embarrass the Foreign Minister.

2277 *AHN Estado Leg.2.850, p.35.* Quoted in full in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1174-1175. Choiseul was not mentioned by name, and when Carlos III received the letter on December 30, 1770, he had to ask what it meant.

2278 Brown 1922. Also Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1169 citing *Minute à Madrid AHN., Estado, Leg.. 2.850, pièce n° 36*

2279 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.142

"The king ... wrote personally to Louis XV, reiterating the bonds of friendship that united the two crowns, and saying he was prepared to accept any solution that did not directly wound his honour and dignity; the best thing to do would be to press on with warlike preparations, since they were the best way of preventing war.."[2280]

December 23rd, at Versailles, Choiseul receives letters from England carrying news of Weymouth's resignation.

"Francés declared that English feeling was strong against the war, that North was bent on peace as his only chance of keeping in office, and that Weymouth had been forced to resign because of his attitude of hostility."[2281]

"On 23 December Choiseul received news from London from Guines and Françès: Lord Weymouth had resigned; only 16 ships of the line had so far been commissioned,... and after debates that had been difficult for Lord North, the Commons had voted a tax of 4 shillings to pay for 14 more ships of the line and 9,280 sailors. ... Lord Rochford had succeeded Weymouth at the Southern department, Lord Sandwich had received the Northern, and Lord Hawke had resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty. They begged Choiseul to urge the king of Spain to have confidence in North's government and to agree his demands." [2282]

Acting on the King's instructions, Choiseul writes to d'Ossun in Madrid with a message for Grimaldi.

> *"I will only make one thought, which I have already made a thousand and one times, that the decision of peace or war depends on the will of Spain; that it is well proved that the King and the ministers of England do not want war, but that they can not, without risking much, abandon their simple demands. Thus, the question is now reduced, as I asked three months ago, to know whether the King of Spain (will say) that he is angry at the enterprise of June 10 and that he agrees that things be restored as they were before that time. If he (says it) like that, peace is made, provided that this mail is returned by the 10th of next month. If he wants to add something to this declaration of satisfaction, then war is certain. It is up to Spain to judge whether the present question deserves war, to weigh the inconveniences and chances.*
>
> *I confine myself to assuring you that France will be very sorry to fight for such a small object, and that, if I had the honor of advising the King of Spain, I do not flatter myself to persuade him to give (a) declaration of satisfaction purely and simply, to order his ambassador to make a verbal declaration on the substance of the law, and to wait for some time to negotiate on the law. Here is my opinion. The king authorizes you to tell His Catholic Majesty..."* [2283]

December 24th, from the Spanish Court, Minister Grimaldi writes to inform Choiseul as to Carlos III's concerns over a loss of honour. However, at much the same time in Paris, Choiseul finds himself dismissed and banished to his estate. [2284]

2280 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.269

2281 Soltau 1908 citing *Frances to Choiseul December 22, 1770*

2282 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.270. Not Lord North's 'government' as such. A very different system then than now. North was First Lord of the Treasury and eschewed the title of Prime Minister, believing that there was no such position under the British Constitution. The title was also often used as a term of abuse. *"... he himself told Fox in 1779 that he should be considered in two lights, as head of a very important department (First Lord of the Treasury, 1770-1782), "where I acknowledge I am solely answer-able for Whatever is transacted," and as working in concert with others in His Majesty's confidential councils."* in *British Prime Minister: Lord North* Eric Robson *History Today* August 1952

2283 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1154 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 466-467 23 dec*

2284 Choiseul was not alone. His cousin, the duc de Praslin, Minister of the Navy, was also dismissed.

"My Lord Duke, Am extremely dissatisfied with your Services; and I command you to resign the three Departments which you hold, viz. The Office of Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, Secretary at War, and Post-Master General: I further command you to retire instantly to Chanteloux: My first Intention was to have banished you to Bourges; but, in Consideration to the Dutchess (sic) of Choiseul, I permit you to remain at your Seat of Chanteloux until you shall know my pleasure." [2285]

"...; when the Duke de Choiseul was disgraced, (his) enemies in vain endeavoured to prevail upon the King, to send him to the Bastile." [2286]

"Louis XV had consistently shrunk from being dragged into another great war; Madame du Barry had roused him from lethargy, ..." [2287]

Choiseul's papers are seized by the Duc de Vrilliere, and taken to the King at Versailles.

December 25th, the Duc de Vrilliere is appointed French Foreign Minister. [2288]

December 26th, in London, Lord North writes to George III with regard to a conversation earlier in the day.

"We must continue preparing, but I cannot yet think, that such a mutual reservation of Rights as I mention'd to your Majesty this morning, ***if properly express'd*** *ought to be rejected. If it preserves peace, it will preserve it without diminution to our credit; If it fails, it will put France & Spain intirely (sic) in the wrong, according to their own principles."* [2289]

"In London, the resignation of Lord Weymouth has purified the atmosphere. Lord North is relieved of the only obstacle to his frankness and influence in the Cabinet, which now "is unanimous in peace."..." [2290]

From Paris, Harcourt writes to Rochford.

"It has been intimated to me by a person well acquainted with this court, that, as soon as the new minister is appointed for the foreign affairs, I shall receive the strongest assurances of the pacifick disposition of this court,.." [2291]

From Cádiz, intelligence is sent to London suggesting that Spain is preparing to lay siege to Gibraltar. [2292]

December 27th, in Spain, not yet in receipt of the French King's letter of the 24th, Carlos III calls together his Ministers.

"At that council, an ultimate proposition, of a tenor and spirit which had already been refused by the Court of London, was fixed upon; and the final resolution of the council was, that if that ultimatum was rejected, war must be the immediate result." [2293]

December 28th, London learns of Choiseul's banishment. [2294]

2285 Louis XV quoted in the *Derby Mercury* January 11, 1771
2286 *Rochford to Harcourt January 7, 1771* in *SP 78/282/5*
2287 Hertz 1908
2288 A temporary appointment. Vrillière (Louis Phelypeaux) was replaced by Emmanuel-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis-Richelieu, duc d'Aiguillon in June, 1771.
2289 *North to George III, December 26, 1770* in Fortescue 1928 p.191. My emphasis.
2290 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1179 citing the general correspondence of de Guines and Françès.
2291 Winstanley 1912 p.402 citing *Harcourt to Rochford December 26, 1770*
2292 Stiles 2012 p.277 citing *BNA, SP 94/186, Josiah Hardy to Weymouth, No. 21, Cadiz, 26 December 1770.*
2293 *Governor Pownall's speech to Parliament* February 13, 1771
2294 Hertz 1908 p.124

"People wait with great Impatience to hear what effect the late changes of their Ministry will have, at the Court of Madrid; whether it will damp, or accelerate the warlike Preparations in Spain; which, at this distance, seem to indicate a Design upon Gibraltar." [2295]

December 30th, in Madrid, Louis XV's letter of December 24th arrives. Ambassador d'Ossun carries it to the Court, together with confirmation of Choiseul's dismissal. Carlos III immediately writes to Masserano in London.

"In consequence of this interposition, the King of Spain sent fresh instructions to Prince Maserano; of which the following is the purport, viz. "The King of Spain condescends, out of regard for his loving brother, the King of France, to relinquish Falkland's Island; but at the same time protests against any claim the English may set up to the right."..." [2296]

"... the North-Frances conversations do not appear to have been taken seriously by the Spanish Government till the action of Louis XV made it clear that they would have to abandon the position they had hitherto adopted."[2297]

"The impression was catastrophic. .., France requested a capitulation against the English claims,..." [2298]

"When Louis XV's letter finally arrived in Madrid, Charles was forced to face reality." [2299]

December 31st, in Madrid, Ambassador d'Ossun receives Choiseul's letter of the 23rd and calls upon Grimaldi. Spain's Minister accepts the letter and agrees to consider it. After the interview, d'Ossun writes to Versailles with his assessment of the position at Madrid.

"The repeated efforts of the Ministry of France, the most efficacious steps of the King's ambassador at Madrid have not been able, until now, to determine the King of Spain to acquiesce purely and simply to the two English propositions; the monarch conceived that his honor (would be) hurt (if he) granted them without modifications. Some of his ministers think the same and are blind enough to desire and advise the war. The last project proposed by M. le Duc de Choiseul by order of Your Majesty, although very good for Spain, has not yet been approved. ..." [2300]

From London, Masserano writes to Grimaldi.

"North was insisting that we trusted in them regardless of the requested satisfaction... This minister doesn't want it known that it is him who puts this agreement forward, neither do both Secretaries of State want to be embroiled in it, because it is their wish to go to (Parliament) and say that they never parted from the satisfaction requested right from the start and without taking any condition into consideration: they say that in this way they will have more freedom in the future to deal with aspects of the law, or for themselves to abandon an island which not only naval officers but also the people consider to be burdensome: they assure that they can't agree to this last point through the convention, because Parliament would accuse them of being in the pay of Spain, and that they weren't capable to defend the rights of England, and this would not only cost them their jobs but also their heads." [2301]

2295 *Rochford to Harcourt January 7, 1771* in *SP 78/282/5*
2296 Debrett 1792 vol.5 p.479
2297 Field 1928 paras. 46/47
2298 Munilla 1948 p.125 citing *Carlos III a Tanucci: 1 de Enero de 1771. A.G.S., Estado, 6. 063*
2299 Peña & Peña 2018
2300 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1175-1176 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 508*
2301 Quoted in Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.68/69 citing *Masserano a Grimaldi, deciembre 31 de 1770* in *AGN, Estado, le. 6980, carta 2020*. Not quoted in Goebel (1927), surprisingly. The last beheading in England had been in 1747.

From Madrid, an order is sent to Barcelona for twenty 20lb cannon together, with 30 of smaller calibres to be transported to Cadiz. Further instructions order the establishment of 12 ships-of-war at Ferrol.[2302]

A chart is prepared by Alexo Berlinguero at the Pilot Academy in Ferrol (detail right).[2303]

1771 — January 1st, the name of one Horace (Horatio) Nelson, is entered in the muster book of *Raisonnable* by his uncle - Captain Maurice Suckling.[2304]

January 2nd, in Paris, news of the Spanish Ministers' decision of the 27th arrives. Louis XV writes again to Carlos III appealing for war to be avoided. [2305]

"Choiseul being then dismissed, these dispatches came directly into the French King's own hands. He saw that the ultimatum contained in them, was of a nature that would not be received or complied with by the Court of London, and that it could lead only to an open rupture. He therefore... wrote back to the King of Spain, stating to him the necessity of peace, from the impossibility of France's entering at present into war.." [2306]

In Madrid, King Carlos III complains that the exile of Choiseul will convince Britain that Spain is weak.

> *"... the Court of Spain knew full well, that those who had Credit sufficient to remove the Duke de Choiseul, entertained a less favourable Opinion of the Family Compact; which is no longer considered a real advantage to France, and, from an apprehension of being feebly supported, in a Quarrel that concerned Spain only."* [2307]

2302 *Harcourt to Rochford January 17, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1 at 31.* Ambassador to Paris, the source of Harcourt's information is not stated.

2303 South-up orientation. A Spanish chart naming West Falkland Island as *Is. Falklan* is unusual.

2304 Following a period of 'defence cuts' the Falklands crisis forced Lord North to reverse this policy and call for extra funding from Parliament. A four shillings tax was duly voted through for the employment of 9,280 sailors. A young Horatio Nelson saw his opportunity and grasped it.

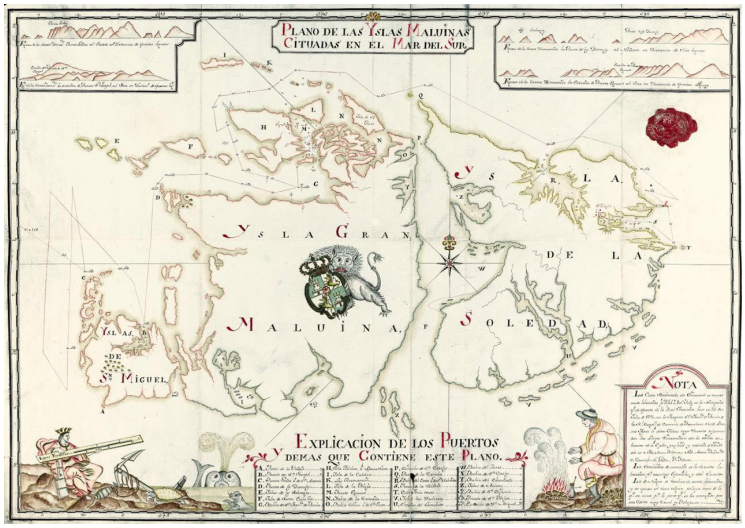
2305 With letters crossing, there was a good deal of confusion at the beginning of the year. Worth remembering then: 1) British Ministers were demanding a disavowal of Bucareli's aggression, and restitution to the situation pre-June 10, 17770. Nothing more. And nothing else could be discussed until those two conditions had been met. Certainly not any question of sovereignty. 2) Lord Rochford (now Southern Secretary) had ordered Harris to break diplomatic relations with Madrid (December 21st). 3) Louis XV of France, was appealing for peace because he could not afford a war (December 24th). 4) Lord North (First Lord of the Treasury) was talking to George III about the use of subtle wording to make the draft declarations proposed by France, acceptable to Parliament (December 26th). 5) Spain's Carlos III, wanting either the question of sovereignty settled, or a mutual abandonment, was set upon war (December 27th), until Louis's letter of the 24th arrived (December 30th). Added to that, it is now known that the French Ambassador to London, de Guines was spreading alternative rumours of war/peace, so that he could play the 'alley' (stock market). Buying up stocks when they fell in price. Selling when they rose again. He was probably not alone. Spain's Ambassador Masserano, unaware of Harris's recall, was receiving seemingly conflicting instructions from both Madrid and Paris. So began 1771.

2306 *Governor Pownall to Parliament February 13, 1771*

2307 *Harcourt to Rochford January 17, 1771 in SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *31.* See also Tracy 1972

Carlos writes another personal letter to Louis, expressing his fears that the British; "*... absolutely want war.*"

Despite these concerns, Spain is, however, willing to consider a new declaration that may prove to be acceptable to the British. A message, agreed within the Consejo de Estado (Council of State),[2308] is prepared for delivery by Ambassador Masserano to the British Court. To be sent via Paris. For the attention and approval of Louis XV.



> "*... The Prince of Masseran is ordered to declare:*
>
> > *"That His Catholic Majesty considering the love with which he is animated for peace and for the maintenance of good harmony with His British Majesty and reflecting that such a small object could interrupt this, has seen with displeasure this expedition capable of disturbing her, and assured as he was of the reciprocity of his feelings as His British Majesty (could) not authorize anything that could interrupt the good understanding between the two courts disapproves of the sudden violent enterprise and consequently the Prince de Masseran declares: That His Catholic Majesty agrees that things be put back in the Grande Malouine at the Port of Egmont in the state they were in before June 10, 1770 to which effect, a Spanish officer will be responsible for handing over to the English the effects that were left there."*
>
> *The only object of the present declaration is to give authentic proof of the feelings of His Catholic Majesty on a fact which could have disturbed the good understanding between the two (nations) and this declaration will not be able to prejudice the previous rights of His Catholic Majesty over the Isles called Malouines and by the English Falkland, but only to restore things for the law and in fact as they were before the expulsion of the English from the establishment in question."* [2309]

Despatching the statement to Paris, Minister Grimaldi pens a covering letter for Ambassador Masserano. [2310]

> *"As they assure us they will **evacuate** the Falklands later, and that we should rely on their promise, the King has determined to concede that which is to save his honour and leave for later the negotiation on the evacuation of the island, accepting their offer although it be **merely verbal**."* [2311]

Grimaldi further instructs Ambassador Fuentes to seek the French Court's approval, before forwarding the proposals to Masserano in London. The plan calls for Masserano to sit back while the French representatives (de Guines and Françès) negotiate with the British Ministry. Only when there is an agreement, will Masserano step forward to finalize the arrangement on behalf of Spain. In this way, Spain's position cannot be compromised, should the negotiation fail. The French negotiators will provide the British with the satisfactions they seek; the question of sovereignty and abandonment to be deferred.

2308 *AGN Sim., Estado, leg.6980, fo,15*

2309 Quoted in Goebel 1927 citing *Anexo al oficio de Grimaldi de 2 de enero, 1771 (Archivo Historico, Madrid).*

2310 This dispatch arrived in Paris on January 10, 1771

2311 *Grimaldi a Masserano, enero 2 de 1771, en AGN, Estado, leg.4261(2)* quoted in Field 1928 para.47. My emphasis. In Martin-Allanic (1964 pp.1177-1178) the word '*evacuation*' becomes '*abandon*'

"It is agreed to restore everything in accordance with the status quo prior to June 1770. At the same time, (Masserano) is to declare that the restoration of the English in the Falklands could not "harm the previous Rights of His Catholic Majesty on the islands called the Malouines, and by the English Falkland, but only restore things in law and in fact as they were before the expulsion..."..." [2312]

"To save honor, the question of the subsequent evacuation of Falkland Island will be dealt with only verbally. But the Prince de Masseran ... will be able to modify some words, provided the (King's) honor is safe. The English Secretary of State may, in response, submit a paper acknowledging receipt of the declaration and confirming that the dispute is over. ... If the English ministers absolutely want the reservation of rights to be the subject of a separate document, there is no harm in doing so, but the King of Spain would prefer that everything be mentioned in the same (document)." [2313]

"On January 2, 1771, the Spanish government sent Masserano the final answer of Spain to the English demands. He was authorized to make a statement in which, after an explanatory preamble, he should say that his Catholic Majesty - "disapproves of the violent enterprise" and "consents to the re-establishment of things in the Great Malvina (sic) at the Port called Egmont, in the state they were before June 10, 1770" making at the same time the proviso that - "... this declaration can not prejudice the earlier rights of His Catholic Majesty on the islands called the Malvinas (sic) and the English Falkland Islands, but only to restore things as to law and fact as they were before the expulsion of the English." [2314]

"... it can only be understood as a simple restatement by Grimaldi of the many hints the British had dropped to the effect that the Falklands as such were unimportant and only the principle counted." [2315]

From Paris, unaware of what is happening, Britain's Ambassador Harcourt writes of rumours.

> *"I hear, that the French have taken up a great many Transports at Brest, to the amount of 150, and their armaments were carrying on there with the greatest Vigour,.."* [2316]

January 3rd, in London, at a reception, Rochford informs Masserano of Harris' recall instructions.

> *"It was not till last Thursday the 3rd, that I acquainted the Spanish Ambassador with what had been done, & notwithstanding all I said to Him to prove that this Step was not meant as a hostile one, I found him greatly agitated and, apprehensive that (however his Court before this might be disposed to give us the just satisfaction we had demanded) should he now receive full powers to acquiesce in our demand, he should look upon himself as tied up 'till he knew the sentiments of His court relative to the recall of Mr. Harris which will naturally draw on the Affair to such a length as not to have it finally decided before the meeting of Parliament, and I need not explain... the danger of such a delay."* [2317]

"(Masserano) rose with force and dignity against a step which wounded his Court, ... He pointed out that this unfortunate decision altered his own position and prohibited him from proceeding without new instructions taking into account this fact." [2318]

2312 Munilla 1948 pp.126-127 citing *Grimaldi to Maserano: January 2, 1771, A.H.N., State, 4,261*
2313 Martin-Allanic pp.1176-1177 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 19 2 janv. 1771*
2314 Moncayo 1986. No citation.
2315 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.272
2316 *Harcourt to Rochford January 2, 1771 in SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *11*
2317 *Rochford to Harcourt January 7, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1 at 5*
2318 Martin-Allanic p.1186

"Lord North had, however, concealed from Frances a decision taken at the Council of Ministers on December 21 that would make agreement even more difficult: the secret resolution to recall Harris, the English Charge d'Affaires in Madrid. When the Spanish ambassador knew this measure (he) reacted strongly and with dignity. He told Lord Rochford, Secretary of State, that Harris's removal rendered him unable to execute any order he may receive from Madrid. The same sentiment was expressed by Frances to Lord Rochford and to the Prime Minister, who said that he had destroyed in a stroke all the trust that he and the Spanish Ambassador had sought to find in the English Ministry and that they had - "been imposed upon by a clandestine and deceptive negotiation .." Lord North could not conceal his embarrassment." [2319]

"(Masserano's) reaction disconcerted Lord Rochford, who maintained that he had only intended to prevent the possible seizure of British ships and hence avoid criticism from the Opposition once Parliament reassembled."[2320]

Lord Rochford appraises King George of the current situation.

> *"... the Spanish ambassador is under the greatest apprehensions that the Recall of Mr. Harris will do infinite mischief and most likely make his court quite intractable, ..."* [2321]

January 4th, Françès complains to Lord Rochford about Harris's recall, accusing him of bad faith. Rochford, annoyed, sets; *"... a time limit of 22 January, the latest that the parliamentary Christmas recess could be extended, and declared that if no concession had been made by then he would advise the king to proceed to war."* [2322]

Françès then calls on Lord North to repeat his complaints; *"Lord North was acutely embarrassed, realising the blunder Rochford had made ... and attempted to maintain that Harris's recall was for purely Parliamentary reasons, but Françès said that would convince no-one.... Lord North said that if Spain provided the satisfaction demanded by Britain, Françès would be authorised to announce to his government that (a) Britain did not intend and never had intended to acquire new rights to the islands through the reestablishment to be agreed on (i.e. it would be only a resumption of previous rights); (b) Britain would make no new demands relative to this affair; and (c) Britain would make no hostile move before receiving an absolute and positive refusal of the two demands already made."* [2323]

In Madrid, Secretary Harris finally receives the recall order from Rochford. He despatches couriers to the British Consuls at the Spanish ports, but does not immediately inform the Spanish Court.

On the same day, Carlos III receives the letter from Louis XV dated January 2nd. Despondent, Carlos responds, asking that Louis; *"... take the whole matter into his own hands, and to act as if it were his own case, ... remembering only that he had the honour of the Spanish Monarch in his charge."* [2324]

January 5th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to advise Grimaldi of Harris's recall. [2325]

2319 Moncayo 1986 citing *Frances a de la Villière, 5-1-1771, A. E. C. P., volumen 495, inglés, pág. 6/24*
2320 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.273
2321 *Rochford to George III January 3, 1771 in* Fortescue 1928 p.202
2322 Tracy 1975
2323 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.273 citing Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1186-1187
2324 Bernhardt 1911
2325 Munilla 1948 p.128

In Madrid, advisor to the King, Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, submits a *memorandum* regarding Spain's history in relation to the Falkland Islands. [2326]

> *"According to the general, common and particular geographical charts of Spain, France, England, and Holland, and specifically that of Admiral Anson, in the history of their journey around the world they uniformly state that the first to discover them (was) Captain Cowley, Scot, in the year 1668; 80 leagues distant from the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, at the southern latitude of 51 degrees. It was named after Falkland, which is that of a Scottish village in the county of Fisa (Fife)...*[2327] *Having established the traditions, siege, extensions, distances and etymologies of the names of the five small islands that make up Falkland and Maluynas, it is necessary to investigate and know who is the true and legitimate owner, and the times and assumptions by which foreigners have claimed to be. We have old and indubitable proof .., since the first discovery and solemn possession that Ferdinand Magellan took in the year 1520, of all that was annexed and concerning the islands and coasts of the Pacific sea, in whose district and jurisdiction they are understood (to be); for they are located at 51 and a half degrees of southern latitude, 80 leagues from Cape of the Virgins, in the very mouth of the Strait, as part contiguous to the extremity of the southern lands. ... it is indubitable that the Falkland Islands are part of the island and lands of the Fuego, and coasts of the Patagones,... in conclusion of everything referred to it by indubitable consequence is, that the lord King British do(es) not have, nor can have a right or reason legal and geographical, with which he could call his own possession of this island, nor to another, (or) any adjacent of South America on the coasts of both seas,.."*

January 10th, unaware of the latest decision in Spain, Louis XV writes to his Ambassador in London to ask him to inform Ambassador Masserano that he has full powers to reach an agreement with the English Court. Regarding the recall of Harris, de Guines is advised to follow the Spanish Ambassador's actions. If Masserano leaves, de Guines should also withdraw.

"In the instructions sent on January 10, 1771, to the French Ambassador in London, he categorically ratified the community of interests and the perfect unity of principles of the two crowns and ordered him, as well as Frances, to conform his conduct to that of Prince Masserano - "either to remain in England, or to withdraw from it at the same time as he."..." [2328]

In Paris, Carlos's letter to Louis, of the 2nd, arrives at the Spanish Embassy with the Royal courier Vega.

January 11th, Ambassador Fuentes travels to the Palace of Versailles, where he delivers the correspondence destined for Masserano in London, and requests the approval of Louis XV.

"The Marquis de Grimaldi attached a personal letter to the Count of Fuentes that he must show to the King of France. The Minister of State thinks that the preceding instructions will be agreeable to (Louis XV) of whom His Catholic Majesty asks: 1 to dispatch on the spot this new project to his ministers in London for "that they

2326 Spanish Archive reference *ES.28079.AHN//Codices, L.237*. Published in Zaragoza 1883. Translation by Fabian Turcato. Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera was an acknowledged Spanish expert on matters American, who spent his latter years advising Spain's King. It is therefore very illuminating that all he could refer to as far as discovery and possession were concerned, was Magellan claiming the area of the Strait for the Spanish crown in 1520. There is clearly some confusion as to the location of the archipelago, perhaps even within which sea it lay, but there is no suggestion that the archipelago was, for example, the Sanson, Patos or Leones Islands. Spain's only claim rested upon Magellan; who had never seen the archipelago. A claim not based upon occupation.

2327 The strait between the two main islands of the archipelago was named Falkland Sound in 1690 by Englishman John Strong. After Anthony Cary, 5th Viscount Falkland – one of the expedition's sponsors.

2328 Moncayo 1986

make every effort to see it adopted" and happily end the affair; 2 to order them to come to an understanding with the Prince de Masseran, who will behave passively until they have assured him that the English have adopted the proposition." [2329]

January 12th, Fuentes is summoned back to Versailles, to be told that the King has approved the new declaration and is writing to London to instruct his embassy to pursue the matter with the English Ministry. If it is accepted, only then will Masserano take over the negotiation.

From Paris, Harcourt writes to Lord Rochford.

> *"The night before last, a messenger arrived from Spain, and yesterday morning the Spanish Ambassador had an audience of the King, that lasted an hour and a half. I am assured, that the Spaniards will acquiesce to our demands, and that the Prince de Masserano will have Orders to signify as much to your Lordship. I hear that the Orders for that Purpose may possibly not be dispatched from here, till after the Council, that is to meet Tomorrow at Versailles."* [2330]

French Foreign Minister, the Duke de Villiere, writes to London exhorting de Guines that there is no time to lose.

In the South Atlantic, *Industria* arrives at Puerto Soledad with supplies that include 30 cows, 36 rams and ewes, 300 hens, 4 mares, 2 stallions and 12 barrels of lemon bitters, to ward off scurvy.

January 13th, in Madrid, Secretary Harris informs Minister Grimaldi of his recall orders.

"... He replied to me, he was extremely sorry, as he was sure the moment he mentioned it to the King, His Majesty would immediately recall his Ambassador from London, and that of course no prospect would remain of that accommodation being brought about, His Catholic Majesty had so much at heart..." [2331]

Harris notes, for Rochford's information; *"People here are more disgusted than ever with the French alliance and in their conversation put no bounds to their manner of decrying it."* [2332]

"His Catholic Majesty did not hesitate for a moment on the answer to be given to this discourteous reminder: order the Prince de Masseran "to leave the Court of His Britannic Majesty", to tell him to request a hearing to hand in his credentials, taking leave. These letters are written immediately: they speak of the sincere friendship and affection of the King for that of Great Britain without giving the reason for the withdrawal of his ambassador, which might seem legitimate because for a year and a half (sic) there is no British ambassador in Madrid." [2333]

In Paris, Lord Harcourt speaks to Spain's Ambassador Fuentes.

> *"... he told me that the King, his master, out of a desire of peace and in Compliance with the very pressing Instances of His most Christian Majesty, had at length referred the Affair wholly to him, to be terminated in such a manner, as might be satisfactory to Great Britain: and without entering into any Discussion of the Points in Dispute, he said he could not doubt that Every Thing would be settled...*
>
> *I am inclined however to believe, that the Removal of the Duke de Choiseul operated much stronger on the Court of Madrid than either a Sincere Desire of Peace, or a Deference or Attention to His most Christian Majesty's friendly Interposition... The Poverty and Distress that prevails in all Parts of this Kingdom, and the Want of Money which this Government scarce ever experienced in a greater Degree*

2329 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1188
2330 *Harcourt to Rochford January 12, 1771 in SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *27*
2331 Harris J. (3rd Earl – ed.) 1845 p.63. Some sources give the date as January 12, 1771, including Munilla 1948 p.129
2332 Quoted in Brown 1922
2333 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1193. *cf.* August, 1770

than at present, have been thought sufficient motives to slacken the Naval Preparations that were carrying on with so much vigour at Brest;…" [2334]

January 14th, the *Northampton Mercury* reports; *"The Continuance of Peace is now absolutely fixed on between Spain and us; in the Negociation for which, it is said, that our Ministry have at last come off with some Degree of Honour. … We hear that the Spaniards have agreed to give up Falkland's Isles, without any Stipulation for a future Accession of the Right to them;…"*

From Madrid, Minister Grimaldi sends letters to Paris and London.

"Of course, Spanish honor demanded the same disposition. And the mail on the 14th took a message to London in this regard: Masserano had to withdraw after requesting permission from the British King. However, the order was not as strict as it has been said. Grimaldi, in effect, warned the ambassador that if he received it at the time of concluding the negotiations amicably, he should suspend the departure until after signing the Declaration." [2335]

January 16th, in London, Grimaldi's communication of January 2nd arrives. As do Louis XV's letters of the 10th.

Urged to action, the Comte de Guines and *charge d'affaires* Françès consult with Masserano, who struggles to reconcile the news that he has full powers to negotiate with the changed circumstance regarding diplomatic relations. They agree that nothing can be done until Harris is returned to Madrid.

"… notwithstanding every deference to, and the most profound respect and reverence for, his Christian Majesty, (Masserano) yet finds himself in a predicament of resisting those directions of the King of France: first, as they were contrary to, or at least incongruous with, the prior instructions which he had received from his own Court: next, as he might have reason to apprehend that … these full powers might be revoked by the Spanish Court, when they came to be informed of the recall of Mr. Harris: and lastly, that as the negotiation between him and the British Secretary of State was broken off … he could not negotiate upon any terms." [2336]

"The Prince de Masseran and our ministers concerted and their plan of action was drawn up … to obtain, before any negotiations are opened, even confidentially, the return of Harris to the Court of Madrid; to leave the English ministry in the uncertainty of the powers of the Spanish ambassador, in order to obtain the best possible conditions, taking into account the desire of the ministry to complete it before the opening of the parliament (there remained only six days)." [2337]

Off Spithead, England, 26 ships-of-war are moored under the command of Rear-Admiral Matthew Buckle.

In Ireland, recruiting parties are sent to Leinster, Munster and Connaught to find men for the forces. [2338]

January 17th, in London, Françès asks that Harris's recall be reconsidered. Rochford writes to George III.

"… there certainly would be war unless the recall of Mr. Harris was repaired by the Nomination of another ambassador, Mr Frances afterwards softened the proposition and said if we would send and order Mr Harris to return and Communicate it ministerially to prince Masserano, that then he, Mr Frances, would tell us the last proposal of the court of Spain, and that everything might absolutely be settled, before the 22d. Frances is to see Lord North tonight." [2339]

2334 *Harcourt to Rochford January 17, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *31*
2335 Munilla 1948 p.130 citing *Grimaldi a Maserano: 13 de Enero de 1771. Oficios número 1 y 2. A.H.N., Estado, 4.261*
2336 *Governor Pownall to Parliament* February 13, 1771
2337 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1197
2338 *History of the British Army* John Fortescue 1902 vol.3 41
2339 *Rochford to George III January 17, 1771* in Fortescue 1928 p.211

Rochford receives the French Ambassador, de Guines.

"*The Comte de Guines first pointed out that the war which threatened the three nations could only be avoided by mutual trust. He was determined not to depart from this principle, in spite of recent, unfortunate examples given by the British Ministry. He accordingly came to inform (Rochford) of the letter he had received from the king, his master, which confirmed the indissoluble union between the two crowns, (France & Spain)... The King of France was waiting ... for the reply of his Catholic Majesty, (and) he would immediately inform his ministers in London, but he could not conceal that the recall of Harris was set to destroy confidence in the English ministry and in the peaceful intentions of His British Majesty. ...*" [2340]

George III writes to Lord North.

> *"By a note I have received from Lord Rochford I know what Mr. Francés has to propose to You, it is that orders may be immediately sent to Mr. Harris to return to Madrid upon which the Spanish Ambassador will communicate his fresh instructions, if this is not complied with he is to threaten War; I could not help assuring Lord Rochford that I thought this a very absurd proposition for that as the Secretary is recalled we ought to know whether we shall have such terms as we can accept for otherwise we shall be tomorrow ordering him to return and in less than two days perhaps a new (order) directing him to come home."* [2341]

That evening, Lord North meets with *charge d'affaires* Françès.

"*He wished first of all to point out that the powers of the Prince de Masseran were not unlimited... However, if new difficulties arose, they could be lifted by sending a letter to Count de Fuentes, who had orders from His Catholic Majesty to rely on the sentiment of the King of France, "in the belief that his Majesty would be as jealous of his honor and his interest as his own." As a preliminary to any opening of new negotiations, it was essential that Harris's recall order be revoked. ...*" [2342]

North and Françès go to see Lord Rochford. An agreement is quickly reached with regard to the breach in diplomatic relations. Rochford is to send orders to Secretary Harris to return to Madrid temporarily, while Lord North goes to persuade George III to appoint a new Ambassador to the Court of Spain. [2343]

January 18th, Lord Rochford writes with new instructions for Harris, who may, or may not, still be in Spain.

> *"... return to the Court of Madrid, ... and resume the usual correspondence between the two Courts. In the event that the proposals are satisfactory, it is very important that he be present in Madrid. It would please S. M. that ... he remains there until His Majesty thinks fit to replace him by a minister of a higher rank."* [2344]

"Lord Rochford's letter ... gives as a reason for this, that his Majesty, from the information he had received, had reason to believe that Prince Masserano had orders to make fresh proposals." [2345]

A copy of the letter is formally delivered to Ambassador Masserano.

2340 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1197

2341 *George III to North, January 17, 1771* in Fortescue 1928 p.211

2342 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1197

2343 Colonel George Pitt had been appointed Ambassador to Spain in August, 1770, but had never left England. During an earlier seven-year appointment to Sardinia, he had taken leave after three years and never returned there either. For his services to British diplomacy, Pitt was raised up as 1st Baron Rivers in 1776

2344 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1198

2345 *Governor Pownall to Parliament February 13, 1771*. During his speech, Pownall complained that there was insufficient detail before Parliament to suggest what this "*information*" could have been.

January 19th, with the Comte de Guines now in receipt of his Court's correspondence of the 12th, negotiations between Rochford and Françès begin; observed by the French Ambassador. Masserano awaits nearby.

"Sessions (took place) morning and evening, either at Lord Rochford's, at Berkeley Square, or at his office, January 19, 20 and 21, with interventions, when necessary, from Lord North or the comte de Guines. The preamble which brought out the dual role of Hunt and Bucareli could not be admitted,... The Prince de Masseran, behind the scenes, accepted, but reluctantly. The article of disavowal suffered only from the word 'disapproved', which was replaced by that of 'disavowed', which had already figured previously. The article on recovery was little discussed. The clause of the reserve of the rights was more difficult to fix, England also wanted to reserve the previous rights to which she claimed. The tricky thing was to find a way which did not prevent the ministry from dealing with the question of substance at a later date, (and) which would justify its conduct vis-à-vis the nation and the parliament." [2346]

It is agreed that Spain would reserve its claimed right. To be ignored by Britain.

"... about which England kept silence, refusing to recognize that Spain had rights, ..." [2347]

January 20th, at a further meeting between the parties, Rochford concludes that there has been sufficient negotiation. Masserano can now step forward with a draft declaration.

January 21st, accepting that Masserano has the power to conclude an accord, Lord Rochford receives the declaration from the Spanish Ambassador – in which is a statement that the restoration of Egmont; *"... shall not prejudice the **anterior** rights of His Catholic Majesty to the islands.."* Rochford, unhappy with the phraseology, insists that the wording is changed to; *".. cannot nor ought any wise to affect the **question** of the prior right of sovereignty of the Malouine islands, otherwise called Falkland Islands."* [2348]

"Rochford immediately perceived the catch, and had the paragraph altered..." [2349]

The document is reworded according to Rochford's demands and re-presented by Ambassador Masserano. [2350]

"The addition of the words "the question of the prior right..." was to have consequential effects in the interpretation of the final text. Several authors, inadvertently or otherwise, have overlooked the difference between the first and final version of the Declaration concerning the "prior rights of His Catholic Majesty..." Masserano's Declaration was sometimes transcribed without the words "the question."... The addition of the words "the question" were the work of an astute politician (Rochford) whose purpose was to leave the question of sovereignty unresolved and relegated to a later date, which never came." [2351]

"Britain accepted a Spanish declaration that contained no explicit reference to Spain's rights but merely stated that the question of "prior rights" (whatever they may have been) remained open. The rights of both countries remained undefined." [2352]

January 22nd, Rochford informs King George III, who instructs him to "*accept*" it. [2353]

2346 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1199

2347 *Ibid.*

2348 Anterior in the sense of 'coming before in time/earlier. My emphasis. Choiseul's draft of December 3, 1770 was effectively nullified. See also Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.292-294

2349 Peña y Peña 2018

2350 Described by Martin_Allanic (1964) as *"not without barbarisms and solecisms".*

2351 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1199

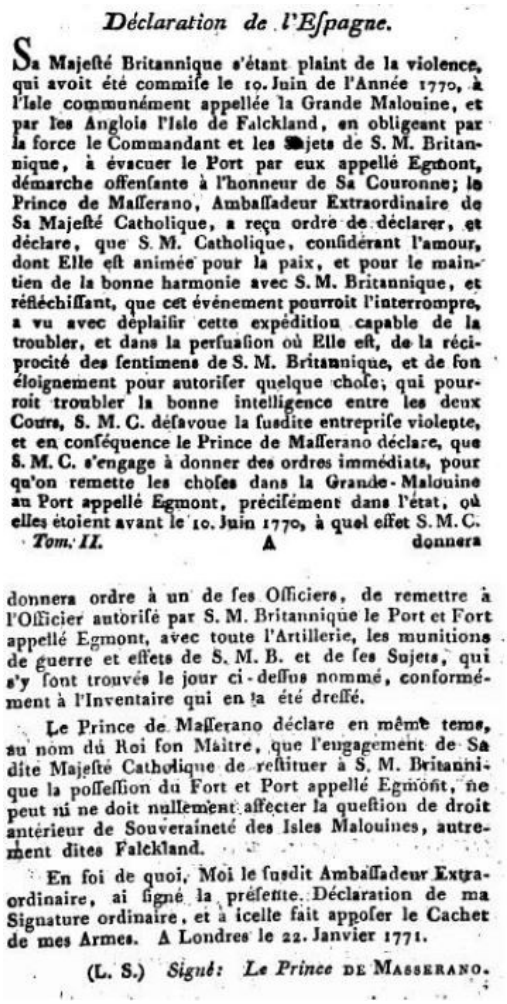
2352 Pascoe 2020 p.39

2353 *Duke of Richmond to Earl Chatham January 23rd, 1771* in *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* William Stanhope Taylor (ed.) 1838 vol.4 p.78.

On behalf of Spain, Ambassador Masserano signs the declaration at 2am. [2354]

DECLARATION OF SPAIN

"His Britannick Majesty having complained of the violence which was committed on the 10th of June, 1770, at the island commonly called Great Malouine, and by the English Falkland's Island, in obliging, by force, the commander and subjects of his Britannik Majesty to evacuate the port by them called Egmont; a step offensive to the honour of his Crown;- the Prince de Maserano, Ambassador Extraordinary of his Catholick Majesty, has received orders to declare, and declares, that his Catholick Majesty, considering the desire with which he is animated for peace, and for the maintenance of good harmony with his Britannick Majesty, and reflecting that this event might interrupt it, has seen with displeasure this expedition tending to disturb it; and in the persuasion in which he is of the reciprocity of sentiments of his Britannick Majesty, and of its being far from his intention to authorise any thing that might disturb the good understanding between the two Courts, his Catholick Majesty does disavow the said violent enterprize, - and, in consequence, the Prince de Maserano declares, that his Catholick Majesty engages to give immediate orders, that things shall be restored in the Great Malouine at the port called Egmont, precisely to the state in which they were before the 10th of June, 1770: For which purpose his Catholick Majesty will give orders to one of his Officers, to deliver up to the Officer authorised by his Britannick Majesty the port and fort called Egmont, with all the artillery, stores, and effects of his Britannick Majesty and his subjects which were at that place the day above named, agreeable to the inventory which has been made of them.



Déclaration de l'Eſpagne.

Sa Majeſté Britannique s'étant plaint de la violence, qui avoit été commiſe le 10. Juin de l'Année 1770, à l'Iſle communément appellée la Grande Malouine, et par les Anglois l'Iſle de Falckland, en obligeant par la force le Commandant et les Sujets de S. M. Britannique, à évacuer le Port par eux appellé Egmont, démarche offenſante à l'honneur de Sa Couronne; le Prince de Maſſerano, Ambaſſadeur Extraordinaire de Sa Majeſté Catholique, a reçu ordre de déclarer, et déclare, que S. M. Catholique, conſidérant l'amour, dont Elle eſt animée pour la paix, et pour le maintien de la bonne harmonie avec S. M. Britannique, et réfléchiſſant, que cet événement pourroit l'interrompre, a vu avec déplaiſir cette expédition capable de la troubler, et dans la perſuaſion où Elle eſt, de la réciprocité des ſentimens de S. M. Britannique, et de ſon éloignement pour autoriſer quelque choſe, qui pourroit troubler la bonne intelligence entre les deux Cours, S. M. C. déſavoue la ſusdite entrepriſe violente, et en conſéquence le Prince de Maſſerano déclare, que S. M. C. s'engage à donner des ordres immédiats, pour qu'on remette les choſes dans la Grande-Malouine au Port appellé Egmont, préciſément dans l'état, où elles étoient avant le 10. Juin 1770, à quel effet S. M. C.

Tom. II. A donnera

donnera ordre à un de ſes Officiers, de remettre à l'Officier autoriſé par S. M. Britannique le Port et Fort appellé Egmont, avec toute l'Artillerie, les munitions de guerre et effets de S. M. B. et de ſes Sujets, qui s'y ſont trouvés le jour ci-deſſus nommé, conformément à l'Inventaire qui en a été dreſſé.

Le Prince de Maſſerano déclare en même tems, au nom du Roi ſon Maître, que l'engagement de Sa dite Majeſté Catholique de reſtituer à S. M. Britannique la poſſeſſion du Fort et Port appellé Egmont, ne peut ni ne doit nullement affecter la queſtion de droit antérieur de Souveraineté des Iſles Malouines, autrement dites Falckland.

En foi de quoi, Moi le ſusdit Ambaſſadeur Extraordinaire, ai ſigné la préſente Déclaration de ma Signature ordinaire, et à icelle fait appoſer le Cachet de mes Armes. A Londres le 22. Janvier 1771.

(L. S.) *Signé: Le Prince* DE MASSERANO.

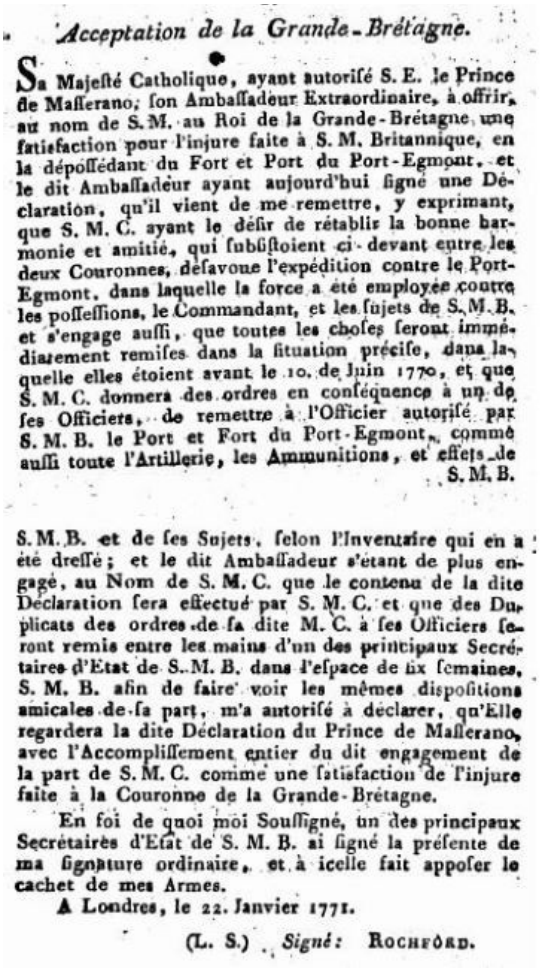
The Prince of Masseran declares, at the same time, in the name of the King his master, that the engagement of his said Catholic Majesty, to restore to his British Majesty the possession of the port and fort called Egmont, cannot nor ought any wise to affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the Malouine islands, otherwise called Falkland Islands. [2355]

In witness whereof, I the under-written Ambassador Extraordinary have signed the present declaration with my usual signature, and caused it to be sealed with our arms. London, the 22nd day of January, 1771." (L.S.) (Signé) "LE PRINCE DE MASSERAN."

2354 The time was mentioned by Rochford in his announcement to the Lord Mayor of London, at noon. In a Spanish collection of treaties published in 1843, the agreement is described as a 'Transaction'. See Cantillo 1843 p.519

2355 The documents were drawn up in the diplomatic language of the day (French). Penultimate paragraph in the original French - *"Le Prince de Masserano déclare en même tems, au nom du Roi son Maître, que l'engagement de Sa-dite Majesté Catholique de restituer à S M. Britannique la possession du Fort et Port appellé Egmont, ne peut ni ne doit nullement affecter la question de droit antérieur de Souveraineté des Isles Malouines, autrement dites Falckland."*

Separately, for Britain, Lord Rochford signs an acceptance.[2356]



Acceptation de la Grande-Bretagne.

Sa Majeſté Catholique, ayant autoriſé S. E. le Prince de Maſſerano, ſon Ambaſſadeur Extraordinaire, à offrir, au nom de S. M. au Roi de la Grande-Bretagne une ſatisfaction pour l'injure faite à S. M. Britannique, en la dépoſſédant du Fort et Port du Port-Egmont, et le dit Ambaſſadeur ayant aujourd'hui ſigné une Déclaration, qu'il vient de me remettre, y exprimant, que S. M. C. ayant le déſir de rétablir la bonne harmonie et amitié, qui ſubſiſtoient ci-devant entre les deux Couronnes, déſavoue l'expédition contre le Port-Egmont, dans laquelle la force a été employée contre les poſſeſſions, le Commandant, et les ſujets de S. M. B. et s'engage auſſi, que toutes les choſes ſeront immédiatement remiſes dans la ſituation préciſe, dans laquelle elles étoient avant le 10. de Juin 1770, et que S. M. C. donnera des ordres en conſéquence à un de ſes Officiers, de remettre à l'Officier autoriſé par S. M. B. le Port et Fort du Port-Egmont, comme auſſi toute l'Artillerie, les Ammunitions, et effets de S. M. B.

S. M. B. et de ſes Sujets, ſelon l'Inventaire qui en a été dreſſé; et le dit Ambaſſadeur s'étant de plus engagé, au Nom de S. M. C. que le contenu de la dite Déclaration ſera effectué par S. M. C. et que des Duplicats des ordres de ſa dite M. C. à ſes Officiers ſeront remis entre les mains d'un des principaux Secrétaires d'Etat de S. M. B. dans l'eſpace de ſix ſemaines, S. M. B. afin de faire voir les mêmes diſpoſitions amicales de ſa part, m'a autoriſé à déclarer, qu'Elle regardera la dite Déclaration du Prince de Maſſerano, avec l'Accompliſſement entier du dit engagement de la part de S. M. C. comme une ſatisfaction de l'injure faite à la Couronne de la Grande-Bretagne.

En foi de quoi moi Souſſigné, un des principaux Secrétaires d'Etat de S. M. B. ai ſigné la préſente de ma ſignature ordinaire, et à icelle fait appoſer le cachet de mes Armes.

A Londres, le 22. Janvier 1771.

(L. S.) *Signé:* ROCHFORD.

ACCEPTANCE OF GREAT-BRITAIN [2357] “

His Catholick Majesty having authorised the Prince of Maserano, his Ambassador Extraordinary, to offer, in his Majesty's name, to the King of Great Britain, a satisfaction for the injury done to his Britannick Majesty by dispossessing him of the port and fort of Port Egmont; and the said Ambassador having this day signed a declaration, which he has just delivered to me, expressing therein, that his Catholick Majesty, being desirous to restore the good harmony and friendship which before subsisted between the two Crowns, does disavow the expedition against Port Egmont, in which force has been used against his Britannick Majesty's possessions, commander and subjects; and does also engage, that all things shall be immediately restored to the precise situation in which they stood before the 10th of June 1770; and his Catholick Majesty shall give orders, in consequence, to one of his Officers to deliver up to the Officer authorised by his Britannick Majesty, the port and fort of Port Egmont, and also all his Britannick Majesty's artillery, stores and effects, as well as those of his subjects, according to the inventory which has been made of them. And the said Ambassador having moreover engaged, in his Catholick Majesty's name, that what is contained in the said declaration shall be carried into effect by his said Catholick Majesty, and that duplicates of his Catholick

Majesty's orders to his officers shall be delivered into the hands of one of his Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State within six weeks; his said Britannick Majesty, in order to shew the same friendly disposition on his part, has authorised me to declare, that he will look upon the said declaration of the Prince de Maserano, together with the full performance of the said engagement on the part of his Catholick Majesty, as a satisfaction for the injury done to the Crown of Great Britain.

In witness whereof, I the under-written, one of his Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, have signed these presents with my usual signature, and caused them to be sealed with our arms. London, the 22nd day of January, 1771.” (L.S.) (Signé) “ROCHFORD.” [2358]

2356 Neither signature was formally witnessed. At best a convention, not a treaty.

2357 Throughout the negotiations, the title ‘*Counter-Declaration*’ had been used. There is no record of why this became ‘*Acceptance*’ in the final document. *cf.* 1834

2358 See also *A Collection of All the Treaties of Peace, Alliance and Commerce, between Great-Britain and Other Powers: From 1754 to 1784* by Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool, 1785. A French copy of the original can be found in *Recueil de Traites d'Alliance, de Paix, de Treve, de Neutralité, de commerce, de limites, d'échange etc. et de plusieurs autres actes servant à la connaissance des relations étrangères des Puiffan e es et états de Europe ... Despuis 1761 jusqu'à présent* F. de Martens 1817 vol.2. No Spanish copy has been found.

Researcher's Comment: Since 1771, thousands of column inches of text have been written in trying to explain what the Spanish '*Declaration*' and the English '*Acceptance*' meant regarding sovereignty. A flavour is contained in the quotes below. They meant nothing, with the question of sovereignty clearly set aside for a future negotiation. A discussion that would never take place. The status quo of 1769 had been restored.

"The convention, by the protest inserted in it, considers the question of right as a matter standing referred, to be hereafter discussed." [2359]

"Our miniſtry had only two modes of acting with propriety, either (if they were convinced they were in the wrong) to have relinquiſhed the eſtabliſhment immediately, or to have kept poſſeſſion on the footing of occupancy, alledging that the French poſſeſſion of one iſland, did not preclude the Engliſh from poſſeſſing the other,..." [2360]

"On the 22d of January 1771, the prince de Masserano, the Spanish Ambassador, settled, with the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, the essential point of this negociation (sic), the decision of which restored to England the possession of Falkland Islands." [2361]

"... in 1770, a Settlement having been made on Falkland Islands by the British Government a Spanish Officer dispossessed us of it by force, and on the 22nd January 1771 the prince of Masserano, then Spanish Ambassador at the Court of London, delivered a Declaration, in which the King of Spain disavowed the violent Enterprise of his officer and promised to restore the port and Fort, called Egmont, with all the Artillery and Stores according to the Inventory, but added, that this engagement to restore port Egmont, could not, nor ought, in any wise, to affect the Question of the prior Rights of Sovereignty to the Malouine otherwise called Falkland Islands. This concession was accepted by the earl of Rochford, then Secretary of State, who declared on the part of his master, that the prince of Masserano being authorised by His Catholick Majesty to offer in His Majesty's name to the King of Great Britain a satisfaction for the Injury done him by dispossessing him of port Egmont; and having signed a Declaration expressing that His Catholick Majesty disavowed the Expedition against port Egmont, and engaged to restore it in the State in which it stood before the 10th June 1770, His Britannick Majesty would look upon the said declaration, together with the full performance of the Engagement on the part of His Catholick Majesty as a satisfaction for the Injury done to the Crown of Great Britain. ... From these transactions it appears to the Committee that ***it may justly be concluded that the Government of this country has never acknowledged any Right in the Crown of Spain to the Sovereignty of these Islands or relinquished any Claim we may have to them****."* [2362]

"The reservation was a nullity, inasmuch as she (Spain) had no claim, either by prior discovery, prior possession, prior occupation or even the shadow of a name. The restoration of Port Egmont, and the disavowal of the act by which she was temporarily dispossessed, after discussion, negotiation, and solemn agreement, gave to the title of Great Britain more stability and strength; for it was a virtual acknowledgement, on the part of Spain, of its validity. Great Britain might then have occupied and settled all the islands, and fortified every harbor, without giving to Spain any just cause of umbrage." [2363]

2359 Thomas Pownall quoted in the Parliamentary debate of March 5, 1771 in *Parliamentary History of England vol. XVI AD 1765-1771* Thomas Curson – Hansard 1813

2360 *A clear and concife relation of what has paſſed concerning the Falkland iſland* signed *A Friend to this Kingdom* December 6, 1770 in *The Scots Magazine* January 1771 vol. xxxiii p.26

2361 *Memorial of the Count de Guines, the French Ambassador to the Court of London; Against Messieurs Tor and Roger, Formerly His Secretaries, and Against Mr. Delpech. Translated from the Paris Copy 1777* p.3

2362 Privy Council Trade & Plantations Committee inquiry into the events at Puerto Deseado, 1789 in TNA BT5 5 My emphasis. *cf.* 1789 & 1790

2363 *Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza,* July 10th, 1832

*"A treaty (sic) between Spain and England was concluded, whereby the latter gained **quiet possession** of Falkland Isles."* [2364]

"The official declaration of January 22, 1771, which put an end to the altercation between Great Britain and Spain, demonstrates that the whole dispute was about, not the sovereignty of all the Malvinas Islands, nor the sovereignty of the East Island, but only about the possession of the Island of the West or Port Egmont, whose garrison had been eliminated from that port on June 10, 1770, by an expedition dispatched from Buenos Aires,.." [2365]

"... the statement of the Spanish Ambassador expresses with admirable clarity the subject of the discussion, set to give the satisfaction demanded by S.M.B. In that document, carefully elaborated, it is said that the island commonly called the Great Malvina, is named by the English Falkland. Then you can not confuse the denomination of an island with the whole archipelago, ... In these documents there is no word that puts in discussion the possession and sovereignty of Spain to the island of the East or Soledad de Malvinas." [2366]

*"Rochford, ... had ably carried out the King's policy, and had taken every advantage of the changed attitude of France and the reported unreadiness of the Spanish fleet. ... This concession was expressed not to affect in any way the Spanish King's **claim** to a prior right of sovereignty over the islands. It was thus a practical compromise, saving the dignity of both nations, but leaving the ultimate question undecided."* [2367]

"The problem that has been discussed for quite some time concerns whether Rochford's document is or not a Counter-declaration did not matter at the time of signature; ... In reality, neither the Spanish nor the English rulers employed a precise terminology, Grimaldi spoke indifferently in his correspondence, referring to the instrument that Rochford should sign, Counter-declaration, reversal, Declaration of acceptance or simply acceptance. On the other hand, if the nomenclature varies frequently, the meaning allows it to be considered as a Declaration of acceptance." [2368]

"The eventual declaration, made on 22 January, ignored Captain Hunt's menace and was moderate in reserving to a later date any discussion of whose was the prior right to the islands, a reservation Rochford did not acknowledge when he accepted the declaration." [2369]

"... it is a question of reparation for an "act offensive to the honour of his Crown" (His British Majesty.); it is not, therefore, a question of legal reparation, nor of restoration of sovereign rights that have been violated."[2370]

"In 1770 England, France, and Spain almost went to war over small outposts embodying competing claims to exclusive dominion on the islands. The crisis was resolved pragmatically when Spain restored to England the settlement of Port Egmont on Saunders Island (sic) off West Falkland, founded originally by English settlers in 1766, then seized by Spain. In turn, Spain kept Port Louis, which had originally been founded by France in 1764 on East Falkland. Both Spain and England maintained their broader sovereignty claims." [2371]

2364 *The Universal Chronologist and Historical Register from the Creation to the years 1835...* Henry Boyle 1835. My emphasis. The legal term '*quiet possession*' refers to the right of enjoyment of one's own property without interference.

2365 Areco 1885 p.69

2366 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278

2367 Hertz 1908 p.127. My emphasis.

2368 Munilla 1948 pp.134-135 citing the general correspondence of Grimaldi and Masserano to be found in *A.H.N., Estado, legajos 4.274 y 4. 261*

2369 Tracy 1975 p.71

2370 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.144

2371 *The South Atlantic Crisis: Background, Consequences, Documentation* US Dept of State, Bureau of Public Affairs August 5, 1982. The harbour of Port Egmont was not 'on' Saunder's Island. It was all at sea.

"Upon receipt of this reservation and (with) no answer, England tacitly recognizes the rights of Spain." [2372]

"In the final text, only one party formulated a reservation of sovereignty: Spain." [2373]

"The Declaration sought to revert the situation to the status quo prior to the eviction of the British garrison and nothing in its final wording suggests an acknowledgement of the reciprocal claims of the signatory powers. The status quo prior to the expulsion of the British settlement included the British claim to the whole archipelago... The archipelago... has invariably been considered a single unit." [2374]

"Spain had begun by asserting exclusive rights to the islands, but the final text of the 1771 agreement watered those rights down to simply being the same as they had been before 10 June 1770. That left all the questions of rights open – Britain had successfully prevented any acknowledgement of any prior rights asserted by Spain, ... So in the end, the Anglo-Spanish agreement of 1771 was a diplomatic triumph for Britain – through its omissions." [2375]

After the documents are exchanged, Ambassador Masserano raises the question of evacuation. Rochford responds that; *"for the moment he could make no categorical reply, but that the Spanish would see that they would act after a week or ten days, within which he hoped the party of opposition which would attack the declaration would be overcome..."* [2376]

Rochford informs the Lord Mayor of London that an accord has been reached..

> *"I take the earliest opportunity of informing your lordship, that the Spanish Ambassador hath this day, at two o'clock, signed a declaration relative to the expedition against Port Egmont, in Falkland Island, which his Majesty has been pleased to accept."* [2377]

At 3pm, Parliament reassembles.

"News of the agreement was given to both Houses of Parliament at once, but Lord North successfully put off all discussion in the Commons until 25 January,.." [2378]

At 4pm that day, Lieut. Colonel Barré writes to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. [2379]

> *"My Lord, I take the pen up in a hurry to acquaint your Lordship, that I am returned from the House of Commons, where Lord North informed us, that Prince Masserano had this morning presented a declaration, signed by the King of Spain, which His Majesty has accepted of, and which would be laid before the House on Friday next. No day is fixed upon for the consideration of it; but we have moved for a call of the House on this day fortnight. The terms, as I am informed, are not very honourable – The disgrace of Bucarelli; the island to be put in our possession; and it is* ***whispered****, that there is a secret article to save the rights and pretensions in that country of the crown of Spain; which seems to* ***promise*** *our* ***abandoning*** *the spot silently, upon some future day."* [2380]

2372 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.66 citing *Frances a La Vrilliere, 22 de enero de 1771*. Martin-Allanic (1964), who also refers to this letter, makes no mention of any '*tacit recognition.*'

2373 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.44. It could be argued that only one party was in need of doing so.

2374 Peña & Peña 2018

2375 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.275

2376 Goebel 1927 p.360. No citation, and I can find no evidence to support this.

2377 *The Ladies Magazine; ….* January 1771 p.286. Also *The Political Register* … February 1771 p.99

2378 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.275-276

2379 In 1771, the two main political groupings were the Tories, who were in Government. Sitting on the Opposition benches in Parliament were the Whigs. This was the first suggestion I have found that there existed some **secret** agreement, whereby Britain would abandon its possession of the Falkland Islands. A rumour spread by Whig grandees?

2380 Barré quoted in Taylor (ed) 1838 vol.4 p.71. My emphasis. Isaac Barré was a Whig politician

At 5pm, John Calcraft, elected Member for Rochester, also writes to Chatham.

> *"Lord Sandwich gave notice to their Lordships, that this declaration would be laid before them on Friday. Poor Lord Lyttelton does not seem to be in very high spirits. …: my Lord's information is, that the ministers have got every thing they ever asked for. I have been told there were violent disputes in the cabinet, when they met to settle this convention;.."* [2381]

Lord Rochford writes to notify Ambassador Harcourt, in Paris, of the Convention.

> *"… a Declaration signed this Day by Prince Masserano, by which he declares that His Catholic Majesty disavows the Expedition against Port Egmont; and engages that His Catholic Majesty shall immediately restore to the King the Port and Fort of Port Egmont and its Dependencies,.."* [2382]

January 23rd, in London, *charge d'affaires* Françès and Ambassador Masserano attend a *levée* where they are greeted by George III.

"... most effusively, hailing him as the author of their well-being, and he added that Masserano would learn the usefulness of trusting to his good faith and the advantages of establishing it between two such great courts as theirs. Masserano replied that it was in reliance on this good faith that the king, his master, had directed him to do what he had just done and that his Catholic Majesty would be very pleased to learn by his intermediary that his Britannic Majesty had said that they could rely upon his good faith in the treaty. To the Bystanders these words no doubt were mere hollow amenities appropriate to the occasion. They were, however, more than this – they were the royal ratification of the promises of Lord North and his colleagues that the island was to be abandoned,.." [2383]

"The King took Françès aside and thanked him for the part played by France in maintaining the peace of Europe, and to Prince Masserano he declared his pleasure at the proof of friendship he had received from the king of Spain. He charged Masserano to assure the king of Spain of "the reciprocity of his sentiments" and of the confidence he could place in his intentions." [2384]

From Paris, Ambassador Harcourt writes to Lord Rochford.

> *"The French King has not yet appointed a Minister for the Foreign Department; nor is it likely, that anyone will be named, until the Result of the Negotiation between England and Spain is known. The language of this place is, that the King has a mind to have the Credit of reconciling the difference between the two Courts."* [2385]

January 24th, unaware that a convention has been signed, Louis XV writes to Carlos III; considering war.

> *"We need more time before we can be assured of success,... Our maritime forces will surely be in good condition soon,.."* [2386]

2381 *John Calcraft to William Pitt 5pm January 22, 1771* quoted in Taylor (ed) 1838 vol.4 p.74

2382 *Rochford to Harcourt January 22, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt. 1* at *28.* Quite what '*dependencies*' are being referred to is not clear. There is a suggestion (Laver 2001) that Rochford attempted to amend the accord with this term, the day after its signing, but that Masserano refused. No source cited and I can find no evidence for this suggestion.

2383 Goebel 1927 p.361 citing *Masserano to Grimaldi January 25, 1771.* The 'Bystanders' were undoubtedly correct in their interpretation. Generous and courteous words at a party, hardly amount to evidence of an intention to abandon a territory. And Lord North had made no promises. As he had repeated many times, he had only ever spoken in a private and unofficial capacity.

2384 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.276.

2385 *Harcourt to Rochford January 23rd, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *37.* The Duke de Villiere was acting Foreign Minister.

2386 Quoted in Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Louis XV to Carlos III, Versailles, 24 January 1771.*

January 25th, in London, copies of the convention are laid before both Houses of Parliament. Lord North places the papers before the Commons in the morning; without introduction or explanation.

"The Duke of Manchester found such an attitude singular." [2387]

"Colonel Barre ... called the Spanish Declaration scandalous and infamous; dishonourable to the Crown, and disgraceful to the nation." [2388]

"The Commons debated the question 25th January 1771, Dowdeswell leading the assault. Barre, with his customary violence, ascribed North's wish for peace to the corrupt influence of the sharpers and jobbers of the alley, and stated that by its scandalous and infamous compromise, the ministry had stabbed the nation's honour to the heart! Burke said the Spanish declaration was as worthless as a Birmingham button, and complained that preparations for war had cost the country three millions without effecting any genuine redress. Complete want of unity in the opposition ranks frustrated their hopes." [2389]

At Westminster, Lord Rochford goes before the House of Lords in the afternoon.

> *"The Ministry laid before the room the declaration of the Spanish Ambassador, and our acceptance of it. Then they sat silent without daring to utter a word in favour of it. The D. of Manchester observed, that such silence was extraordinary... Lord Chatham remarked,.. he would not go into the matter of the declaration; but that upon the face of it, it appeared to be an ignominious Compromise. It was no satisfaction, no reparation. The Right was not secured and even the Restitution was incomplete; that Port Egmont alone is restored, not Falkland's Islands. ...*
>
> *The D. of Richmond then said, ... As to the declaration, he said, he could not leave the room without making one observation upon it, ... and it was that he wondered any minister should dare to accept, in the King's name, a declaration in which the Right of Sovereignty of the island is brought into Dispute; that in the time he was in administration, the Spanish Ambassador had attempted to make it a matter of discussion; but that he, and he believed all other ministers to this day, had never suffered it to be so much as made a matter of doubt. ...* [2390] *The majority over-ruled the question as usual."* [2391]

"The Duke of Richmond (says) that "everyone strongly suspects that France has got too involved in this affair. This is a point that needs to be clarified. He proposes that the documents relating to the negotiations between the Ministry and the Court of France be sent (to the House)". Lord Chatham seconded this proposition. He adds that one must not rely on the word of a minister and, although Lord Rochford asserts the contrary, he knows "positively and as an indisputable fact that France has got involved in this affair" ... Lastly, he makes a remark about the declaration: (he) is "well surprised that the English ministers have dared to accept in the name of the King a declaration in which the right of sovereignty of the island is put into dispute."..." [2392]

2387 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1203

2388 Debrett 1792.

2389 Hertz 1908 p.129 William Dowdeswell was an MP of the Whig faction in the House of Commons and a close associate of the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham; on whose behalf he spoke in the Commons.

2390 Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond, had served briefly as Southern Secretary in 1765/66 under the Rockingham Whig administration. As Southern Secretary, he had been questioned by Masserano as to the voyage of Byron in 1764/5. Richmond would have been knowledgeable about the Falklands. Worth remembering that the British considered there to be one single Island, with a sound running through it.

2391 *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday January 29, 1771.

2392 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1203. Richmond had served as Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris in 1764.

January 26th, news of the convention reaches King Louis XV at the Palace of Versailles. [2393]

> *"My brother and cousin, the conciliation of the Falklands affair causes me the greatest satisfaction. Your Majesty knows in what view I desired the success of this negotiation. The Prince de Masseran has behaved so as to deserve the approbation of Your Majesty. The accommodation he has signed ensures the continuation of peace for at least some time. … (The feelings) of my heart will always be the most tender friendship for your person and the most keen interest for the unalterable union of our crowns."*[2394]

Lord Rochford writes to the Directors of the East India Company to inform them that, while the danger of war with Spain has passed, they should be prepared for a French attack on India. [2395]

January 27th, Ambassador Harcourt writes from Paris; *"The news of the Accommodation between England and Spain, was received here with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy."*[2396]

January 28th, the *Northampton Mercury* reports on the rumours in Parliament.

> *"It is generally believed, that, by a **secret** Article, or **promise** made to the Spanish Ambassador, our Ministers have engaged not to make any future Settlement at Port Egmont."* [2397]

January 29th, from Paris, the Duke de la Vrilliere writes to de Guines and Françès. Congratulating them on their success, but to remind them that the legal question of sovereignty remains unresolved.

"He recommends that, in speaking to the English on this point, they should not be pressed too harshly and give rise, by too much haste, to obstacles which the opposition party might raise with the ministers." [2398]

Numb. 11113.

The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Saturday January 26, to Tuesday January 29, 1771.

Translation of the DECLARATION *signed and delivered by* Prince de Masserano, *Ambassador Extraordinary from his Catholick Majesty, the 22d January, 1771.*

HIS Britannick Majesty having complained of the Violence which was committed on the 10th of June, 1770, at the Island, commonly called the Great Malouine, and by the English Falkland Island, in obliging, by Force, the Commander and Subjects of His Britannick Majesty to evacuate the Port by them called Egmont, a Step offensive to the Honour of His Crown; the Prince de Masserano, Ambassador Extraordinary of his Catholick Majesty, has received Orders to declare, and declares, that his Catholick Majesty, considering the Desire with which he is animated for Peace, and for the Maintenance of good Harmony with His Britannick Majesty, and reflecting that this Event might interrupt it, has seen with Displeasure this Expedition tending to disturb it; and in the Persuasion in which he is of the Reciprocity of Sentiments of His Britannick Majesty, and of it's being far from his Intention to authorize any Thing that might disturb the good Understanding between the Two Courts, his Catholick Majesty does disavow the faid violent Enterprize, and, in Consequence, the Prince de Masserano declares, that his Catholick Majesty engages to give immediate Orders that Things shall be restored in the Great Malouine, at the Port called Egmont, precisely to the State in which they were before the 10th of June, 1770; for which Purpose his Catholick Majesty will give Orders to one of his Officers to deliver up to the Officer, authorized by His Britannick Majesty, the Port and Fort called Egmont, with all the Artillery, Stores, and Effects of His Britannick Majesty, and His Subjects, which were at that Place the Day above-named, agreeable to the Inventory which has been made of them.

The Prince de Masserano declares, at the same Time, in the Name of the King his Master, that the Engagement of his said Catholick Majesty to restore to His Britannick Majesty the Possession of the Port and Fort called Egmont, cannot, nor ought, any wise to affect the Question of the Prior Right of Sovereignty of the Malouine Islands, otherwise called Falkland's Islands. In Witness whereof, I, the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary, have signed the present Declaration with my usual Signature, and caused it to be sealed with our Arms. London, the Twenty-second Day of January, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-one.

Signed,

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE MASSERANO.

[Price Three-Pence.]

Translation of the ACCEPTANCY *by the* Earl of Rochford, *in His Majesty's Name, the 22d January, 1771, of the Spanish Ambassador's Declaration of the same Date.*

HIS Catholick Majesty having authorized the Prince of Masserano, his Ambassador Extraordinary, to offer, in his Royal Name, to the King of Great Britain, a Satisfaction for the Injury done to His Britannick Majesty, by dispossessing Him of the Port and Fort of Port Egmont; and the said Ambassador having this Day signed a Declaration which he has just delivered to me, expressing therein, that his Catholick Majesty, being desirous to restore the good Harmony and Friendship which before subsisted between the Two Crowns, does disavow the Expedition against Port Egmont, in which Force has been used against His Britannick Majesty's Possessions, Commander, and Subjects; and does also engage that all Things shall be immediately restored to the precise Situation in which they stood before the 10th of June, 1770; and that his Catholick Majesty shall give Orders, in Consequence, to one of his Officers, to deliver up to the Officer, authorized by His Britannick Majesty, the Port and Fort of Port Egmont, as also all His Britannick Majesty's Artillery, Stores, and Effects, as well as those of His Subjects, according to the Inventory which has been made of them. And the said Ambassador having moreover engaged, in his Catholick Majesty's Name, that what is contained in the said Declaration shall be carried into Effect by his said Catholick Majesty, and that Duplicates of his Catholick Majesty's Orders to his Officers shall be delivered into the Hands of one of His Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, within Six Weeks; His said Britannick Majesty, in order to shew the same friendly Dispositions on His Part, has authorized me to declare, that He will look upon the said Declaration of the Prince de Masserano, together with the full Performance of the said Engagement, on the Part of his Catholick Majesty, as a Satisfaction for the Injury done to the Crown of Great Britain. In Witness whereof, I underwritten, one of His Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, have signed these Presents with my usual Signature, and caused them to be sealed with our Arms. London, 22d Day of January, 1771.

Signed,

(L. S.) ROCHFORD.

Petersburg, December 28. Her Imperial Majesty is not expected to return from Zarico Zelo before the 6th of January.

The

In London, the Anglo-Spanish convention is published in the *London Gazette*.

January 30th, in the *Public Advertiser*, the polemicist, *Junius*, gives his anonymous opinion. [2399]

> *"… we should not be surprised at the degree of degradation in which the once so respected English name may have fallen. The current cabinet avoids anything that could ruin it, like a foreign war. The King has surrendered to all Europe not only the interests of his subjects, but his personal reputation and the dignity of his crown. He was in possession of an island, on which the ministers have repeatedly claimed that the Spaniards had no rights. The importance of this island is not in question, …*
>
> *The pretensions of the Spaniards become the object of a negotiation between the two Courts. Suddenly, the Spaniards give up an amicable negotiation and resort to the sword. The Port Egmont expedition was concerted, conducted with the*

2393 *Ibid.* p.1195
2394 *Louis XV to Carlos III January 27, 1771* quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1200
2395 *IOR/H/105* in the British Library
2396 *Harcourt to Rochford January 27th, 1771* in *SP 78/282/ Pt.1* at *43*
2397 *Northampton Mercury* Monday January 28, 1771. My emphasis
2398 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1201

usual military precautions and all the ceremonies practised in the war. Bucareli is not a pirate, he acted according to orders received. If it had been otherwise, his act of temerity or insubordination deserved his death.

The King's speech of November 13, 1770 was cautious; he spoke of the act of a governor over one of the possessions of the crown; he said that the honour of his crown and the right of his people had been wounded. The Spaniard replied: "I return possession to you, but I persist in claiming my earlier right, reserving the right to claim it on a more favourable occasion. The king has lacked a man's courage. He did not make the formal request for satisfaction.

What disavowal did he get? after four months of negotiation. We see the guilty officer of the disavowed act return to his court and be filled with honour. If we consider the situation of Europe, the perfidy of the King's servants, especially Lord North, will appear in the strongest colours. ...

The King of France's aversion to war and the disturbance of his business are notorious. He is now in a state of hostility with his people. The King of Spain has vainly solicited him to take part in the quarrel against us, his finances were in the last disorder and it is probable that his troops would have enough to do inside (France). In these circumstances, we could have dictated the law to Spain. The defection of France would have angered his ally, and in all probability severed the family pact. The advantage is lost, the most favourable opportunity is lacking...

When the King of France will be reconciled with his subjects, when the King of Spain will have completed his preparations, when all the forces of the House of Bourbon will attack us at the same time, the king himself can swear the wisdom or imprudence of his present conduct. These are the facts."

January 31st, in England, the *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* reports:

"This is true. M. Francois, Secretary to the French Ambassador, has realized above half a million in the Alley. The Spanish Minister had orders to sign the declaration at least six days before he did. Francois, and others, knew this." [2400]

February 1st, in Spain, news of the settlement reaches the Court.

"Almost all the Spanish Ministers, especially the Marquis de Grimaldi, are delighted with this conciliation. Only Count d'Aranda and some of his partisans, among them the Minister of War, seemed not to approve of it. According to these, the two crowns miss a favourable opportunity to reduce the English power, whose navy, too neglected during the peace, was in a bad state..." [2401]

Minister Grimaldi informs Don Francisco de Paula Bucareli of the accord.

"... if the British voluntarily evacuate the islands, the peace will continue and Spain will have obtained the disappearance of enemies in a position also perilous. If they do not do it, nothing will be lost because, in a year, we will be able to make the war stopped today. The key will be to use time well and an accelerated method to fortify America and increase the navy." [2402]

2399 A long-standing critic of George III. See 1769.

2400 The Alley, being the stock market. See *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London* D.T. Andrew 2001. *cf.* 1774

2401 Marquis d'Ossun quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1206 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 170-172 7 fev*

2402 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1208 citing *AGI Ind., 1630 1 fev*

From London, Lord Rochford sends a secret cipher to Ambassador Harcourt in Paris.

> *"If Your Excellency should be spoken to, on the subject of our disarming, which you will avoid entering upon, of Your own accord, it will be proper for you to observe, that we must naturally expect to see Spain, which was the aggressor, begin to disarm first..."* [2403]

February 2nd, some English journals question the agreement.

"The London Gazette, on February 2, commented that the ministers, after 6 months of negotiation and the expenditure of several million pounds sterling, had only secured the possession of Port Egmont, but not the right to the islands, nor even some satisfaction for the injury received or compensation for expenses." [2404]

February 4th, in Britain's House of Lords. two questions are moved by Earl Chatham, for a judicial opinion.

> *"1. Whether, in consideration of law, the imperial crown of this realm can hold any territories or possessions thereunto belonging, otherwise than in sovereignty?*
>
> *2. Whether the declaration, or instrument for restitution of the port or fort called Egmont, to be made by the Catholic King to his Majesty, under a reservation of a disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the very declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution without derogating from the maxim of law before referred to, touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain?"*

Lord Mansfield refuses to refer the questions to the judges, asserting that the answers are, *"self-evident"*. A motion in support of the referral is defeated, 69 votes to 22.

"... the answer to them was self-evident, that they answered themselves; by which his Lordship was understood to mean that both queries clearly answered themselves in the negative." [2405]

"Moſt of the judges attended, hearing that a queſtion of law was to be moved by Lord Ch(atha)m, and being curious to know its purport." [2406]

"The indignation of the war party reached high tide only after 22nd January. Previously it had agitated in ignorance; it now fought in daylight. Chatham professed to believe that ministerial policy had been abject in its weakness, and that Buccarelli's disgrace should have been an essential term in any agreement." [2407]

"Both Houses of Parliament endorsed the concept that the final text of the Masserano Declaration that left the issue of ownership of the Islands unaltered and deferred to a later date." [2408]

From Spain, a Royal Order is sent to all American Viceroys and Governors; standing down their preparations for war, while requiring that they keep vigilant and ensure their colonies cannot be surprised by any attack. [2409]

February 5th, in London, Lord Camden writes to Chatham. [2410]

> *"I spent the whole evening last night in considering the law point of your Lordship's questions... I cannot satisfy myself that the reservation of the question of right, in the King of Spain's declaration, does in anywise touch the King of Great Britain's right of sovereignty. That becomes absolute jure*

2403 *Rochford to Harcourt February 1, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *41*
2404 Revello 1952
2405 *Junius* in the *Public Advertiser* February 13, 1771
2406 *Affairs in England* in *The Scots Magazine* February 25, 1771 vol. xxxiii p.105
2407 Hertz 1908. The 'war party' was the Whig faction.
2408 Peña & Peña 2018
2409 *Real Orden 4 de Febrero de 1771 A.G.I., India. Gen., 413, 6*
2410 Charles Pratt, 1st Earl Camden, was a lawyer, judge and Whig politician.

coronae from the moment the restitution takes place. Nor does it seem to me the King's title is abridged or limited; inasmuch as the reservation neither denies the right on one side nor asserts it on the other. The question remains as it stood before the hostility; the King of Spain declaring only that he ought not to be precluded from his former claim by this act of possessory restitution." [2411]

"The great figure of Chatham passed from the turmoil of the debate on the Falklands into the shadow of seclusion." [2412]

February 6th, in London, at a meeting of the Court of the East India Company, the issue of the outstanding amount of the Manila Ransom is raised. After discussing the difficulties in obtaining payment, the Court agree to abandon the claim, noting; *"... that it would not be proper to join in a petition to parliament on the subject of the Manila ransom."* [2413]

February 7th, from Madrid, Minister Arriaga sends out orders to Ruíz Puente at Soledad, for the restitution of the British establishment at Saunder's Island. [2414]

Copied to Governor Vertiz at Buenos Aires.

*"It being agreed between the King and his Britannic Majesty, by a convention signed in London last January 22 by the Prince Masserano and the Count Rochford, that the **Great Malouine**, called by the English Falkland, should be immediately replaced in the precise situation in which it was before it was evacuated by them on the 10 June last year; I signify to you, by the King's order, that, as soon as the person commissioned by the Court of London, shall present himself to you with this communication, you (will) order the delivery of the Port de la Cruzada or Egmont, and its fort and **dependencies**, to be effected, as also of all the artillery, ammunition and effects, that were found there, belonging to his Britannic Majesty and his subjects, according to the inventories signed by George Farmer and William Maltby, Esqs., on the 11th July of the said year, at the time of their quitting the same, (and) I attach a certified copy, and that, as soon as the one and the other shall be effected with the due formalities, you will retire immediately the officer and other subjects of the King which may be there."* [2415]

"His Catholic Majesty, in his order for the execution of what he calls this convention, recites, that the engagements contained in it, are for the reposition of the island of Great Malouine, in the situation in which it stood before the 10th of June: yet his orders extend only to the restoring of Port Egmont, with all its ammunition, stores, and appurtenances, just in the terms in which a lawyer would convey a cottage; so that if our court understood that this convention went to engagements for the restoring of Falkland's island, which the Spanish minister offered, the convention is not by these orders fulfilled and executed." [2416]

2411 Taylor (ed.) 1838 – 1850 vol.4

2412 Hertz 1908 p.129. Lord North's position was confirmed; Chatham would not see power again.

2413 The subject of the outstanding amount of the Manila Ransom would not appear to have been raised in any Anglo-Spanish ministerial discussions after October, 1767.

2414 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1206. The Royal Order appears to have arrived at Soledad on a brig, *Maria Isabel* (Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.148) although no date is given.

2415 Quoted in Ferrer-Vieyra 1985. My emphasis. The term 'dependencies' can only refer to the Islands and buildings situated around the harbour of Egmont; including Kepple Island and West Falkland Island. The phrase, "*shall present himself to you with this communication,"* suggests that the British officer concerned would go to Puerto Soledad. That could have been taken as a tacit recognition of Spanish authority over the Islands. Rochford was never going to fall for that. See February 28, 1771.

2416 Thomas Pownall MP quoted in *Parliamentary History of England 1765-1771* Thomas C. Hansard 1813 vol.16. Pownall was a British colonial officer and politician. Governor of Massachusetts 1757-1760.

"... this royal order was basically a fiction in which it was agreed to save the pride of the English people, .., it refers only to the Isle of the West or Port Egmont which was the object of the question. It is very important to point out this fact, because the English ... never came to the Island of the East or Soledad before the year (18)33, but to the West, ...," [2417]

"... what is promised in the name of the King of Spain is to give immediate orders to restore things in the Great Malvina (sic) or Port named Egmont, precisely in the state they were on June 10, 1770. Thus it is seen that the sovereignty of the whole archipelago was not discussed, and therefore could not be nor was it recognized in favor of Great Britain by the King of Spain, ... The only thing that was demanded as satisfaction of the offense, was the restitution of the things to the state previous to the violent attack: nothing more." [2418]

February 8th, from Madrid, duplicates of the orders are forwarded to Masserano by Grimaldi, together with King Carlos's approval of the convention. Masserano is instructed to pass a message on to the British ministers.

> *" ...(that) the Spaniards care very little to keep Great Malouine, but that they care very much that others exist there. ... With regard to disarmament, Spain will model itself on England."* [2419]

In Spain, James Harris finally receives his instructions to return to Madrid. Having taken time to pack up all his household, he has only reached Algoa, 20 miles from Madrid. Harris finds a fast horse. [2420]

February 9th, back in Madrid, Harris immediately seeks an appointment with Minister Grimaldi; who refuses to recognise him as having any diplomatic character without new credentials.

"Mr. Harris hastened to claim them by a special courier, through who he reports that the rumour circulates openly in the Court of Spain that, in addition to the official agreements, there is a secret verbal agreement concerning the subsequent evacuation of Port Egmont, even, it is said, in the space of two months." [2421]

February 13th, in Britain's House of Commons, during a contentious debate, MP William Dowdeswell asks when the Manila Ransom will be paid; Nicholson Calvert accuses Britain of being the aggressor in taking the property of Spain and Colonel Burgoyne criticises Government inaction in 1770. Thomas Pownall responds that the matter is not as yet concluded.

> *"His Majesty had been pleased to exert a right, by taking possession of Falkland's Island, followed by an exercise of sovereignty in the establishment of a fort. By the exertion of this right, and the affixing the sovereignty, the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain was committed. On occupying this right, by the settlement of British subjects, the rights of the British nation were committed. ... this business ends in an inconclusive Spanish convention, dictated by French arbitration; in which the disavowal becomes an additional injury; and the restitution a snare, which lays a train for future war:.."* [2422]

2417 Areco 1885 pp.33-34

2418 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278. Malvina was not a name in use in 1771.

2419 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1206 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 175-177 8 fev. & AHN., Estado, Leg. 6.980*

2420 Harris 1845 p.63. Only in his 20s, Harris's tardiness had much to do with a Spanish mistress.

2421 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1206. No source cited and nothing in the documents or biography of James Harris.

2422 Hansard 1813 vol.16 p.1370

"On 13th February 1771 the Commons were asked to pass an address of thanks for the communication of Masserano's declaration of 22nd January, and for the happy result of ministerial diplomacy. Dowdeswell again protested against the absence of censure on a governor who had raided a British colony and insulted the flag. Burgoyne's ... fine, set speech ... asked when Spain would pay the ransom promised long ago to England for the restoration of Manila. Pownall, who represented colonial interests in Parliament, lamented their surrender to Spanish menaces and French mediation. The address was then carried by 271 votes to 157..." [2423]

"... the Opposition blame the ministry for its cowardice, demanding payment by Spain of the expenses of the English armament, as well as that of the Manila Ransom and a punishment for Bucareli, or better, let him be delivered to the English nation. Some criticize the inclusion of the reservation of the right in the Spanish declaration, pointing out that "the possession of the island Falkland had been considered advantageous by the Lords Anson and Egmont, both for the ease of English navigation in the South Sea, (not) only to harm (the navigation) of the Spaniards". Lord George Sackville ..."blames the Ministry for having separated the question of the law, which remains undefined by the reservation clause, from the question of fact". ... Some members of the opposition then consider that there is no need to thank the king for an accommodation "which has not yet received its perfection, since it has ***not been ratified by Spain****". Lord North speaks in answer to all opposition attacks. ... The violence committed was only the act of a Spanish governor. The insult was entirely erased by the disavowal of Spain and the return of Port Egmont. The English ministers felt that conciliation was useful and the reparation satisfactory. Lord North had ruled out anything concerning the question of law, whereas it was only a question of obtaining compensation for the injury.* ***The accommodation will not be perfect until the King of Spain has approved it****. He can still disavow his ambassador and refuse ... orders given for the purpose of restitution. But that is very unlikely. ... In conclusion, Lord North emphasizes the uncertainty and calamities of a war"..."* [2424]

February 14th, in London, the House of Lords considers the convention.

"Lord Holderness, former Secretary of State ... (said that), the establishment of England in the Falkland Islands was unfair, because (England) had no rights over these islands (and) it was imprudent since it exposed the nation to the dangers of an impolitic war, because it was impossible without expenses disproportionate to its object to support such a distant establishment, surrounded on all sides by Spanish settlements. He concludes that the reparation of the insult is satisfactory ... Lord Mansfield takes up the same arguments and wishes "that we find an expedient to hand over to Spain this possession with some compensation from this Crown". Lord Chatham replies on behalf of the opposition. He speaks for an hour about "risky principles, altered facts, differences on things foreign to the question. ... Lord Shelburne affirms that, during all the time he had been minister, he had supported "the incontestable rights" of England over the Falklands. Lord Rochford, speaking on behalf of the Government, "re-established the facts and dates with precision and accuracy. He confines himself to maintaining that the conciliation had repaired the violence committed ". The vote was in favor of the department by 107 votes to 38. The meeting lasted ten hours." [2425]

Unconvinced, 18 Peers sign a *'Dissentient'* decrying the result of the negotiation with Spain.

2423 Hertz 1908

2424 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1211-1212. My emphasis. There appears not to have been a formal ratification by Spain, although whether one was necessary for a convention is moot. Britain's monarch gave his public approval while, in Spain, the convention was not made public at all. See below.

2425 *Ibid.* p.1213

"Because the declaration, by which his Majesty is to obtain possession of Port Egmont, contains a reservation or condition of the question of a claim of prior right of sovereignty in the Catholic King to the whole of Falkland's Islands, being the first time such a claim has ever authentically appeared in any public instrument jointly concluded by the two courts. No explanation of the principles of this claim has been required, although there is just reason to believe that these principles will equally extend to restrain the liberty and confine the extent of British navigation. No counter-claim has been made on the part of his Majesty, to the right of sovereignty, in any part of the said island ceded to him; any assertion whatsoever, of his Majesty's right of sovereignty, has been studiously avoided, from the beginning to the accomplishment of this unhappy transaction; which, after the expense of millions, settles no contest, asserts no rights, exacts no reparation, affords no security, but stands as a monument of reproach to the wisdom of the national councils, of dishonour to the essential dignity of his Majesty's crown, and of disgrace to the... untainted honour of the British flag."[2426]

"In the House of Lords the reading of Masserano's declaration, and of Rochford's acceptance of his offer, was received in profound silence, and Chatham and Richmond again struggled in vain to procure the production of all papers since 1st January 1770 that related to the negotiations." [2427]

From Madrid, on the same day, Harris reports to Rochford.

*"They keep the declaration here as **secret** as possible. I do not find any to whom they have shown it, except those to whom they are obliged to communicate it. They also report that we have given a verbal assurance to **evacuate** Falkland's Island in the space of two months."* [2428]

"If in 1770 there was a secret agreement between our government and the English (according to the note passed by the Minister of the United States) the same quality of secrecy will have caused that it has been hidden to the public and that, consequently, has not come to my notice; but if it really exists, it cannot but be found among the papers of the archives of the secretariat of state, if they were not transferred to one of those Simancas of that time." [2429]

February 15th, from London, the Comte de Guines writes to the Duke de la Vrilliere in Paris; with regard to the Parliamentary debates. He points out that the press gangs continue to seek seamen for the Royal Navy. As for Lord North's speech in the House of Commons; *"... there are in Lord North's speech things relating to establishments adjoining the South Sea which could alarm the Court of Madrid."* [2430]

".., the Prince of Masserano, the Spanish Ambassador, settled, with the Ministers of His Britannic Majesty, the essential point of this negotiation, the decision of which restored to England, the possession of the Falkland Islands. ... From this moment, the peace seemed assured; since this agreement of the three powers, upon the

2426 Hansard 1813 vol.16

2427 Hertz 1908

2428 Harris 1845 p.66. Also Palmerston 1834. My emphasis. Once again the word was *evacuate*, not *abandon*. Worthy of note. In 1833 a prominent Spanish historian, Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, was asked to research the events of 1770/71. He could find nothing in Spain's archives. Not the convention. No correspondence. No record at all of the agreement. An episode erased from Spain's history. Nobody was to know of Carlos's loss of face. In 1834, Argentina's Ambassador Masserano paid agents to make further enquiries in Spain. They also came up with nothing. Masserano tried again in the 1840s with a similar lack of success. Grimaldi's correspondence did reappear in modern times; however Spain's copy of the accord remains unaccounted for.

2429 Martin Fernandez de Navarrete 1833 quoted in *Recuerdos de Mi Vida Diplomatica* V. G. Quesada 1904 citing *Archive of Simancas. Leg. 6915. cf. October,* 1833

2430 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1213-1214 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 495 f° 218-222 Guines a La Vrilliere, f° 213*

essential point, demonstrated their pacific views. But it was necessary, in order to stifle every seed of dispute, to agree to disarm respectively: and that Spain, who perhaps would have wished for a reciprocal abandonment of Falklands Islands, should rely (for the future evacuation of these islands by England, about to resume possession of them) on the little interest that power would have to preserve them." [2431]

February 18th, from Madrid, Grimaldi instructs Masserano not to solicit the British Government to disarm. King Carlos will deem it offensive to his decorum and dignity; preferring to be at liberty to act without his hands being tied. [2432] Spain must wait to see what the British will do.

February 20th, in London, the Admiralty issue orders cancelling the forced enlistment of men for the navy.

February 21st, Ambassador Masserano receives Grimaldi's messages of February 8th; including the copy of the Royal Order for the restitution. [2433]

> *"Thursday afternoon a messenger arrived at the Secretary of State's office in Cleveland Row, from Madrid, with a copy of the King of Spain's formal order for restoring Port Egmont,* ***and an instrument of approbation, not of ratification, of Prince Masserano's late declaration****. But the claim of right which the King of Spain has set up to Falkland's islands is to be the subject of subsequent negotiation."*[2434]
>
> *"Although the above is only a Copy of the Order for Restitution, yet it is the only Instrument which the King of Spain has sent to our Court; and it has been accepted as a full Ratification."* [2435]

Accompanying the despatch is another letter signed by Louis XV and the Comte de Fuentes, asking Masserano to remain in London regardless of any other communication to the contrary. [2436]

Masserano requests an immediate interview with Lord Rochford, which is granted.

"... (the) King [of Spain] wanted to trust in the good faith of His British Majesty and in the expressions that he made to me the day after having signed the aforementioned Declaration, and that His Majesty also wanted to see how the promises of this Ministry would end. As for the evacuation of Great Malvina, and the suspension of armaments and preparations for war, (they) were still continuing as if no adjustments had been made. ,... (Rochford) tried to satisfy me, by saying that the order was going to be given to suspend the levy of sailors; ... that they could not confess to having made us any promises, having always refused to speak of the future;... that they would now send only two frigates to take possession of Port Egmont, and that they would be accompanied by a supply of provisions that the few people they were sending to that place might need,..."[2437]

"The ambassador pointed out that the orders given to the governor of the Soledad made it probable that the Spaniards had left neither frigate nor land force at Grande-Malouine. Spain had no plans to occupy an

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2431 *Memorial of the Count de Guines, the French Ambassador to the Court of London; against Messieurs Tort and Roger, formerly his secretaries, and against Mr. Delpech* A. L. Bonnieres de Souastre (Duc de Guines) 1777.

2432 *L 30/14/272/1* in Bedford Archives. This letter was intercepted and is noted in a *minute* at Rochford's office dated March 13, 1771. Also Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1208 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 197 18 fev*

2433 *Rochford to Harcourt February 22, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *72*

2434 *Affairs in England* in *The Scots Magazine* February 1771 vol. 33 p.105. My emphasis. Approbation is approval or praise. As Masserano did not pass the approbation on to Rochford, it would seem likely that it was more praise than approval.

2435 *Berrow's Worcester Journal* March 9, 1771

2436 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1216 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 495 f° 238-239, f° 240 18 fev.* Masserano had been daily expecting the instruction to return to Madrid, following the debacle of Harris's recall.

2437 *Masserano to Grimaldi February 23, 1771* quoted in Revello 1952

establishment which she regarded as useless, but had grounds to view with anxiety and jealousy any other power intending to stay there,.." [2438]

Elsewhere in London, French *charge d'affairs* Françès speaks to Lord North on the issue of an evacuation of the Falklands and the means by which the two powers should disarm to a level where peace could be be assured. North talks extensively about the latter point, but seems confused as to the suggestion of an evacuation.

"In the matter of the right to the Malvinas, however, Frances asked how the ministry proposed to carry out its word and preserve peace, North inquired what he meant by the question of right." [2439]

"Lord North replies that, for the question of law, we are now in the situation of treating it directly with the Secretary of State; he desires not to interfere in affairs which are not of his department. All he can do is to assure (Françès) that he gives no value to the Falkland Islands. It is his own feeling based on the general feeling of the Nation. ... On the question of disarmament, ... The English army is going to be reduced .. to 18,000 men (a) sufficient number to provide defense against a sudden and unexpected attack. ... it becomes indispensable to supplement this by increasing the naval forces, which will constitute the true and the only defense of Great Britain and her possessions. Françes observes that the navy has never been pushed beyond 10,000 sailors from 1749 to 1755 and 16,000 since 1763, including 4,000 marines." [2440]

February 22nd, from London, Harris in Madrid is given a temporary promotion. [2441]

> *"The King has been please to give Mr. Harris, whose Conduct has been much approved by His Majesty, the Character of Minister Plenipotentiary 'till the arrival of Lord Grantham at Madrid."* [2442]

Rochford orders the Admiralty to fit-out a frigate; *"... for the purpose of receiving the restitution of Port Egmont and its dependencies, and **remaining in possession** of same, ..."* [2443]

Rochford also notifies the Secretary of War.

> *"The late Difference with the Court of Spain being happily accommodated I am to signify to your Lordship the King's Pleasure, that His Majesty's Land forces both Cavalry and Infantry be immediately reduced to the Peace Establishment."* [2444]

February 28th, a meeting of the British Cabinet confirms that restitution must be made at Fort George.

"A new requirement, (which), would seem to have no other purpose than to annihilate the reservation expressed in the declaration of Spain, which was accepted by England, but which remained unanswered." [2445]

"All (Rochford's Cabinet) colleagues had been of the opinion that it was impossible for Stott to go to Puerto Soledad and present the duplicates of his instructions without at the same time renewing the orders to Ruiz Puente to leave." [2446]

2438 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1217.
2439 Goebel 1927 p.380
2440 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1218-1219
2441 Harris 1845 p.67
2442 *Rochford to Harcourt February 22, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *72*
2443 *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the reign of George III* 1881 p. 209. My emphasis.
2444 Quoted in Tracy 1975
2445 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1221-1223 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 496 f° 10-21 7 mar 1771*
2446 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.281-282

At an interview, Ambassador Masserano speaks to Lord Rochford about mutual disarmament; asking when the intimations of the ministry regarding the Falklands will be carried into effect. Rochford responds that his Government is only sending a single frigate, a sloop and a store-ship to Port Egmont, and that once they had taken possession the affair would be regarded as being at an end. Masserano complains that the matter could only be at an end when the islands were abandoned. Rochford counters that disarmament and sovereignty are two different issues; and that the question of right has not yet been touched upon. [2447]

Rochford also informs Masserano that he is ordering the frigate to sail for Port Egmont for a formal restitution. Spain's Ambassador objects; demanding that restitution is made at Puerto Soledad. Rochford points out that if an English captain went to Puerto Soledad, he would be obliged, in accordance with previous general orders, to give the Spanish garrison commander six months to evacuate the place.

"The Secretary of State confided that he was now (drafting) the instructions to be given to Commodore Stott, captain of the frigate (sailing) to Port Egmont. He (referred) to those given to Captain Byron, at the first establishment, and successively to Captains Mac Bride and Hunt; in each he had found a precise injunction to summon the governors of any other nation to evacuate their settlements in a limited space of six months, the islands belonging to the King of England. He can not refrain from renewing the same general order to Commodore Stott, who will find himself with the necessity of executing it if he is obliged to go to the Soledad..."[2448]

At his own interview with Rochford, French *charge d'affairs* Françès is also told that if restitution takes place at Soledad, then the British commander will have to require the Spanish Governor to leave within six months.

"Françès is stunned by such an idea. He answers "with force," ... (that)... "If an intimation of this kind was made to Governor Ruiz Puente, it would result in a rupture. Therefore, despite all the desire of the Bourbon Courts to disarm, they will not do so until the question of law is settled." ... Françès untangles from (Rochford's) explanations that he does not intend "to treat either the question of law or the mutual abandonment of the islands" before the restoration of Port-Egmont was made and officially established." [2449]

"All (Rochford's Cabinet) colleagues had been of the opinion that it was impossible for Stott to go to Puerto Soledad and present the duplicates of his instructions without at the same time renewing the orders to Ruiz Puente to leave. Rochford added that all the members of the Cabinet were convinced that Grimaldi, in his instructions to Masserano of 8 February, had had an ulterior purpose in requiring the British frigates to go to Puerto Soledad to receive from Governor Ruiz Puente the instructions for re-establishing the British at Port Egmont – Spain intended to establish indirect British recognition of the Spanish right of sovereignty over the islands. Françès argued against such a supposition, but did not convince Rochford." [2450]

March 2nd, intelligence is sent to Rochford to the effect that the Count d'Aranda is "*violent for war*" rather than the accept the "*harmful*" accommodation with England. [2451]

In London, fresh rumours of war circulate and the stock market falls. [2452]

2447 Goebel 1927 p.383

2448 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1221-1223 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 496 f° 10-21 7 mar 1771.*

2449 *Ibid.*

2450 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.281-282

2451 *Lynch (Turin) to Rochford March 2, 1771* in *L 30/14/230* at Bedfordshire Archives & Records Service. D'Aranda and Grimaldi had had a very public falling out, at the Spanish Court.

2452 It was subsequently alleged that the French Ambassador, and/or his Secretary, Barthélemy Tort, had been playing the stock market; passing on insider information in order to manipulate prices. At a trial in Paris in 1775, Tort claimed to have been acting on direct instructions from de Guines.

"Possession of the Falkland Islands having been restored to England, the decisive questions between France, Spain, and that power, in the months of March and April 1771, which the public were ignorant of, and which must have fixed a rise or fall in the funds, were, 1. If Spain should consent to disarm, and to follow in this point, the example which England had proposed to give. 2. If Spain should rely for the evacuation of Falkland Islands by England, on the little interest that power could find in keeping them. The speculations of the English bankers at these periods, were not founded on the true objects of these two political questions; but solely, on the assurance Tort gave them in my name, that France and Spain would not disarm first; and as these bankers were at the same time of opinion, that England would not set the example of disarming, they concluded, that from hence disagreeable consequences and difficulties would arise, which would bring on a war, ..." [2453]

Britain's preparations for the restitution are made known through the broadsheets.

> *"Two Transports, with warlike and ordnance Stores, will accompany the Men of War now getting ready to sail for Port Egmont to take Possession of Falkland's Island from the Spaniards, on board of which will embark two Companies of Infantry, in order to render Port Egmont of sufficient Force, not to be surprized again (if the Spaniards should break the present Convention) on such humiliating Terms as before."*

March 4th, in London, both French and Spanish Ambassadors go to see Lord Rochford; *"... and demanded that a day should be fixed for settling the question of prior right to Falkland Island. Lord Rochford refused to name any day."* [2454]

Rochford proposes to the Ambassadors that their Courts agree to disarm at the same pace as the British.

> *"For this purpose I proposed that a time should be fixed for it; and named the Period from the first to the 10th of April next, as that would give time for the Spanish Ambassador to receive authority from His Court to make a positive Declaration in His Catholic Majesty's name, that Orders will be given for the disarming in the Ports of Spain to take effect."* [2455]

"Prince de Masseran replies that he will inform his Court, but that he personally does not consider the British plan as an establishment of peace, if Spain is to raise her forces to the same level." [2456]

When pressed on the location of the restitution, Rochford repeats that if Stott is required to go to Berkeley Sound, he would be obliged to issue the same demand for evacuation by the Spanish forces that had led to the conflict in 1770. Masserano responds that to do so would be the "*surest means of declaring war.*"

"The Prince de Masseran assures that the Spaniards... want an immediate abandonment. ... Lord Rochford points out that an evacuation of Port Egmont as requested by Spain, does not entail for the British the loss of their rights, and they may return there when they please,.." [2457]

When Masserano demands to know when his hopes of British abandonment may be realised, Rochford does not answer. Masserano retorts; "*If that is so then even these are lost forever."* [2458]

2453 Bonnieres de Souastre A. L. (Duc de Guines) 1777. p.44
2454 Taylor (ed.) 1838. Also *Scots Magazine* April 1771. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1224) gives the date as March 5, 1771 as does Goebel 1927 p.388
2455 *Rochford to Harcourt March 8, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *107*
2456 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1223
2457 *Ibid.* pp.1224-1225
2458 Masserano quoted in Goebel 1927 p.388

*"At the exchange of documents the Spanish Ambassador accordingly raised the question of **evacuation**, and was told in effect to wait and see. When on subsequent occasions he again raised the subject he received similar answers, the Secretary of State maintaining that no promise had ever been made to **evacuate** and that no definitive date for **evacuation** could be given."* [2459]

"Masserano then moved on to the question of abandonment, the promise of which, he said, had made an agreement possible … Rochford said again that he could only discuss that question after the restitution had been accomplished, and he in any case intended only to leave a small number of men there after the return of the frigate. Masserano said Spain would not be satisfied with such a proceeding; Spain wanted an immediate abandonment." [2460]

After Masserano has departed, the French Ambassador speaks to Rochford. On the subject of disarmament, de Guines suggests that Rochford actually intends to increase the establishment at Port Egmont; *"… the ambassador believes that the intention of the (British) government is to leave a hundred men there, to ensure possession of the establishment."* [2461] Rochford does not reply.

March 5th, in Parliament, Thomas Pownall presents a motion criticising the Anglo-Spanish accord.

> *"That in the late Negociation with the court of Spain concerning Falkland's island, his Majesty's ministers, having neglected to demand an explanation of the oath of office taken by the Spanish governors in America, their general orders, and the established laws of America, under which these governors pretend to act, and under which the court of Spain doth pretend to justify them in commencing hostilities; his Majesty's rights and possessions in America remain thereby exposed and liable to be disturbed by the said governors, under pretence of such oath of office, their general orders, and the established laws of America."* [2462]

The motion is rejected.

"Pownall made a last attempt to organise Parliamentary resistance on 5th March 1771, but his motion was thrown out by 130 votes to 43." [2463]

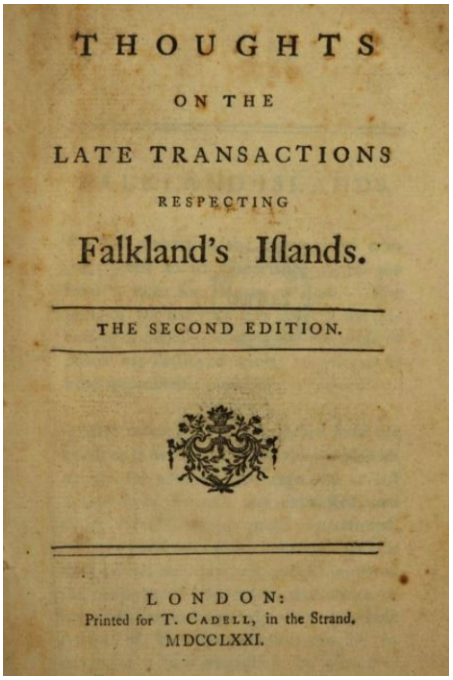
Lord Rochford writes to James Harris in Madrid, with proposals for a general disarmament. [2464]

March 6th, in London, French *charge d'affaires* Françès meets with Lord North; *"… remarked that disarmament now seemed to have become the main question, but it was linked with the abandonment of the Falklands – if Britain refused to set a date for abandonment, the king of Spain would remain armed. There would be a truce, but no peace. … Françès pointed out that Spain would refuse to accept any date for disarmament until the question of right of sovereignty had been settled."* [2465]

March 7th, in a further interview, Françès challenges Lord Rochford regarding the unwillingness of the British Government to address the issues of rights, and of mutual evacuation. Rochford argues that he cannot address these issues without creating opposition in Parliament – which is already accusing the Ministry of having a secret agreement – and that therefore the questions must be deferred until at least the end of the current Parliament.

2459 Field 1928 para.48. My emphasis
2460 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.282
2461 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1226
2462 Hansard 1813 vol.16 p.1388
2463 Hertz 1908 p.131
2464 Not confirmed. Deduced from later correspondence. See April 8, 1771
2465 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.284

"In the course of this interview, .., Lord Rochford has let it be known that it is of the utmost importance to have, on the subject of disarmament, a satisfactory answer from Spain and France before the 10th of April, in order to silence the opposition which continues to alarm the nation by representing the accommodation as uncertain and by reproaching the ministers for having made an armed truce more injurious than a state of war." [2466]


THOUGHTS
ON THE
LATE TRANSACTIONS
RESPECTING
Falkland's Iſlands.
THE SECOND EDITION.
LONDON:
Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand,
MDCCLXXI.

Rochford assures Françès that he'll raise the question of a mutual evacuation at that evening's Cabinet meeting.

A pamphlet appears on the streets of London (right). [2467]

> *"The expedition is disavowed, and the island is restored. The Spaniards have stipulated that the grant of possession shall not preclude the question of prior right;* ***a question which we shall probably make no haste to discuss****, and a right of which no formal resignation was ever required."* [2468]

March 8th, the day after the Cabinet meeting, Rochford informs Françès that British Ministers are not prepared to discuss a mutual evacuation, before restitution has taken place.

"*The ministers rejected the proposal made by Lord Rochford of the mutual abandonment of the Malouines Islands. The Ministry thinks that, Spain having taken six months to give satisfaction to England on a manifest insult, England can not agree to the evacuation of the islands immediately after the repair without giving rise to suspicion and accusation. This view would be further strengthened if such a decision were taken before disarmament was effected. This argument is well founded. The ministry is awaiting Spain's response to its proposals to disarm each party at a specific time.*"[2469]

From London, Lord Rochford writes to Harris in Madrid.

> *"His Majesty has been pleased to order the Juno frigate of thirty-two guns, the Hound sloop, and Florida store-ship, to be prepared to go to Port Egmont, in order to receive the possession from the Spanish commander there; and as I have spoken so fully to Prince Maserano on the manner of its being executed, it is needless for me to say any more to you upon it. I think it right to acquaint you, that the Spanish ambassador pressed me to have some hopes given him of our agreeing to a mutual abandoning of Falkland's Islands, to which I replied, that it was impossible for me to enter on that subject with him, as the restitution must precede every discourse relating to those islands."* [2470]

2466 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1228

2467 *Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting Falkland's Islands* S. Johnson 1771. Lord North employed the essayist Dr. Samuel Johnson to pen this 75-page work in support of the Government. It appeared anonymously in March, 1771, but Johnson's style was so well known, its authorship was immediately recognised. *cf. Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third* Horace Walpole 1845 p.297 vol.4. Hyperlink on image leads to a 1913 reproduction.

2468 *Ibid*. My emphasis.

2469 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1228

2470 *Rochford to Harris March 8, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1*

*"For Spain to have made overtures in March 1771 for the **reciprocal abandonment** of both British and Spanish settlements is clearly **inconsistent** with any previous official **promise of abandonment** by Great Britain alone. If a "secret pledge" had actually been given .., then Spain had everything to gain by waiting."*[2471]

Rochford also writes to Harcourt in Paris.

> *"Since the Spanish Ambassador has delivered me the Duplicates of His Catholic Majesty's Orders to His Officer at Falkland's Islands to make the Restitution of port Egmont, it is natural that all the Powers, which had taken the alarm, should now give over their apprehensions, and prepare to disarm, in order to finish the Work, which has hitherto succeeded so well; but although We have no Reason to doubt, that the Courts of France and Spain are sincerely disposed to maintain the Peace, yet your Excellency must be sensible that this may be a Question of great Delicacy and that the future Quiet of Europe may depend on the discreet Conduct of the armed Powers on this Occasion;…"* [2472]

March 11th, in London, once again, the French and Spanish representatives seek an interview with Rochford.

"... and not only made the same demand as before, but added, that they were further instructed to demand, that a day should be fixed for restoring Falkland's island agreeable to promise. Lord Rochford peremptorily refused to enter into any negotiation upon the subject." [2473]

March 12th, Masserano complains to Wills Hill, Secretary of State for the Colonies,[2474] of Rochford's attitude, which he suggests is in "*bad faith*". [2475]

*"Hillsborough protested: no formal assurance of abandonment could be given, though he and Lord North could confidentially tell him that England would abandon Great Malouine **when Spain abandoned Soledad**. Disillusioned, the ambassador replied that he had already had enough confidential promises but that he wanted official assurance that the evacuation would take place."* [2476]

March 13th, Lord Rochford's office notes that all Spanish expeditions for America are stopped, and those that had sailed are recalled. Also that ships are still in commission, and troop numbers are being maintained. [2477]

March 14th, at a further meeting, a heated discussion takes place between Rochford and Masserano. Lord Rochford questions the *'impertinence'* of Spain. Masserano responds; *"No more impertinent than the English pretension to something that belongs to Spain."* Lord Rochford retaliates; *"Be assured, that even if we go to war over it, it will be a big war and by no treaty of peace will we cede the island."* [2478]

March 15th, Rochford sends instructions to the Admiralty.

> *"... Your lordships will direct Captain Stott to behave with the greatest prudence and civility towards the Spanish commander and the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, carefully avoiding any thing that might give occasion to disputes or animosity, and strictly restraining the crews of the ships under his*

2471 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490.* My emphasis.
2472 *Rochford to Harcourt March 8, 1771* in *SP 78/282 Pt.1* at *107*
2473 *Caledonian Mercury* Wednesday April 3, 1771
2474 Earl of Hillsborough in the Peerage of Ireland. Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1232) mistakenly refers to Hill as Northern Secretary.
2475 Goebel 1927 pp.395-396
2476 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1232 citing *Simancas Estado Leg. 6.980, f° 69 16 mars* and, also, Goebel p.395. My emphasis. Mutual evacuation/abandonment.
2477 *L 30/14/272/1* in Bedford Archives. Most of the intelligence appears to have come from Harris in Madrid.
2478 Goebel 1927 p.398. No source provided.

command in this respect; but if, at or after the restitution to be made, the Spanish commander should make any protest against his Majesty's right to Port Egmont, or Falkland's Islands, it is his Majesty's pleasure that the commander of his ships should answer the same by a counter-protest, in proper terms, of ***his Majesty's right to the whole of the said islands****, and against the right of his Catholic Majesty to any part of the same."* [2479]

March 16th, the Comte de Guines, French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, writes to Paris.

"... the English ministers (are) announcing that, immediately after the return of the vessels to retake possession of the Falkland Islands, their first care would be to send the order to abandon them." [2480]

"... in his Dispatch of 16th March, 1771, in representing to his Court that he had reason to presume we should abandon Falklands Island, (was) from the Language held to him by different Persons on that subject, ... the exception being My Lord Rochford." [2481]

From Spain. on the same day, King Carlos writes to Louis XV to assure him that the Spanish navy will be strengthened; *"... as it is the only force that can earn us the respect of the English,"* [2482]

Instructions are also sent to Masserano to be vigilant with regard to questions of mutual disarmament. Regarding the Gran Malouine Island, he is told that it is useless to insist on an abandonment. The circumstances had changed, and mutual withdrawal had only been suggested; *"... to avoid the embarrassment of the satisfaction which England demanded."* [2483]

From London, Masserano writes to Grimaldi to report, *inter alia*, his conversation of the 12th, with the Colonial Secretary. [2484]

March 17th, in Portsmouth, England, the Admiralty's agent-victualler is instructed to; *"... buy an assortment of live cattle, such as cows, pigs, sheep, &c., to be put on board the Juno frigate, which are to be landed at Falkland's island, in order, if possible, to obtain a breed of those species at that place."* [2485]

At Puerto Soledad, oblivious to much of the controversy, the garrison endures as winter approaches.

"In March 1771 the population of Puerto Soledad numbered 159, an increase of 37 over that of 1768. The headquarters staff, military and civilian, totalled 12; there was a garrison of 71 infantry consisting of a

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2479 *The Earl of Rochford to the Lords of the Admiralty March 15, 1771* quoted in *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ship Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836… Vol. II Proceeding of the Second Expedition, 1831 – 1836, under the command of Captain Robert FitzRoy* Robert Fitzroy 1836 pp.156-158. My emphasis

2480 *"Que les ministres anglais annonant qu'immediatement apres le retour des vaisseaux charges de reprendre possession des Isles Falkland, leur premier soin sera d'envoyer l'ordre de les abandonner"* quoted in Winstanley 1912 p.409. These words would return to haunt the French representative. Ambassadorial confirmation of rumours, speculating on a secret agreement by Britain to abandon Port Egmont? Subsequently to be relied upon by the French Foreign Ministry, on sufficient occasions, post 1771, to attract Rochford's ire. The letter's timing is intriguing, however. Just two days after Masserano's conversation with the Colonial Secretary, of which de Guines would undoubtedly have been aware. A misreported conversation, perhaps? Hearsay? Speculation? Manipulation? The Comte de Guines, knew how to play the stock market. See October, November & December, 1771; November, 1773 & April/May, 1775

2481 *St. Paul to Rochford May 17, 1775* in *SP 78/296* at *37. cf.* May, 1775

2482 Quoted in Stiles 2012 citing *Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Malvinas (Islas), catalogue number 9-1981, Carlos III to Louis XV, El Pardo, 16 March 1771.*

2483 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1230- 1231 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 270-272 Grimaldi a Masseran, 16 mars.*

2484 *Ibid.* p.1232 citing *Simancas Estado Leg. 6.980, f° 69 16 mars*

2485 *Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33 p.217. Hardly consistent with a promise to abandon Port Egmont within two months.

captain, a lieutenant, two sub-lieutenants, two sergeants, a drummer, eight corporals, a cadet, and 55 privates, and am artillery troop of two corporals and 11 artillerymen. The naval staff consisted of a port captain, a pilot and 17 sailors, and the civilian population consisted of two bakers, 2 carpenters, a caulker a blacksmith a cooper, 4 masons, 8 servants, 3 "inhabitants" and 22 prisoners." [2486]

March 19th, in London, Lord North receives a dispatch from Ambassador Harcourt in Paris, regarding correspondence from Louis XV to Spain.

> *"... wherein he assured the Catholic King, that he was ashamed of the conduct of the court of London; that he was ready and willing to co-operate with the King of Spain, in whatever future measures should be judged expedient; that he put himself entirely under the direction and wisdom of the Catholic King; and only begged, that, in their future operations, that monarch would have an eye to the present situation of France."* [2487]

"... if it is such as to bring about war and France does not concur in it, as it is committed to by the Family Pact, it is not impossible that discontent and mistrust (will) bear on His Catholic Majesty, who is not in a position to sway the British forces alone, to seek the security and permanent tranquillity (by seeking) bonds of friendship with England, certainly to the detriment of the consideration and trade of France. This is what the Marquis de Grimaldi later suggested to the French ambassador. In truth it is a sad political consideration quite contrary to the views and feelings of the King, his master, but it is the only resource that could perhaps remain for Spain if France abandoned it, and this minister (Grimaldi) added that what England most ardently desired was the dissolution of the Family Pact." [2488]

March 25th, from Madrid, Grimaldi writes to Masserano regarding restitution and evacuation; *"... we shall see ... if their most sacred promises can be fulfilled."* [2489]

*"Although it is not possible to know the frame of mind of the players in events that took place over 240 years (ago), it would be safe to surmise that Spain, out of sincere belief or to save face for having given way to British demands, clung to an **arguable** British **promise** to leave the Islands after Port Egmont had been devolved. ... In fact, Spain, who had undoubtedly lost the upper hand, could only hope that Great Britain would lose interest in the Islands."* [2490]

March 30th, in London, Masserano receives the instruction of Grimaldi, penned on the 16th, not to continue to insist upon a mutual abandonment. Masserano is to speak neither directly nor indirectly on the subject, but; "*... to listen with an air of indifference.*" [2491]

April 1st, in London, on All Fools Day, further rumours circulate; including one that the Spanish Ambassador has signed over the Falklands archipelago to Britain.

2486 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.288 citing Berhardson 1989. The three '*inhabitants*' may have been all that was left of Bougainville's French settlers.

2487 *Scots Magazine* March 30, 1771 vol. 33 p.159

2488 *D'Ossun to Choiseul December 31, 1770* in Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1175-1176 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 561 f° 508.* This letter had warned of a Spanish reaction should France fail to assist it in any conflict. A failure of military support amounting to a breach of the 3rd Family Compact. Louis XV, knew he had some ground to make up with Carlos.

2489 Grimaldi quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1242 citing *Simancas, Estado, Leg.6.980 f°73.* After only nine days, Grimaldi was unlikely to have been in possession of the letter from Masserano regarding the Ambassador's conversation with the Colonial secretary, Hill.

2490 Peña & Peña 2018. My emphasis.

2491 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1230- 1231 citing *Aff. étr. Esp., 562 f° 270-272 Grimaldi a Masseran, 16 mars.*

"... all the necessary documents for the surrender of Falkland's Island to the crown of Great Britain, the day before Capt. Stott's, and the other two King's ships, sailed for that island." [2492]

"In consequence of this amicable signature, Mr. Potter was again dispatched to Madrid on Thursday last, with orders to stop at Versailles, and inform the English Courier, who was expected in London on Wednesday, that he need not be in any extraordinary hurry, "matter having been finally and happily adjusted with the Crown of Spain." [2493]

April 2nd, from England, Capt. Stott sails with the frigate *Juno*, sloop *Hound* and the storeship *Florida*. [2494]

"... sailed from Spithead the Juno frigate, under the command of Capt. Stott; and the Hound sloop, Capt. Burr; with the Florida transport; all for the Falkland's Island." [2495]

"Captain Stott, who goes Commodore to Falkland's Island, has taken out some experienced Miners from Cornwall, to examine the state of the country,..." [2496]

"Commodore Stott's small division had sailed from Spithead harbour. It was composed of the Juno frigate, 32 guns, 220 crew, which he commanded, the sloop Hound, 12 guns, 125 crewmen, commanded by Lieutenant Burr, and the Florida supply corvette, 40 crew members. The Commodore had received instructions from the Admiral, recalling in the aggregate those of Mac Bride and Hunt. They recommended him to go to Port Egmont, to take possession of the fort and its outbuildings, and to receive the effects of all sorts on the list of Captains Farmer and Maltby. He must proceed with great caution and civility towards the Spanish commander that he will find and carefully avoid anything that can give occasion for argument or animosity. (When) his mission is over, Commodore Stott must return as soon as possible. The sloop Hound will remain stationary in the island, Lieutenant Burr thus becoming commander of the place." [2497]

In Paris, on the same day, Louis XV receives correspondence from his Ambassador in Spain to the effect that King Carlos intends to maintain his level of arms until the matter was resolved.

From Madrid, a letter from Grimaldi to Masserano asserts that the only reason Spain wished restitution to take place at Puerto Soledad, is because there is nobody at Port Egmont; which the Spanish have evacuated. [2498]

April 6th, in London, in receipt of Grimaldi's message sent via Paris, Ambassador Masserano goes to Lord Rochford to tell him that instructions have now been sent to Ruiz Puentes, to make restitution at Port Egmont.

April 8th, from Madrid, a despatch from the Marquis d'Ossun, arrives at Versailles.

"His Catholic Majesty is now satisfied that the British Ministry has formal provisions (for peace). Indeed, the Marquis de Grimaldi has received from Harris openings for mutual disarmament. This minister obeyed instructions of March 5th, the examination of which had been delayed by Easter.

He introduced the 'Peace Establishment of England' which provides for the navy's strength of 25,000 men instead of 15 to 18,000. His Catholic Majesty will increase his navy accordingly. The two

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2492 *Scots Magazine* April 1771 vol.33.
2493 *Stamford Mercury* April 18, 1771
2494 *Edward Pellew* by C. Northcote Parkinson 1934. Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.288) gives the date of Stott's departure as April 9, 1771.
2495 *Leeds Intelligencer* April 9, 1771
2496 *Stamford Mercury* May 16, 1771
2497 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1264
2498 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.288

diplomats are working together on a plan that will be adopted by both powers. From now on they agree that disarmament will take place from the 20th to the 30th of April, and His Catholic Majesty approves." [2499]

In London, Ambassador de Guines receives news from Madrid; *"... that Spain was determined to rely on his Britannic Majesty and his ministry, for the evacuation of Falkland Islands."* [2500]

April 9th, from Paris, Ambassador Harcourt writes to inform Rochford that all the signs suggest that France is disarming. Workers in its military docks are being laid off.

From Madrid, Minister Grimaldi writes to Masserano.

"... the English ministers know perfectly well that the verbal promises made during the negotiations did not depend on a reciprocal evacuation of the Soledad. There is no need to come forward first with this proposal. The behaviour to be observed is therefore not to press them and to speak only if the thing presents itself incidentally in the conversation. Then we will tell them that we will see how they fulfil their promise and that we are convinced of their good faith, by pointing out that we are not pushing them and that Spain has proceeded with discretion on this subject." [2501]

April 12th, from London, Ambassador Masserano writes to Minister Grimaldi, warning that the British insist that they have made no promises. [2502]

"British ministers did constantly state that Britain had no interest in the Falklands and would abandon the islands in the end, but those were informal, oral, "off the record" comments. They are quite different from a full-fledged "secret promise", which to be binding would have had to be written down and formally agreed and signed, like the secret clauses in many treaties." [2503]

April 14th, at Puerto Soledad, attendant Miguel de Bernazani is relieved by Juan de Piedra. [2504]

April 19th, in London, Lord Rochford acknowledges Harcourt's letter of the 9th; *"... our Differences with the Court of Spain having been settled, it ought to be the Wish of all the three Powers to see every Jealousy and Suspicion removed."* [2505]

April 20th, from London, Ambassador Masserano again writes to Minister Grimaldi. To report a conversation with Lord Rochford, in which the Southern Secretary had said to him that the Spanish did well not to hurry a British decision regarding evacuation, as the "*present circumstances*" did not allow for one. [2506]

2499 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1242. I cannot find a letter dated March 5, 1771, addressed to Harris

2500 *The London Magazine* vol.44 April 1775. At least this report did not mention the word 'promise.'

2501 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1244 citing *Simancas, Estado Leg. 6.978 f° 64.* Arrived in London April 21, 1771. Mutual evacuation/abandonment had, throughout the negotiations, been argued for by Spain; a proposal rejected on more than one occasion by both Weymouth and Rochford as being irrelevant until restitution had taken place.

2502 Letters took at least 10 to 14 days to travel between the two capital cities. This letter, therefore, would appear to be a response to that of Grimaldi, dated March 25th.

2503 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.290

2504 *Ibid.* vol.1 p.297. An intendant represented the Spanish Treasury.

2505 *Rochford to Harcourt April 19, 1771* in *SP 78/296* at *164*

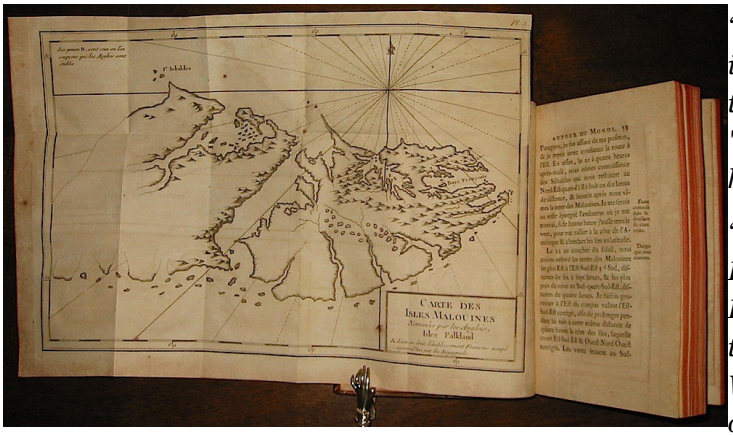
2506 *Maserano a Grimaldi: 20 de Abril de 1771. Oficio 2.097 A.H.N., Estado, 4.261.*

April 22nd, in receipt of Grimaldi's instructions of the 9th, Masserano has a meeting with Rochford to conclude the question of disarmament and the settling of a 'peace establishment.' [2507]

"*At the conference.., Prince de Masseran uttered some words which suggested to Lord Rochford that new orders had been issued concerning the evacuation. The ambassador replied that no, his court wanted to avoid any reason to discuss it. The question of mutual evacuation is quite different from that of law, which has never been studied. In the case of reciprocal abandonment, one and the other can always, in case of dispute, return and reoccupy the islands. The Prince de Masseran reflects that he has never proposed a reciprocal abandonment. This expedient had been founded by the British and by the French in order to suppress the discussion of the priority of the law, but he had never approved it.*" [2508]

April 23rd, with an agreement reached, Lord Rochford instructs the Admiralty to reduce the number; *".. to be employed in His Majesty's service at sea to 25,000, the French and Spanish Ambassadors having, in the name of their respective courts, declared their readiness to disarm to their peace establishment at the same time as His Majesty."* [2509]

In **May**, in Paris, Louis-Antonine Bougainville, with the approval of Spain's Ambassador, publishes his *Voyage autour de Monde* (left) – relating his founding of a French colony in the Malouines; and his subsequent circumnavigation of the world. [2510] Charts are included. [2511]



"Bougainville had witnessed in silence the interminable dispute, perhaps disapproved by the Due de Choiseul, regretting that he had "discovered" the Malouines, perhaps confused at having opened a Pandora's box." [2512]

"... Fuentes was pleased with the final copy of Bougainville's Voyage autour de Monde. The French circumnavigator had clearly underscored the right of Spain to the Falkland Islands,... Writing under the observant eyes of the Spanish officials certainly made Bougainille more self-conscious. ... His 'Voyage autour de Monde' consequently not only sidestepped potential political landmines, such as contesting claims to the Falkland Islands, but, more importantly, Bougainville went to great pains to include former Spanish voyages that prefaced his own circumnavigation. ... When the official voyage account reached Spain in the summer of 1771, Grimaldi communicated to Ambassador Fuentes that the Spanish monarch approved "of your zeal to ensure that Bougainville did not hurt our interests with the publication of his voyage."..." [2513]

2507 A balance in the numbers of troops, and ships, that each country maintained was necessary to prevent an arms race. Britain, Spain and France would all agree to limit their armed forces. This was to the advantage of both Spain and France, whose numbers had long been below those of Britain.

2508 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1244 citing *Simancas, Estado Leg. 6.978 f° 75 24 avril.* A selective memory, it seems.

2509 *PRO SP 78/282/68*

2510 Spain had been concerned that Bougainville's book would reveal too much to the British. However, from the outset, Bougainville had agreed to subject his writings to the scrutiny of Ambassador Fuentes. The result was as much a work of propaganda, as it was a work of history.

2511 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1771-world-map-by-louis-antonine-bougainville.jpg

2512 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1245. Bougainville had most certainly not discovered the archipelago. See 1592

2513 Buschman 2014 pp.97-98

"A comparison between the description of the islands as it appears in the "General Observations..." and the way in which these are described in the first edition of the Bougainville travel story, reveals a series of differences between the manuscript signed after his return and the printed text. In this regard, although it is found that the information on the islands provided in the document signed by Bougainville in 1767 are those used by the navigator to write the fourth chapter of his book, (there are) alterations or omissions of some sections of the manuscript. It is likely that the obliterations were due to decisions of editorial criteria, on the one hand, but also to the desire to maintain a certain reserve with respect to the political content of the manuscript. Indeed, beyond both texts exalting the benefits of the islands, an attentive reading of the source makes evident the omissions of the form. Thus, for example, chapter IV of the Journey around the world (1771) makes no reference to the economic benefit that could be derived from the fur trade (ie from hunting of sea lions and lions that inhabit the islands) or the strategic position of the islands against a possible southern continent." [2514]

May 18th, in Buenos Aires, in receipt of the Royal Order of February 7th, Governor Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo, orders the stores seized in 1770 to be returned to Soledad; or replaced. [2515]

On receiving his notification of the Royal Order, Governor Ruiz Puente orders Francisco de Orduña to making good the old British establishment[2516] and prepare a plan of Jason's Town, for future reference.

May 31st, from Puerto Soledad, reports of an outbreak of scurvy, reach Montevideo.[2517]

June 6th, Madrid sets outs instructions for Governor Vertiz to maintain a garrison at Puerto Soledad.

Britain's Admiralty advertises for tenders for the supply of 300 tons of goods, destined for the Falklands. [2518]

In Paris, Emmanuel-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis-Richelieu, duc d'Aiguillon, is appointed Foreign Minister by Louis XV.

July 12th, in England, Lieut. James Cook, commanding *Endeavour,* arrives back after nearly three years circumnavigating the globe; having claimed New Zealand and the east coast of Australia for Britain.

July 24th, from Buenos Aires, Governor Vertiz writes to inform Madrid that he is sending 200 head of cattle to the Soledad garrison, to rebuild the herd. [2519]

July 27th, at Puerto Soledad, Governor Ruiz Puente pens a letter to Minister Arriaga in Madrid.

> *"It is impossible that the immense accumulation of labors and miseries which I have suffered in five years as governor of these sterile islands can have been hidden from your eyes… I humbly request you to pass on my previous entreaty that I might be relieved from this intolerable post."* [2520]

Unaware of the cattle being readied in Buenos Aires, Ruiz Puente also asks for more fresh beef, and flour.[2521]

August 29th, from Montevideo, *Concepcion* leaves with ammunition, supplies and replacement livestock. 160 cattle are packed into the hold.

2514 Martinez 2017
2515 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias en Serville referentes a la Historia de la Republica Argentina 1514 – 1810* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.2 p.155. Date of the orders' arrival is not noted.
2516 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.148
2517 *Ibid*. p.156
2518 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1255
2519 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.114
2520 *Ruiz Puente a Arriaga Julio 27, 1771* in *AGN V 125-5-2*
2521 Berhardson 1989.

"... the overcrowding of the 160 cattle in La Concepcion de Therri ordered by the governor, even knowing that many would not survive, had not been entirely due to the reasons (of supply), but rather to the fact that in Malvinas had been triggered a scurvy outbreak, stimulated — at least in part — by a poor diet, a circumstance that forced (the Governor) to make that decision. ... on that occasion, in the face of the shortage added to the lack of vitamin C, scurvy spread affecting about sixty people, .., with the consequent discontent." [2522]

September 13th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *Jason*, *Hound* and *Florida* come to anchor. [2523]

> *"... after one of the best passages almost ever known. The ship's company I came with, have been remarkably healthy."* [2524]

"On September 13, Captain John Stott, commanding the Juno, his second John Burr, with the Hound and the Florida transport, appeared in Port Egmont. It was the authority to which England delegated power to take over the old base again." [2525]

September 14th, Capt. Stott, seeing a troop of Spanish regulars formed up before Fort George, under Spanish colours, sends an envoy to make enquiries. [2526]

> "*... I sent a lieutenant to know if any officer was there on behalf of his Catholic Majesty, empowered to make restitution of possession to me, agreeably to the orders of his Court for that purpose, duplicates of which I had to deliver him: I was answered, that the commanding officer, Don Francisco de Orduna, a lieutenant of the royal artillery of Spain, was furnished with full powers, and ready to effect the restitution. He soon after came on board the Juno to me, when I delivered him his Catholic Majesty's orders. We then examined into the situation of the settlement and stores, adjusted the form of the restitution and reception of the possession – instruments for which were settled, executed, and reciprocally delivered…"* [2527]

"... they see on the hill the flagpole on which float the Spanish colors, and, in (the) harbour, a brigantine. Commodore Stott sends an officer to the ground to find out if there is anyone there who is responsible for restitution. This officer was received by artillery lieutenant Francisco de Orduña, accompanied by Navy Lieutenant Antonio Muñoz, brigantine commander. All three go aboard the Juno. Commodore Stott presents to Francisco de Orduña a copy of the King of Spain's orders for restitution, and the Spanish officer hands the Commodore a "political" letter from Governor Felipe Ruiz-Puente empowering him to hand over the Port (of) Egmont. In addition, he promises to bring promptly the artillery and the effects that have been removed. Francisco de Orduña asks the Commodore if he wants to reply to this letter and offers to send the brigantine to Puerto-Soledad, if he has any objection or request to make. The commodore is satisfied and prays to thank D. Ruiz-Puente; ... Finally, he fixes the date of the ***ceremony*** *(for) two days later..."* [2528]

2522 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 pp.111-112 & 114. Only 25 survived the voyage, another 15 succumbed within a few days of their arrival at Soledad. *Office of Miguel Bernaran to Arriaga, Malvinas, September 15, 1771* in *AGI-ABA, 553a*

2523 When John Stott arrived, the Spanish flag was flying on the top of the hill above Jasons Town; but there was no mention of the Iron Cross ordered erected by Madariaga in 1770 as a sign of Spanish sovereignty. That would seem to have been removed before the English ship anchored in the harbour

2524 Letter in the *Kentish Gazette* December 24, 1771

2525 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.148

2526 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1771-saunders-island-march-28-es-41091-agi27mp-buenos-aires-94bis.jpg

2527 *Capt. Stott to the Admiralty, Juno, Plymouth, 9 December, 1771* in Fitzroy 1839

2528 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1264 citing *PRO Add. 32.603 p.20* & *AHI Indif. Gen. 413 Rapport de Francisco de Ordũna a Ruiz Puente, 4 nov, 1771.* My emphasis.

September 16th, at Fort George, Spain's Lt. Don Francisco de Orduña makes formal restitution to Britain's Capt. John Stott. [2529]

> *"On Monday, the 16th of September, I landed, followed by a party of marines, and was received by the Spanish officer, who formally restored me the possession; on which I caused his Majesty's colours to be hoisted and the marines to fire three volleys, and the Juno five guns, and was congratulated, as were the officers with me, by the Spanish officer, with great cordiality on the occasion. …*
>
> *I have only to add, that this transaction was effected with the greatest appearance of good faith, without the least claim or reserve being made by the Spanish officer in behalf of his Court."* [2530]

"… there were no more than ſeventeen men on the iſland, including the officer; … The ſtores were very conſiderable, and muſt have coſt government many thouſand pounds, there being, agreeable to the inventory carried by Capt. Stott, many hundred bolts of new cannon, and ſeveral ſuits of ſails, with cordage, anchors, cables, and likewiſe maſts, …" [2531]

"(de Orduña*) is ordered to deliver and the agreement is delivered, and not a word, absolutely none, that says that the King of Spain recognized the sovereignty of S.M.B. on the Falkland Islands."* [2532]

"And from then on, this bizarre condominium, which lasted nearly three years, was established, and according to which the first ones (Spain) remained tacitly the masters of the archipelago, on the sole condition of allowing the latter (England) the quiet possession of their resort at Saunders Island. Which, let us insist, is by no means Great-Malouine or West-Falkland, as, from ignorance or lightness, the Spaniards and their successors have allowed it to be said." [2533]

"The terms of the declaration to which Spain was forced to agree in 1771 ostensibly left the question of the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands in the same position in which that matter had existed before M. Bucareli's expedition, but in the nature of things the ceremonial restoration of the British colony to Port Egmont strengthened the de facto position of the British in the Islands." [2534]

"… on September 16, 1771 the restitution ceremony took place, in accordance with the obligation contracted by the Spanish ambassador on behalf of the Catholic King. The British (were) present again in the American waters of the southern Atlantic, (and) the defense of the Strait was a worry again …" [2535]

2529 Madrid had hoped to avoid a formal ceremony of restitution as it could be interpreted as a recognition of British sovereignty. It is therefore surprising that there was one. It is also worthy of note that at this ceremony, the Spanish flag was lowered and the Union Flag set in its place. Very similar to the ceremony in 1767 when the Spanish took over from the French. There was no reservation made by the Spanish officer, and so Stott was not obliged to present a demand for the Spanish to leave the archipelago.

2530 *Capt. Stott to the Admiralty, Juno, Plymouth, 9 December, 1771.* Spain's negotiators in London had worked very hard to avoid there being a ceremony; it being considered that such could constitute a recognition of British rights over West Falkland (Gran Malouina).

2531 Anonymous report in *The Scots Magazine* December 1771 vol. xxxiii p.667

2532 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones … en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278. Nor any reservation on the part of Spain.

2533 Groussac 1910 p.125. Condominium? Groussac, an Argentine revisionist historian, also attempted to limit the area that had been returned to the British in 1771. He redefined the harrbour of Port Egmont as merely Saunders Island, rather than Saunders Island being merely one side of the harbour of Port Egmont, in the Great Malouine. *cf.* 1765 & 1770

2534 Brown 1922

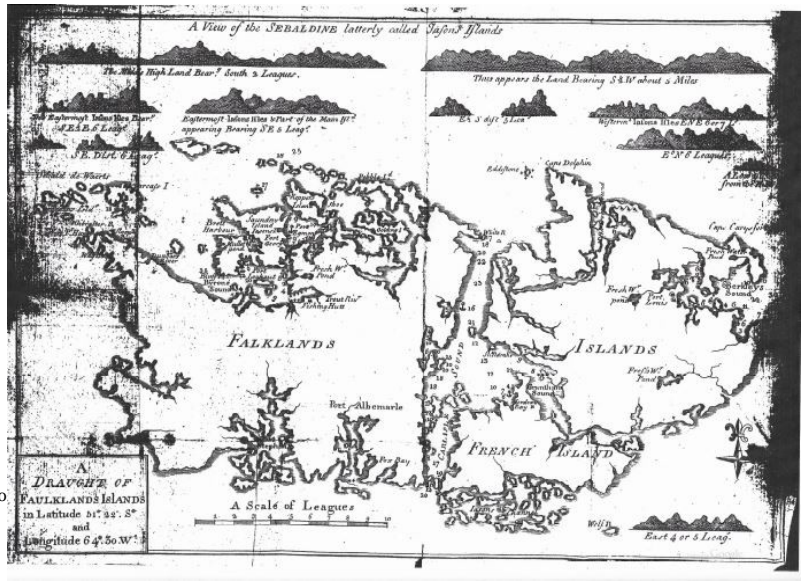
2535 Munilla 1948 p.146 citing *Lt. Xavier Antonio Muñoz a Ruiz Puente Noviembre 4, 1771. A. G. I., Indif. Gen. 413, 53.*

"On the 16th, Orduña, after complying with the legal formulae, handed over the base to Stott, to whom he told him that the artillery and other equipment belonging to Puerto Egmont were being loaded in Puerto Soledad and would not be gone long. The British chief did not allow Orduña to wait for the arrival of the armoury, which is why the Spanish commissioner left on the 17th in the direction of Puerto Soledad, where he arrived on the 21st." [2536]

"The contents of those agreements are quite legally binding. Spain did return Port Egmont to Britain, but it was not returning British sovereignty with it, supposing Port Egmont was ever under British sovereignty. The port was to be a British base in Spanish territory. The British declaration did not dispute the Spanish reservation of sovereignty and it must be interpreted as recognition of Spanish sovereignty over the islands."[2537]

"Spain may or may not have had verbal promises, but Britain had Port Egmont again. If Britain had tacitly acknowledged Spain's right to the Falklands in 1749, Spain had tacitly acknowledged Britain's right in 1771. The status quo anti had not been restored. Britain's claim had been strengthened by the implications of a treaty." [2538]

"Stott signed for what was returned on 16 September 1771: "A Blockhouse of wood 32 feet high, 20½ feet diameter on the outside at its lower part and 26 in the upper part, with four ports for cannon; A fireplace of wood with its Iron; A Copper Chimney; A Coper (sic) Furnace with covers; Three Small Storehouses, of Stone Walls and Covered with Rushes; Twenty Small Gardens encircled with turf; 400 feet of Elm Board of an inch thick; Tow Elm Pumps for a frigate of 14 or 16 guns; 80 panes of Glass; a Lock for a cabin Door". That was all."[2539]



A map of the Falklands Islands (right) is published in the *Modern Gazetteer or Compendious Geographical Dictionary.* [2540]

September 17th, the Spanish sail away from Port Egmont.

> *"The next day Don Francisco, with all the troops and subjects of the King of Spain, departed in a schooner which they had with them."* [2541]

2536 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.148

2537 *Title to the Falklands-Malvinas Under International Law* Jeffrey D. Myhre in *Millenium Journal of International Studies* vol.12 No.1 1983 p.32 quoted in *Key to an Enigma: British Sources Disprove British Claims to the Falkland/Malvinas Islands* Angel M. Oliveri Lopez 1995 p.14. Myhre clearly had not read the reservation correctly as Spain had only reserved the '*question*' of sovereignty, and not sovereignty itself. The notion of a British base in Spanish territory is faintly ridiculous. Spain would never have accepted such an idea. The Spanish took down their marks and signs of sovereignty, and left. *cf.* January, 1771.

2538 Gustafson 1988 p.17. Britain had not acknowledged Spanish sovereignty in 1749, tacitly or otherwise.

2539 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.296

2540 A copy of the Carrington-Bowles map of January, 1770? Or the Lodge chart of October, 1770?

2541 *Capt. Stott to the Admiralty, Juno, Plymouth, 9 December, 1771*

September 30th, in the Falkland Islands, in compliance with his orders, Stott sails from the harbour of Port Egmont in *Juno*.

Capt. Burr remains as Military Administrator with 50 seamen and 20 marines.

> *"I take the opportunity of ſending this by his Majeſty's ſhip Juno, to acquaint you of my ſafe arrival here the 13th inſtant. On our arrival here, we found the Spaniards in poſſeſsion of the place, and their colours flying; ſince which it has been delivered up to our Commodore in form, agreeable to the convention, except the cannon (there were but four) and ſtores, all which they have taken away, and ſent to Buenos Ayres. The climate ſeems very healthy and agreeable. Here is a great plenty of wild-fowl, as alſo vegetables, and very good. I am told there is good fiſh in the feaſon, and great abundance."* [2542]

October 6th, from Puerto Soledad, the brig *Hoop* sails to Fort George, with munitions belonging to the British garrison. [2543]

"The receipt issued by Burr is dated October 31, and in it Bernazani is mentioned "commissioned for this purpose by Don Phelipe Ruiz Puente, Governor of Puerto Soledad later he is reappointed in terms: Commissar General of His Catholic Majesty in Puerto Soledad" ... Such expressions, ..., signify an express recognition of Spanish sovereignty." [2544]

October 15th, in Cádiz, members of two Acadian families from Bougainville's settlement at Fort St. Louis finally return to Europe from Montevideo. Only three of the original French settlers remain at Puerto Soledad. [2545]

October 20th, at Puerto Soledad, convicts stage an uprising, over their isolation and harsh conditions. [2546]

"... there was also an attempted mutiny under the leadership of infantry lieutenant Nicolás de Arteta who, together with five other soldiers and nine prisoners, was returned to Montevideo for trial. ... Ruiz offers no explanation for the uprising, but Levaggi implies that the mutineers may have been traitors planning escape to Port Egmont, which Spain had recently restored to Britain." [2547]

October 27th, at Fort George, the final items removed by Spain in June, 1770, are returned. [2548]

"Don Xavier Antonio Munoz, a Lieutenant in the Spanish service, with Don Francisco de Orduna, and a commissary general, who was commissioned by Don Philip Ruez Perta (sic), governor of Solidad, to settle the re-delivery of the artillery and stores taken from thence by the Spaniards; ... they were much surprised to find Capt. Stott, who had assured Don Francisco he should stay there upwards of two months, was sailed; and insisted, that though Capt. Stott might think the transactions of Don Francisco and himself would be sufficient satisfaction to the British court, yet they would by no means think the affair honourably settled; as the English captain had broken his word, in not waiting for the re-delivery of the stores; and that his behaviour bore the appearance of something designing... the Spaniards landed them, and put them into the charge of Capt. Burr, and then sailed for Port Solidad (sic) again, but with a very slight opinion of English faith." [2549]

2542 Letter dated September 27, 1771 published in *The Scots Magazine* December 1771 vol.33 p.667
2543 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.149
2544 *Ibid.* p.149 fn.2. Spanish sovereignty at Soledad, perhaps.
2545 Anne Mézin 2014 p. 336
2546 Aguado 2012
2547 Bernhardson 1989 p.126. Also *Ruiz Puente a Vértiz Deciembre 28, 1771* in *AGN IX, 16-9-3*
2548 *ADM 1/1496.* Four cannon, and perishable stores. Some accounts give the date as October 21, 1771. Others (Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.426 fn.11) as October 31, 1771.
2549 *Kentish Gazette* Saturday March 7, 1772 p.4. Stott's orders had been quite explicit in that he should return as quickly as he could. The Spaniards suspected some alternative, devious, motive for Stott's speedy departure.

"The receipt issued in Port Egmont on October 31 (sic), 1771 and signed by Don Juan Burr, lieutenant of the navy of S. M. B. and commander of the war frigate Hound, reads verbatim: "returned to the place [refers to Port Egmont] by Don Michael Bermazany, commissioned for this purpose by Don Felipe Ruiz Puente, Governor of Puerto Soledad". This is not the only time he recognized Spanish sovereignty,.." [2550]

From London, on the same day, Lord Rochford writes to Ambassador Harcourt in Paris.

> *"... I come now to the confidential language the Duke (d'Aiguillon) held to you on the Spanish **insinuations**, and you judge very rightly in supposing such conversations cannot be meant for your private amusement, and have therefore acted very properly in giving immediate information of them. The King has certainly no views of making any other acquisitions, has given on every occasion the strongest proofs of it, but will not be interrupted in the quiet possession of those he has got...*
>
> *The King, as I have before said, is firmly resolved, and it is the unanimous opinion of his servants whom he chiefly consults, not to give the smallest reason of just complaint to the Court of Spain, and very lately has ordered his commanders of his ships of war to conform strictly to treaties subsisting between the two Crowns. The Court of Spain have even expressed their satisfaction at it. It gives therefore the more concern to see that they hold a double language, but even that it will only serve to put us more upon our guard not induce us to take any step that can give justifiable offence.*
>
> *I hope therefore when you convey these sentiments to the French minister, you will take care to represent to him how much the publick tranquillity will depend on his not listening to any ill-founded **insinuations**, and on his discouraging the Court of Spain from taking steps which it is presumed she will never venture to do unless the Court of France resolves to support her..."* [2551]

November 4th, from Puerto Soledad, Don Xavier Antonio Muñoz informs the Viceroy in Lima that the British at Egmont harbour; "*... are daily rendering their occupancy more effectual, and more secure."* [2552]

"Once the base was returned to the British and the commissioners sent back to fulfil that objective, the Colony resumed its previous rhythm of life. The annoyance caused by the presence of the British subjects kept the King's representatives more active and vigilant, trying by all means to obtain information about the intentions of those in Port Egmont." [2553]

November 10th, from Paris, in a letter to Rochford, Britain's Secretary to the Legation in Paris, Colonel Blaquiere, notes a meeting with French Foreign Minister, the Duke d'Aguillon.

> *"In regard to the sudden alteration of their (Spain's) conduct, he said, he could no more account for their proceedings than me – but that it was evident they appeared to be satisfied, at least for the present, tho he was sure that they would never forgive the humiliating circumstances of Falkland isle, ..."* [2554]

2550 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.426 fn.11. Any recognition only appears to be of a Spanish Governor at the Port of Soledad. Bermazany would seem to have been the Commissary General, at the Spanish garrison.

2551 *Rochford to Harcourt October 27, 1771* in Chance & Legg 1922 p.121. *cf.* December 27, 1771. Insinuations? Not unreasonable to assume that these averred to the rumour of a secret promise, by the British, to evacuate the Falklands. Emmanuel-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis-Richelieu, duc d'Aiguillon had been appointed as French Foreign Minister in June, 1771 and, it appears, he had been making comments about Britain failing to meet its promise. These snide prods from the French would culminate in Rochford becoming very angry in 1775. Annoyed enough to threaten war (below).

2552 *The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez in the ship of the line San Lorenzo, with the frigate Santa Rosalia in company, to Easter Island in 1770-1* B.G. Corney 1908 p.74

2553 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.166-167

2554 *Blaquiere to Rochford November 10, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *221-222.* What alteration was not stated.

November 13th, following a further conversation with d'Aiquillon, Blaquiere sends a cipher to Lord Rochford.

> *"... affairs carried a bad aspect, that after what had passed with Spain he knew not which way to be taken, that while we were in possession of Falklands Islands, there would be no peace to be had, that it was a barren miserable Rock of no use to England but to foment eternal Disquietudes. I told him that I had not been instructed to talk on any part of the business,..."* [2555]

November 14th, from the harbour of Port Egmont, *Florida* sails for Ascension Island.

"The English, in Port Egmont, spent their leisure by cultivating the old gardens and making new ones, for which they had brought all kinds of seeds. They also imported some cattle, but only some sheep, goats and pigs arrived alive." [2556]

November 27th, from Paris, Blaquiere reports an interview with Louis XV.

> *"He said, but not in a threatening or imperious manner, Falklands Isle must be given up, as there would be no Peace upon earth – that he had constantly made this requisition, which none of you had attended to – that he had prevented the Spaniards from going to War, but could not appease them – that they were, still and always, persecuting him with reproaches upon the tameness of his conduct – that it was a miserable, barren, worthless spot, affording nothing but ground to quarrel upon – that you ought, and I think he said, had **promised** to give it up."* [2557]

"This was an absurd invention; for, first, the matter having been altogether a mere point of honour, as to a public reparation, such a secret article would have served no purpose..." [2558]

"The existence of any secret promise was definitively disproved by Jean-Etienne Martin-Allanic. His exhaustive researches in French, Spanish and British archives revealed many contemporary rumours of a secret promise, but no physical evidence of an actual promise as such, whether written or oral, and some of the documents and despatches he quotes or paraphrases strongly imply that there was no such thing. But he supplies abundant evidence for two quite different things: first, the often-repeated "off-the-record" statements by British ministers that Britain attached no importance to the Falkland islands and would abandon them in the end, and secondly the complete lack of trust by the Spaniards in anything the British said. ... Spain would never have believed a secret promise even if there had been one." [2559]

December 6th, from London, Lord Rochford responds to Blaquiere.

> *"... it would be contrary to His Majesty's Honour to comply with his Requisition, and with regard to the Promise alleged, I think it proper to assure you, that neither Myself nor any other of His Majesty's Ministers to my knowledge ever made such, and I may add, that the most sanguine wishes of Spain at that time appeared only to go to a mutual abandoning of Falkland Islands."* [2560]

December 9th, in England, Captain Stott arrives back in Plymouth, after a journey from Port Egmont lasting 70 days, to report the handover to the Admiralty. [2561]

2555 *Blaquiere to Rochford November 13, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *256*
2556 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.149. A sure sign that the British were intending to stay?
2557 *Blaquiere to Rochford November 27, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *261.* My emphasis.
2558 *London Evening Standard* October 25, 1844
2559 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.291
2560 *Rochford to Blaquiere December 6, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *268*
2561 *The Scots Magazine* Dec, 1771. Something of a record for the time.

"Two persons skilled in mining, who sailed with Capt. Stott to Falkland's Island, have brought home samples of very rich lead and copper ore; and it is their opinion, that there is plenty of silver, but at a great depth." [2562]

December 11th, details of the restitution are announced.

"On Monday 16th September Capt. Stott landed, followed by Party of Marines, and was received by the Spanish Officer, who formally restored him Falklands Island, Port Egmont, its Fort and other Dependencies, giving him the same Possession as His Majesty had before the 10th of June 1770." [2563]

December 12th, from Buenos Aires, Governor Vertiz informs Madrid that he has designated two ships – *Nuestra Senora del Carmen* and *Santa Barbara* – for the maintenance of the garrison at Soledad.

December 13th, from London, Rochford informs Colonel Blaquiere in Paris, of events at the Falkland Islands.

"I have the Pleasure to acquaint You that Captain Stott returned to Plymouth the 9th Instant in the Juno Frigate from Falklands Islands with the account that on the 16th September last, the Restitution of Port Egmont and its Dependencies was made to Him, with all proper formalities by Don Francisco de Orduna, the Spanish Officer commissioned for that Purpose, whom he found waiting there; and that everything passed with the greatest Politeness and attention on both sides." [2564]

December 18th, from France, Blaquiere responds to Rochford.

"I have been honored with Your Lordship's letter No.41, and communicated that part of it regarding Falkland Island to the Duke d'Aiguillon, which I read to him in French – He said, all he solicited was a ***mutual abandoning*** *of the island – that for the love of peace, it ought to be done, and that it had been* ***promised****. - I said, I could not think it, Your Lordship disavowed it, and without Your knowledge I thought it could not well have happened."* [2565]

December 19th, in the Port of London; *"... several bales and packages were shipped on board the Mary brig, intended for the new settlement in Falkland's islands. She is the first trader from England to those islands."* [2566]

At Puerto Soledad, some members of the garrison mutiny – unsuccessfully. [2567]

December 27th, from London, Lord Rochford responds to Blaquiere.

"I could not but be much surprized after what has already been said to Him on that subject to find… that the Duke d'Aiguillon has again mentioned to You the ***pretended Promise*** *that we would abandon Falklands Islands. - In order to put an end to any such suggestion being reiterated to You, I must desire You to declare to that Minister in my name, in the strongest and most positive terms, that* ***I do not know of any such Promise*** *having been made directly or indirectly by any of His Majesty's Ministers; That for my own part I should have considered it as dishonourable, and am persuaded it must have appeared in the same light to my Colleagues; that therefore any future mention of it must be felt by us as injurious, and intended only to show an Indisposition towards Us, and not with any Expectation that it can be acknowledged or admitted on our Part."* [2568]

2562 *Ibid.*
2563 *The London Gazette, No. 11204.* No definition of '*dependencies*' was provided.
2564 *Rochford to Blaquiere December 13, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *275*
2565 *Blaquiere to Rochford December 18, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *283.* My emphasis
2566 *The Scots Magazine* December 1771
2567 *Ruiz Puente a Juan Jose de Vertiz December 28, 1771*. Also Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.296-297
2568 *Rochford to Blaquiere December 27, 1771* in *SP 78/283* at *301.* My emphasis.

1772 – January 2nd, from Madrid, Lord Grantham[2569], finally arrived as Ambassador, writes to Rochford.

> *"I have received the honour of your Lordship's despatch, containing the agreeable intelligence of the restitution of Port Egmont and its dependencies, with the due formalities. On receiving this notice I waited on the Marquis de Grimaldi, ... M. de Grimaldi seemed aware of the intention of my visit, and was almost beforehand with me in communicating notice of this event's being known in England. He seemed well pleased at the conclusion of this affair, but entered no further into conversation..."*

In London, Thomas Kitchin engraves a new chart of the South Cone of America; including the Falkland Islands (detail right).

January 21st, at Westminster, George III speaks at the opening of the 5th Session of the 13th Parliament.

> *"The performance of the engagement of the King of Spain, in the restitution of Port Egmont **and Falkland's Island**, and the repeated assurances that I have received of the pacific disposition of that court, as well as of other powers, promises to my subjects the continuance of peace..."* [2570]

February 15th, at Spithead in England, the store-ship *Florida*, anchors.

> *"... a Letter has been received from Capt. Burr, of his majesty's Sloop the Hound, dated at Port Egmont, in Falkland's Island, the 10th of November last, giving an Account, that in the preceding Month, two Spanish Vessels had arrived there, with such Artillery, Stores &c., as could not be restored to Capt. Stott at the Surrender of the Islands; and that a Spanish Commissary appointed for the Purpose, had delivered them to Capt. Burr, with the greatest Punctuality and Exactness."* [2571]

February 24th, in London, the Admiralty inform Rochford that it has estimated the costs of maintaining Fort George at £3,552 per annum. The assessment is accompanied by a request for information as to the arrangements they should make regarding future garrisoning.

February 25th, Rochford poses the question asked by the Admiralty, to the Cabinet of Ministers.

> *"Having laid before the King their letter of yesterday with the estimate of the annual expenses of maintaining such a force at Falkland's Island as remains there at present, asks them for any plan they may have to suggest by which the possession of the Island and the port and fort of Port Egmont may be constantly and effectually kept up at a less expense to Government."* [2572]

"*Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the Admiralty, notes that the presence of British forces at Port Egmont can serve (only) two purposes: (to) defend it, or merely maintain the right of possession. In the first case, the fifty men who are there are insufficient. During a rupture with a foreign power, they could not prevent (its) conquest. In the second case, the number of men matters little. The King and his Council agreed...*" [2573]

2569 Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham
2570 My emphasis.
2571 *Derby Mercury* February 21, 1772
2572 *Rochford to Admiralty February 25, 1772* in *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the reign of George III* 1881 p.437
2573 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1417

February 26th, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are quick to reply to Rochford's question.

> *"We are at a loss to suggest any plan by which the possession of the port and fort of Port Egmont and the islands of Falkland may be constantly and effectually kept up even at any expense; but we are of opinion that a smaller number of men than those now employed will equally maintain a mark of possession..."* [2574]

"The Admiralty responds immediately by proposing the maintenance of a small sloop, with a crew of 20 men and a detachment of 25 marines on shore. The supply of this garrison and its mail will be provided by a corvette." [2575]

February 28th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Endeavour* anchors. [2576]

March 6th, in London, with the future establishment at Fort George agreed in Cabinet, and approved by the George III, Rochford writes to inform Ambassador Grantham in Madrid.

> *"It may be of use to inform your Excellency, that his Majesty has determined to reduce the force employed at Falkland's Island to a small sloop with about fifty men, and twenty-five marines on shore, ..."* [2577]

> *"... respond(ing) to the need to maintain possession of it and, at the same time, giving confidence to the Spanish Court that we have no intention of maintaining an establishment that may cause it any concern."* [2578]

March 20th, the Viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, writes to Madrid regarding the British in the Pacific.

> *"... as to the matter of an English settlement in these Seas or their vicinity; of which I... never have doubted since I communicated my opinion to that effect some years ago. This, indeed, has received increasing corroboration day by day from my own observation and from intelligence received. The only thing that would have caused me to waver in this opinion would have been the honest and sincere abandonment by England of the Malvinas (sic) islands, because I have never been able to understand nor never will believe that these can offer a suitable field for any regular plantation, or considerable fortification, unless for the sole purpose of using the advantage of their situation as a port of call for vessels to refresh at, when bound to and from the South Sea,..*
>
> *The tenacity with which the English persist in retaining their foothold in the Malvinas (sic) has served to augment the force of these considerations..."* [2579]

April 9th, in London, Ambassador Masserano submits a complaint about British expeditions to the Pacific.

> *"... Prince Masserano, ambassador from the King of Spain, has most strongly remonstrated against any British ships of war entering the South seas, on the score of making discoveries in that part of the globe; and has even gone so far as to declare, that after so just and amicable a remonstrance, the King of Spain will be under the absolute necessity of vindicating his own sovereign right to those seas,*

2574 Quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p1417
2575 *Ibid.*
2576 *Endeavour,* Capt. Cook's old ship, spent three years running supplies to Fort George between 1771 and 1774.
2577 Rochford quoted in *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the reign of George III* J. Reddington (ed) 1881 p.438
2578 Rochford quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1417
2579 Corney 1908 p.74. Spain was aware of British interest in Tahiti which Capt. Cook had visited in 1769 for an extended period of three months. As for the Falklands/Malouines, the name 'Malvinas' was not in use at this time.

and consequently will give orders to seize all ships of war that shall be found making discoveries in or through the South seas, without a specific licence from the crown of Spain." [2580]

May 4th, from West Falkland, *Endeavour* sails for England.

In London, cartographer Robert Sayer publishes – *A map of the whole continent of America divided into North and South and West Indies... Compiled from Mr. D'Anvilles maps of that continent* (detail right).

May 14th, in Madrid, Minister Arriaga notes the loss of 150 head of cattle during the voyage of *Concepcion del Terri* in 1771, due to overcrowding. The minister advises that supplies to Puerto Soledad should be sent more often in the future. [2581]

May 31st, from Peru, Viceroy Amat writes again to Arriaga about British interests in the Pacific.

"... if, as I have... before mentioned, England should accomplish this project, that nation would infallibly make herself mistress of the whole body of islands in the South Sea, and of the only port of call at present known for entering or leaving it by in the Falklands or Maluinas; where apart from questions of illicit commerce, they would furthermore close the Port to other vessels, and access would remain wholly at the mercy of that nation's will." [2582]

July 13th, from Plymouth Sound, in England, Capt. James Cooks sails on the second of his voyages of discovery to the South Atlantic in *Resolution*. The companion ship is *Adventure*, commanded by Tobias Furneaux.

In early **August**, *Endeavour* arrives back in England.

"Also arrived at Spithead, his majesty's bark, Endeavour, Lieut. James Gordon, commander, from the Falkland Islands. She left England Dec. 5, 1771. Thus she was not quite eight months going and coming, which is the quickest passage ever known." [2583]

"The old ship of Cook, the Endeavor (sic), of 368 tons, had been designated to regularly supply Port Egmont. He returned from a first trip in early August. Officers and crew say the Falkland Islands are "a country where you can not live". They met two Spanish ships en route to the Soledad." [2584]

August 7th, in London, after speaking to Rochford about the Fort George garrison, Ambassador Masserano writes to Minister Grimaldi.

2580 *Scots Magazine* April 1772
2581 *Oficio del secretario de Indias Julián de Arriaga a Vértiz, El Pardo, 14 mayo 1772, AGI ABA 553a* cited in Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 pp.111-112
2582 Quoted in Corney 1908. The *project* being the British intention of seeking out new lands in the Pacific Ocean.
2583 *London Magazine* August 1772
2584 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1417

"Without giving me a positive promise, [they] have shown me that they wish to abandon this establishment, if not this year, at least next." [2585]

September 4th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Juno* anchors. Remaining until the 29th.

November 11th, in London, Rochford writes to the Admiralty.

"His Majesty approves of the manner in which they propose to carry into execution the plan suggested by them in their letter of 26 Feb. last, for maintaining possession of Port Egmont and the Island of Falkland..." [2586]

December 2nd, in Madrid, *teniente de navio* Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos is instructed to take over as Governor at Soledad from Philipe Ruíz Puente. [2587]

December 4th, from England, *Endeavour* sails for the Falkland Islands with the prefabricated sections of a shallop, *Penguin*. On board are Lieut. Samuel Clayton, a masters mate, 2 midshipmen, 2 surgeon's mates, 18 seamen, and 23 marines with a lieutenant. To relieve the garrison at Fort George. [2588]

"In December 1772 the Endeavour set off with the relief garrison, which proved to be the last British force sent to Port Egmont. It was under the command of a naval lieutenant, Samuel Wittewrong Clayton, and consisted of a master's mate, two surgeon's mates, two midshipmen, and 18 seamen, plus 23 marines under the command of a lieutenant. ... As well as large quantities of stores, provisions and "necessaries", the Endeavour carried in her hold a "shallop", a prefabricated ship made at Woolwich, and "knocked down" [dismantled] for transport.... Named the Penguin, shw was of 36 tons and mounted 10 swivel guns..." [2589]

1773 – January 23rd, at Puerto Soledad, Domingo Chauri is appointed *gobernador interino*.

"The first ship of the year to arrive at Puerto Soledad was the brig Santo Cristo del Buen Fin y Santa Lucia... which brought orders that (Ruiz Puente) was to hand over the governorship. For the moment, no successor was appointed, so he handed the post to an army officer (the only one ever to hold it) who was already present in the islands: Captain of Infantry Domingo Chauri..." [2590]

February 4th, from Madrid, a Royal Order congratulates those officers who had taken part in the 1770 expedition to evict the British from the Falkland Islands. [2591]

February 28th, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Endeavour* comes to anchor.

"... to the great joy of the crew of the sloop Hound, who had given up hope of being relieved that year." [2592]

February 29th, at Fort George, John Burr formally hands over to Lieut. Clayton. *Endeavour*'s shipwrights begin the task of assembling the shallop, *Penguin*.

2585 Masserano quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1417 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., 498 f° 351 Masseran a Grimaldi 7 aout 1772*
2586 *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the reign of George III* 1881 p.573
2587 Aguado 2012
2588 *An Account of the last Expedition to Port Egmont in Falkland's Islands, in the Year 1772. Together with the Transactions of the Company of the Penguin Shallop during their Stay there.* Bernard Penrose 1775. Clayton's name is also variously styled Samuel Wittewrong Clayton or Samuel William Clayton. He used William Clayton when giving a description of the Islands to the Royal Society in 1776. For Penrose's account see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/penrose.pdf
2589 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.298
2590 *Ibid*.vol.1 p.297
2591 *Catálogo de la colección Mata Linares* R. Contreras 1970 vol.3 p.394.
2592 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.299

"The shipwrights, four of whom we had brought with us from England in order to put our vessel together, this day laid her keel; and the Captain of the Hound, after reading Mr. Clayton's commission, hoisted her pendant on a staff affixed to one of her timbers." [2593]

March 16th, from Montevideo, Juan de la Piedra, reporting on Puerto Soledad, notes a failure to grow crops; *"... because although everything is born ... the lack of heat prevents progress..."* [2594]

March 23rd, from Puerto Soledad, Felipe Ruiz Puente sails for Montevideo; *"... he had personally been so unhappy, but he had done his duty with resigned devotion and had briefly been at the center of world attention."* [2595]

April 9th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *Penguin* is launched.

"The Penguin Shallop was.. sent out in Frame in the same Ship Endeavour, and carpenters went to set her up, which they did at Port Egmont. She is thirty-five Tons Burden, and eight Swivel Guns." [2596]

April 17th, from the Falklands, *Hound* and *Endeavour* sail for England.

"... in a little time after we were left to ourselves we had repaired our rude dwellings to a degree that rendered them very commodious. The commander's was lined with red baize, and had for a window and door-light two spare sashes ... The storehouse, in which the common people lodged, was more simple..."[2597]

"Lieutenant William Clayton takes command of Port Egmont and the Penguin boat. His staff consists of five officers or similar;.., 18 petty officers and sailors; garrison, 23 rifle marines, totalling 47 men." [2598]

April 28th, writing from Montevideo, Governor Ruiz Puente complains that the diet of salted meat with no fresh vegetables at Soledad, is continuing to lead to cases of scurvy amongst the garrison there.

May 4th, in Montevideo, Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos arrives. After consulting with ex-Governor Philipe Ruíz Puente he writes to Minister Arriaga suggesting that the garrison at Soledad be reduced to save money. Additionally, he proposes that, no settlement being sustainable, two frigates should be employed with one *'on station'* and the other at Montevideo; that the frigates should be rotated annually; that the garrison should comprise the crew of whichever frigate is at Soledad and that the commander of the vessel should act as *de facto* Governor. [2599]

August 30th, Gil de Taboada y Lemos is informed that his plan has been approved. [2600]

2593 Penrose 1775 p.11. Much of Penrose's account can be found in Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.299-308
2594 *Resumen del costo anual que a lo menos tienen al rey la isla y Puerto de la Soledad de Malvinas* in Aguado 2012
2595 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.297
2596 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774
2597 Penrose 1775 p.41
2598 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1418
2599 *Francisco Gil y Lemos a Julián de Arriaga, Buenos Aires, 4 de mayo de 1773. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553* in Aguado 2012. The new Governor had visited the islands in 1770, as part of Madariaga's fleet. It would appear that he had no great desire to spend very much time there, and was fully aware that his predecessor had hated the place. Took the new Governor 6 months to get from Montevideo to Soledad.
2600 *Julián de Arriaga a Francisco Gil y Lemos, San Ildefonso, 30 de agosto de 1773. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553. cf.* 1776

In London, Dr. John Hawkesworth publishes – *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of His present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* – within which, is a chart of the Falkland Islands (detail below). [2601]

"An editor of literary rather than nautical expertise, Hawkesworth inserted reflective and philosophical passages, switched locations and opinions, and generally made frequent and sometimes substantive changes to the journals. The role of the Admiralty in all this is not at all clear." [2602]

November 10th, from Paris, Horace St. Paul writes to Lord Rochford in London, reporting a conversation with French Foreign Minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon.

> *"… on the subject of Falklands Island, in regard to which he mentioned, that when that affair was settled by the interposition, as he said, of this Court, there was a* ***tacit convention****, that after a certain time we would* ***abandon*** *it and that Spain frequently reminded him of it;… (I) plainly told him that I knew nothing of any such convention…"* [2603]

November 19th, from London, annoyed, Rochford responds immediately to St. Paul.

> *"… you cannot too soon seek an opportunity of repeating to the Duke d'Aiguillon that the Hints Spain presumes to throw out relative to Falklands Island are injurious to The King's Ministers, and more particularly to me.*
>
> *The assertion that there was a Tacit Convention is absolutely false.*
>
> *I frequently dared the Spanish Ambassador, when he was here, to declare if any One had ever given him any such Promise, and, to do him justice, he constantly declared that no such promise had in shape whatever been made to him, but this is not the first time the Duke d'Aiguillon has held this*

2601 Chart facing page 41 (vol.1) of Hawkesworth's 3-volume tome as *"laid down from the journals and drawings of Captain MacBride"* (p.54). See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/00874022-e1548214581411.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/detail-from-macbride-1766-pub-1773.png

2602 *To Make Discoveries of Countries Hitherto Unknown: The Admiralty and Pacific Exploration in the Eighteenth Century* Glyndwr Williams in *Pacific Empires – Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams* Frost & Samson (eds) 1999. Hawkesworth's final work was none too accurate, despite his claims that he had checked everything with the Admiralty. Capt. James Cook was most certainly not impressed with Hawkesworth's version of his voyage.

2603 *St. Paul to Rochford November 16, 1773* in *SP 78/290* at *78.* My emphasis. St. Paul had taken over as Secretary to the British Embassy in Paris from Blaquiere. The rumoured secret promise appears to have been reduced to a tacit (implied without being stated) convention.

language to the King's Ministers at Paris, he held it two years ago to Colonel Blaquiere, and to shew you how invariable my Sentiments are upon that Subject I inclose to you extracts of two of my Dispatches to Colonel Blaquiere upon it, and which you may look upon as an instruction to yourself and a Guide for the Language you are to hold and if the French Minister continues this kind of Discourse I shall Suspect him of Designs I would not willingly impute to him, and be inclined to believe they make Spain the Cat's paw…" [2604]

At Puerto Soledad, a Spanish supply ship, *Nuestra Señora de la Asunción,* anchors.

November 31st, in Paris, St. Paul speaks to Foreign Minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon.

*"I told him from Your Lordship, that no such **promise** had ever existed; that you had defied the Spanish Ambassador if any such had been made; and that he had owned it never had; that therefore such an assertion was highly injurious to Your Lordship, and I added, that it was useless to mention it as it was a point we should never give up.*

He replied with vivacity that Lord Harcourt had owned it, that it was made to M. Francet (sic), and that he would shew me his Dispatch on that Subject, and, he added, that he had not cared to revive it, but had let it drop of itself. I therefore thought it unnecessary to debate it any more, as he did not seem to expect we should pay any attention to it." [2605]

December 16th, in North America, at Griffin's Wharf in Boston Harbour, American colonists dressed as '*Mohawks*,' destroy 90,000 pounds of tea from three ships moored there – *Dartmouth*, *Eleanor* and *Beaver*. These merchant vessels had shipped the produce of whaling to England, before transporting tea to the American colonies. Francis Rotch, the 23 year-old scion of the Rotch family of Nantucket Island, is part owner of the *Dartmouth*. Annoyed, he settles upon whaling as an alternative career path. [2606]

December 22nd, from London, the Admiralty issue orders for the evacuation of the establishment at Fort George. [2607]

1774 – January 5th, at Puerto Soledad, Governor Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos finally arrives after six months in Montevideo. His new adjutant is Artillery Lieutenant Don Melchor Rodríguez. Acting-Governor Domingo Chauri hands over to the new Governor.[2608]

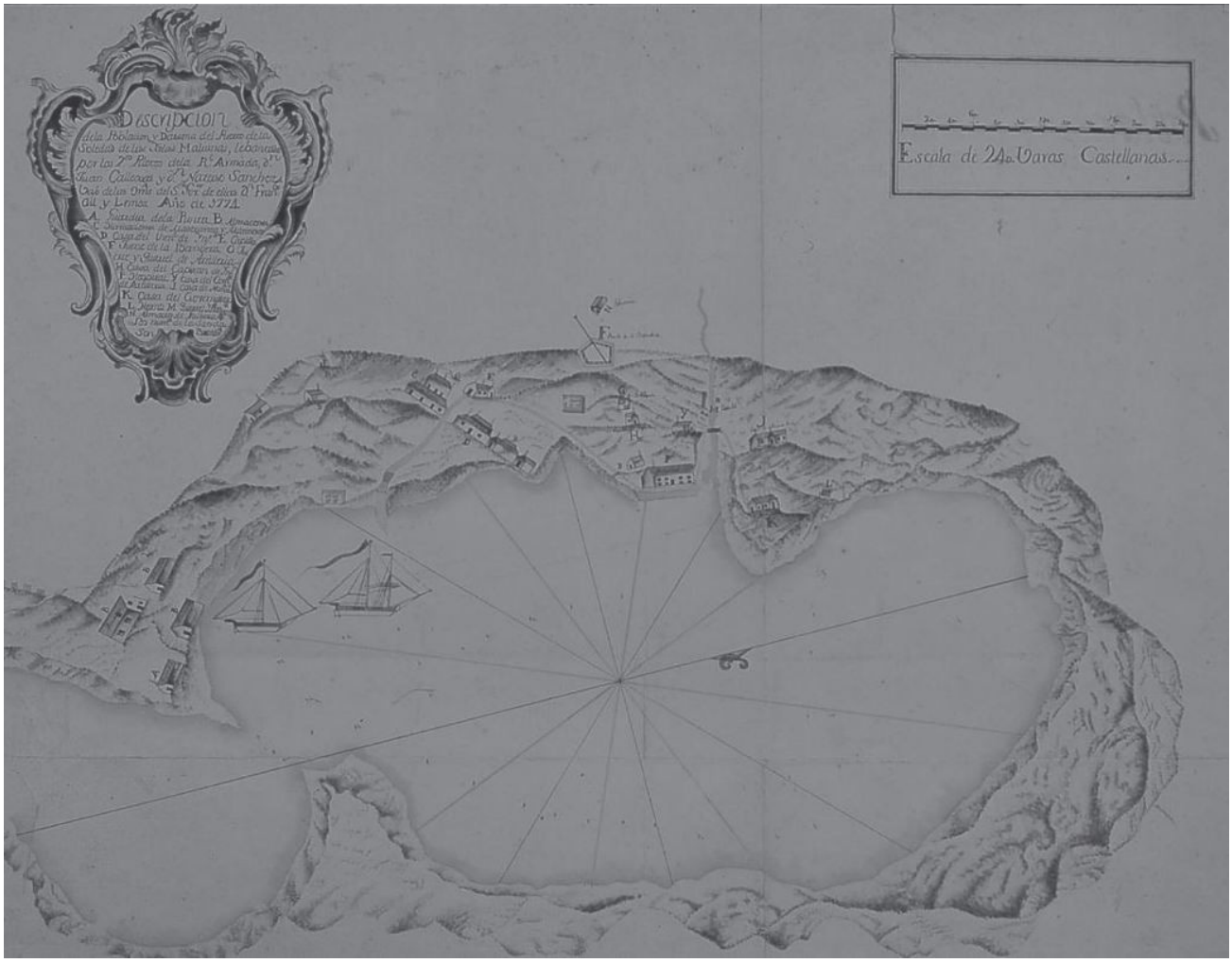
"In particular, he was tasked with finding out as accurately as possible what was related to the British establishment in Port Egmont." [2609]

A prisoner, Mariano Toledo, arrives to work for the garrison. Sentenced to life imprisonment for sodomy. [2610]

"In 1792, four prisoners held for life, all with more than a decade in prison … requested (clemency), alleging ailments typical of age, and hopeful to be reunited with their families. Sanguineto, who was concluding his first government administration, recommended the granting of the benefit,… The beneficiaries by the king's grace would be Felipe Lara, Mariano Toledo, Ventura Ramallo and Manuel Lorenzo" [2611]

2604 *Rochford to St. Paul November 19, 1773* in *SP 78/290* at *86.* Cat's-paw is a person who is used by another to carry out an unpleasant or dangerous task.
2605 *St. Paul to Rochford December 1, 1773* in *SP 78/290* at *121. cf.* October, 1771, & May, 1775
2606 See 1775
2607 *ADM 1/1610.* See January 30, 1774.
2608 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.167 citing *Captain Infanteria Interim Governor Domingo Chauri to the Governor of Buenos Aires, D. Juan J. de Vértiz*, Malvinas, April 3, 1774
2609 *Ibid.*
2610 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144
2611 *Ibid* p.155

Gil de Taboada y Lemos orders a plan of the Puerto Soledad garrison to be drawn up (below).



Description of the population and harbor of the port of La Soledad de las Islas Maluinas, drawn by the two pilots of the Royal Navy, Don Juan Callexas and Don Narciso Sanchez. ... the Lord Governor of them Don Francisco Gil y Lemos, Year of 1774

January 21st, in London, Lord North announces to Parliament a reduction in the naval establishment of 3,000.

> *"... that at the conclusion of the last war 16,000 seamen were thought necessary to be the peace establishment; that the alarm in 1771 had occasioned us to add 4,000 more... that the year before last we were obliged to send two sloops to Falkland's island, but that he had endeavoured to lessen the expence by recalling one;.."* [2612]

"By 1774 it seemed to most country gentlemen that Lord North had achieved what no one else had been able to do since 1763: he had ended the period of war-finance and was well on the way to paying off the burdens left by the last War of Empire." [2613]

2612 *Debate in the Commons on the Navy Estimates January 21, 1774* in *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* William Cobbett 1806. No specific mention of the withdrawal of the remaining garrison from the Falklands in this record. Nor in *The Debates & Proceedings of the British House of Commons From January 1774 to the Dissolution of Parliament, on the 1st of October, 1774* J. Almon (pub.) 1766

2613 *The Reign of George III, 1760 -1815* J.S. Watson 1963.

"The prime minister wanted to save money and yet maintain the state of the navy, which might be required to intervene in the difficulties with the Boston rebellion. ... He intended to reduce the maritime forces of the East Indies, and to suppress the expense of the presence and maintenance of a garrison on Falkland Island. This evacuation did not imply a renunciation of the right on this island. It would be enough to leave marks of possession of this establishment by Great Britain. It was approved by the House." [2614]

January 30th, from the Downs, *Endeavour,* under Capt. James Gordon, sails for the South Atlantic. [2615]

> *"On the 30th of January 1773 (sic), his majesty's store-ship, the Endeavour, Lieut. James Gordon, commander, sailed from the Downs, as was supposed for Boston in America; but arriving off the Lizard, the Orders were opened, and the Commander found he was to proceed, without Delay or Loss of time, for Falkland's Island, (having then but four Months provision on board); accordingly the Endeavour proceeded..."* [2616]

"The expense of an outpost in the distant Falkland Islands began to seem unjustifiable; British sovereignty had been demonstrated, and Britain could return at any time, so the government sent an expedition to bring the garrison home" [2617]

February 2nd, in the harbour of Port Egmont, an American whaler, *Montagu* (Collins), out of Boston, anchors. Followed a week later by *Thomas* (Smith) from Cape Cod.

From Paris. on the same day, Viscount Stormont writes to report a conversation with the French Foreign Minister. During the interview, the Duke d'Aiguillon had mentioned Lord North's comments in the House of Commons, during the debate on the Navy Estimates, with "*great pleasure and satisfaction.*"

> *"... and added that he had that morning read the account to Monsieur d'Aranda, who was much pleased and, took particular note of it."* [2618]

February 11th, in London, Lord Rochford notifies the Spanish Embassy that Britain intends to withdraw the garrison from Fort George, for economic reasons. Spain's *charge d'affairs,* Escarano, immediately writes to inform Madrid.

> *"... it was decided to withdraw the few people who had remained in Falckland (sic); ... it was the effect of an economic system that they had adopted: that they talked to me about it as I could talk about moving a Regiment of the Garrison of one of the Squares of Ireland; that* ***they did not consider that Island less****: that perhaps it could be required in some storm by some English ship that was going to circumnavigate the world to touch on it: that he had always said to the Lord Prince de Maserano that if he urged (it) to be abandoned they would not abandon her; but that if we left them free to do what they wanted, they would evacuate it when we least thought about it, and that he hoped that Spain would not use this warning for a return to seize that land, which could cause displeasure no less strong than the past."* [2619]

2614 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1418
2615 Gordon carried the order from the Admiralty for the evacuation of Fort George and Jasons Town. *cf.* April 23, 1774
2616 *Derby Mercury* Friday September 16, 1774
2617 Pascoe 2020 p.45
2618 *Stormont to Rochford February 2, 1774. SP.78/291 folio 77*
2619 Spanish *charge d'affaires* Escarano quoted in Munilla 1948 p.148 citing *Escarano a Grimaldi: 11 de Febrero de 1774. A.G.I., Indif. General, 413, 60*. My emphasis.

"... in a letter dated February 11, the Spanish representative Francisco Escarano told the Marquis of Grimaldi that during the interview he had had with Lord Rochford, the latter had stated to him "That it was decided to remove the few people who had remained in Falkland: that [with this] no concession was being made to Spain for this provision, since it was the effect of the economic system they had adopted"." [2620]

"Don Escarano sent the transcript of (his) conversation to his court the same day. He praised Lord Rochford who, "without ever making a formal promise," had responded to the desire of both countries." [2621]

"... the Spanish Charge d'Affaires in London, Escarano, was summoned by Rochford in February 1774 to inform him of the intention to withdraw the British establishment. However, this intention in no case implied an acknowledgement of Spanish rights and, therefore, should be considered a strictly internal matter that had been well notified." [2622]

Rochford also writes to Britain's Ambassador in Madrid, Thomas Robinson, Baron Grantham.

> *"I think it proper to acquaint Your Excellency that Lord North in a Speech some days ago in the House of Commons on the subject of the naval Establishment for this year, mentioned the intention of reducing the naval forces in the East Indies as a material object of diminishing the number of Seamen, and at the same time **hinted**, as a matter of small consequence, that, in order to avoid the expense of keeping any seamen or marines at Falkland's Island, they would be brought away, after leaving there the proper marks or signals of possession, and of its belonging to the Crown of Great Britain.*
>
> *As this measure was publicly declared in Parliament it will naturally be reported to the Court of Spain; and though there is no necessity of your Excellency's communicating this notice officially to the Spanish ministers, since it is only a private regulation with regard to our own convenience; yet I am inclined to think from what passed formerly on this Subject that they will be rather pleased at this Event, your Lordship may, if they mention it to you, freely avow it without entering into any other Reasoning thereupon. ... it is neither more nor less than a small part of an economical naval regulation...*
>
> *I hope they will not suspect, or suffer themselves to be made to believe that this was done at the request, or to gratify the most distant wish of the French Court, for the real truth is neither more or less than that Lord North is desirous to lessen a small part of an uneconomical naval regulation."* [2623]

"England kept all the advantages. It could re-establish itself there, when it considered the danger over: Rochford's insinuations concerning ships going around the world; the inscription left by the British when leaving the islands, establishing the property of Jorge III; ..., are a good proof of this." [2624]

"... abandonment is (to be) only temporary and conditional. This is the meaning of the note addressed by Rochford to the British Ambassador in Madrid, Grantham, London, February 11, 1774. There the diplomat is told that, in compliance with Lord North's announcement in the House of Commons, the Government would proceed to reduce the existing troops in the Falklands and, later, to their conditional evacuation..." [2625]

2620 Revello 1952

2621 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1419-1420 citing *Arch. Gen. Ind. Indif. Gen 413 p.60*. Also Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.52 (inaccurate) citing *Francisco de Escarano to Grimaldi February 11, 1774*

2622 Garcia Diego 2014 p.25

2623 *CO 78/1 Rochford to Grantham Feb 11, 1774*. The position had been made quite clear. An evacuation for economic reasons, with no loss of sovereign rights (which had still not been the subject of any conversation between the two crowns). And a clear warning that Britain could return at any time it saw a need.

2624 Munilla 1948 pp.150-151

2625 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.151

February 20th, arriving in the harbour of Port Egmont, a whaler, *Montague*, is deemed to be in distress. Provided with new canvases and naval stores.

At the Falkland Islands, *King George* (Greenwood), out of Rhode Island, hunts for whales. [2626]

In France, ex-Ambassador the Comte de Guiness publishes a *Memorial* defending himself against accusations of '*jobbing*' in English funds during his time in London in 1771. Within this, de Guines implies that Britain agreed to abandon the Falklands. [2627]

February 25th, from London, Lord Rochford writes to Lord Stormont to inform him that the French Minister, Aiguillon, is to be asked to demand from de Guines, "*by whom such a promise was made.*" [2628]

March 17th, in Madrid, news of Britain's proposed evacuation of Port Egmont reaches Minister Grimaldi.

"Time, in the opinion of the Madrid court, worked in its favour, and during the following years a remedy to the situation could be sought." [2629]

"When the English government's decision was known in Spain, the Marquis of Grimaldi told the Minister of the Navy, Julián de Árriaga, on March 17, among other things, that "this news had been of singular satisfaction to the King: both because by abandoning the aforementioned Establishment the English will not carry out the projects that they may have already formed against the possessions and commerce of Spain, and because this reason for dissent is thus radically extinguished"." [2630]

"The news caused great joy in the Court of Madrid where it was considered that the fact that Great Britain did not require the reciprocal evacuation of Puerto Soledad constituted a tacit recognition of the rights of Spain, although the announcement of the event forb(ade) it to occupy the evacuated ground. Nevertheless, the marquis of Grimaldi instructed D. Escarano to thank the King of Great Britain and his ministry on behalf of his Catholic Majesty. ... The fact that the British continue(d) to claim a right of possession on these islands did not, in any way, correspond to a recognition of this right by Spain. The minister of State consider(ed) it unnecessary to raise a question which would give rise to " an unnecessary and interminable discussion," at a time when they (were) abandoning this region of their own volition. ... Spain did not intend to occupy the abandoned land (and) it would not be appropriate to do so at present, but it would (also) not be appropriate to make an undertaking never to do so." [2631]

"The Spanish interpretation of this communication was excessively optimistic, since Escarano understood it as the fulfilment of the private promise given by Rochford. In spite of the fact that, strictly speaking, it constituted a reaffirmation of British rights, even Grimaldi would be satisfied and would indicate to Escarano shortly afterwards that he conveyed the gratitude of the king and the court to the British Minister." [2632]

2626 *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions and Related Historical Events* Robert Headland 1989. Also Penrose 1775. *cf. ADM 1/1610*

2627 Bonnieres de Souastre (Duc de Guines) 1777. A translated shorter version was published as *Memorial of the Count de Guines, the French Ambassador to the Court of London; Against Messieurs Tor and Roger, Formerly His Secretaries, and Against Mr. Delpech. Translated from the Paris Copy.* I cannot see any reference to a specific promise in the English language version.

2628 *Rochford to Stormont February 25, 1774* in *SP 78/291/41*

2629 Munilla 1948 pp.150-151

2630 Revello 1952.

2631 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.1419-1420 citing *Arch. Gen. Ind. Indif. Gen 413 p.60*

2632 Diego 2014 p.25. Consistently denied by Rochford. See May 17, 1775.

April 4th, from Puerto Soledad, Governor Gil de Taboada y Lemos reports that the garrison has 44 soldiers, 22 prisoners and 49 other inhabitants – including 3 women and 11 children. Also, 23 buildings, a hospital and a turf chapel, *"in ruins."* He notes that the powder has deteriorated. [2633]

April 9th, in Madrid, orders are prepared for the Governors at Buenos Aires, and Puerto Soledad. To Soledad:

> *"Offers being made, as they are, by the Court of London, to relinquish the settlement made by them in the great Maluina, withdrawing thence the few troops and inhabitants who were there, the King desires that you be made acquainted with this matter, in order so that you may consequently observe, with due prudence and caution, whether the English do, in fact, abandon the said settlement without undertaking to form any other in the immediate vicinity; and that, having ascertained that they have done that in the terms set forth, you will, from time to time, renew your exertions to make sure that they do not return to that quarter, informing me precisely of whatever may occur at present, or at any future time; which instructions I communicate to you by His Majesty's order, to be exactly complied with, until, on a future opportunity, a more complete idea be given of all that pertains to this point.*
>
> *God preserve you many years.*[2634]
>
> *PS. Until further advices, which I shall address to you, you are not to deviate from the letter of the instructions I now give you; nor allow any one to proceed to the said relinquished settlement, except those whom you send for the purpose on which they may be ordered."* [2635]

To Vertiz at Buenos Aires.

> *"By annexed copy of a dispatch, you will be acquainted with the information this day given to the Governor of the Maluinas, relative to the offer of the Court of London to abandon the establishment which they made in the great Maluina, of which, by order of the King, I apprise you that you may, on your part, make dispositions for its fulfilment. God preserve you for many years."* [2636]

April 23rd, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Endeavour* anchors. [2637]

> *"... where the Lieutenant, William Clayton, Commander of his Majesty's Shallop Penguin, and Commanding Officer at that place, received Orders from the Lords of the Admiralty, to put on board the Endeavour all such Stores as were serviceable, and he and his Crew were to embark for England in the Endeavour..."* [2638]
>
> *"But previous to your departure from the Falkland Islands, you are to take the strictest care to erect on the principle parts on the Port, Fort and islands proper Signals and Marks of Possession, and on its belonging to His Majesty."* [2639]

2633 *Francisco Gil y Lemos a Julián de Arriaga, Malvinas, 4 de abril de 1774. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553*

2634 *AGN VII Coleccion Biblioteca Nacional t.189*. The exhortation for prudence and caution would be followed precisely by the Spanish Governors at Soledad; which is why the 1774 British withdrawal was not confirmed to Madrid until 1776

2635 *Don Juan de Arriaga to the Governor of the Malvinas April 9th, 1774* reproduced in Minister Moreno's *Memoria and Protest to Viscount Palmerston June 17, 1833* in *FO 6/501*. A copy of this was obtained by Woodbine Parish in 1830 and forwarded to London with his letter of November 20 of that year. *cf. FO 6/499.*

2636 Quoted in Vieyra 1985 p.90. Vieyra emphasised the word '*offer.*'

2637 Noted in *ADM 1/1610.* Most news reports gave the date as April 22, 1774. The difference between land time, and sea time?

2638 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774 also *Oxford Journal* September 24, 1774

2639 Quoted in Gustafson 1988 p.19. Source not cited.

"... the supply ship appeared on 23 April and dropped anchor in the harbour of Egmont. He was received with great joy, but it was delirious when (they) were told that he was giving the order to evacuate the settlement and take everyone back to England. It is with fervour that (they) begin to destroy the barracks and to (place) on the Endeavour all that is of some value." [2640]

April 25th, Lieut. Clayton orders the shallop *Penguin* to be dismantled. [2641]

> *"Lieutenant Gordon sent his Carpenters on Shore to help rip up the Penguin Shallop with as much care as possible, and ship it on board the Store Ship, and in the interim Lieutenant Clayton sent on board as much of the Stores as were serviceable, such as Anchors, Cables, Cordage, Canvass, and all other Stores, with the Frame of the Penguin, as she was taken to Pieces at different Times, till the Store Ship was full, and could take no more; the remainder of the Stores was put into different Store Houses, and locked up, and large sheets of Lead were fixed up..."* [2642]

May 8th, in a letter to the Admiralty, Clayton notes the costs of employing carpenters to dismantle *Penguin*.

May 19th, a whaler from the British American colonies, *King George* (Capt. Greenwood), arrives in the harbour. Storm damaged and with no anchors.

> *"I informed her Master that his Majesty having ordered the Forces to return to Europe it would be most advisable for him to leave the Port and get from those seas as soon as he could since in case of accidents he could have no relief;.."* [2643]

"The evening before they sailed, another fishing vessel arrived, and, as she had suffered much by bad weather, her crew resolved to stay where they were, all wintering as tenants to the dwellings and gardens of their English brethren." [2644]

"The three American whalers (Montague, Thomas & King George) were apparently preparing to spend the austral winter of 1774 in and around the Falklands; they sailed under the British flag since the North American colonies had not yet become independent." [2645]

May 20th, at Fort George, Lieut. Clayton prepares to leave. In a ceremony observed by the marines in ranks, two Union Jacks are hoisted; one over the fort and the other on the highest hill overlooking the north entrance to the harbour.[2646]

God Save the King is played by the marines' band and a lead plate is nailed to the door of Fort George. [2647]

2640 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1420. There was no destruction of the barracks.
2641 *ADM 106/1224/69*
2642 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774 also *Oxford Journal* September 24, 1774
2643 *ADM 1/1610.* Clayton did not name the ship in his report.
2644 *The Critical Review, Or, Annals of Literature* vol.39 1775 p.217
2645 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.309. America's war of independence did not start until 1775, and ending in 1783.
2646 Probably Keppel's Island.
2647 *FO 78/1/7.* Also Clayton's report in *ADM 1/1610* NB. The British Crown only dropped its ancient claim to the throne of France in 1800. The wording on the lead plate, according to the *Derby Mercury* of September 16, 1774 (and repeated in near a dozen journals), referred to *"... the Falkland Islands..."* This also in Penrose (1775), and again in the official translation of the papers obtained by Woodbine Parish from the Buenos Aires archive on November 20, 1830 (*FO 78/1/123*). Often referred to as a plaque. For the fate of the plate, see 1780, 1806 & 1841. For Clayton's report see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/03/clayton-report-from-port-egmont-may-20-1774.pdf

Be it known to all Nations, That Falkland's Island, with this Fort, the Storehouses, Wharfs Harbours, Bays and Creeks thereunto belonging, are the sole Right and Property of his Most Sacred Majesty George the third, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. In Witness whereof this Plate is set up and his Britanick Majesty's Colours left flying as a mark of possession by S. W. Clayton, commanding officer at Falkland's Island. A.D. 1774 [2648]

"May twentieth everything being ready for our departure we took a formal leave of the islands the seamen being ranged in order, and the marines drawn up under arms, while the following inscription, engraved on a piece of lead, was affixed to the door of the blockhouse:...The Union Jack being then hoisted, the people gave three cheers,.." [2649]

"Most British authors have turned the word "island" into the plural, thus extending the claim to Soledad." [2650]

"... leaving a lead plaque on the door of the blockhouse stating that the territory was the property of King George III, thus stating Britain's animus revertendi ["mind to return"]." [2651]

At 3pm, the British garrison boards *Endeavour*.

"... we immediately embarked with the utmost order and satisfaction, waiting only for a fair wind to proceed on our voyage." [2652]

Lieut. Clayton makes a note in his log, for May 20th.

"(Embarked) with all the Officers and Company of His Majesty's Shallop Penguin under my command; having previously hereto, caused the Shallop to be taken to pieces & put aboard her with all the Provisions, Arms, Stores & utensils that the said Bark could stow, but was forced to leave behind in the Storehouses several old & unserviceable Stores, Naval & Victualling: ... Previous to my departure I caused a plate of lead with an inscription engraved on it (asserting his Majesty's Right to Falklands Island, the Fort, Storehouses, Wharfs & Bays, Harbours and Creeks) to be set up on the door of the Fort; a copy of which I have the honour to inclose; - I also left flying his Majesty's colours on the Fort and on the highest hill on the North entrance of the harbour of Port Egmont: upon the Settlement I left standing his Majesty's Fort, two stonebuilt storehouses, three stonebuilt dwelling houses, two piers of stone for Boats to land at, one Substantial stone Wharf... and a Crane for Landing & Loading heavy articles, also several different inclosures in various spots as gardens and where great plenty of Vegetables had been raised." [2653]

"... Mr. Clayton, and 25 seamen and officers, with Lieutenant Olive, of the marines, one sergeant, a corporal, drum, and 21 private men, went also on board the Endeavour." [2654]

2648 The version in Groussac (1910 p.128) says - *"That it is known to all Nations that the Isles of Falckland, as well as this Fort, the Magazins, Quays, Havens, Bayes and Criques that depend on it, belong by right only to His Most Holy Majesty George III, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. ..."* Martin-Allanic (1964 p.1420) also refers to '*Islands*'. Most journals of the time date the inscription to May 22. *cf.* 1765 & 1770.

2649 Penrose 1775 p.76

2650 *La soberania argentina sobre las Islas malvinas, de ayer a hoy* Claudio Panella 2015. No example provided.

2651 Pascoe 2020 p.45

2652 Penrose 1775 p.76. Also *PRO ADM 1/1610/19*

2653 *ADM 1/1610*

2654 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774

"... the symbols of possession and property were left upon the Islands. When the Governor took his departure the British flag remained flying; and all those formalities were addressed which indicated the rights of ownership ... (and) the intention to assume the occupation of the territory at a more convenient season." [2655]

"With her rights again acknowledged, the emblems of sovereignty again reared, and possession resumed by a military and naval force, Great Britain voluntarily abandoned these distant Dominions, taking every possible precaution, when she did so, to give evidence to the World, that, though she abandoned, she did not relinquish them. ... the lapse of time cannot prevent her from resuming possession, if her own maxim of Law be well founded – nullum tempus occurrit regi – and, that she persists in her claim, is evident..." [2656]

"... according to the principles laid down, the abandonment of a territory does not annul the right to it, unless it be spontaneous, and without any intention of returning to it." [2657]

"... either to please the King of Spain, or because it was costly to support the establishment of Port Egmont, (England) voluntarily abandoned it." [2658]

"... the British Government withdrew its garrison from the Falklands in a manner which carefully preserved its right to reoccupy the whole islands whenever it might so desire. Spain made no protest against this..." [2659]

"It is true that a leaden plaque was left, but this ... was itself insufficient, in our view, to affect the legal situation..." [2660]

"When Britain withdrew from the Falkland Islands in 1774 for reasons of economy a lead plaque was left behind declaring the Islands to be the "sole right and property" of George III. There is no record of any written agreement or of any formal commitment by Britain to renounce sovereignty on withdrawal from Port Egmont." [2661]

"... if the UK acquired sovereignty to Saunders Island and retained that sovereignty after 1774, there is a presumption that British sovereignty extended to West Falkland:..." [2662]

"... Britain's title to West Falkland, which had not subsequently been occupied by Spain or Argentina after the abandonment of the Port Egmont settlement in 1774, seems to be secure." [2663]

"The British withdrew their garrison in the Falkland Islands in a manner which carefully preserved their alleged right to reoccupy the archipelago at their convenience, with no protest from Spain." [2664]

2655 *Aberdeen to Parish August 8, 1829* in *FO 6/499*

2656 *US Agent Baylies to Foreign Minister de Maza July 10, 1832* in *British and Foreign State Papers 1831 – 1832* p.348

2657 *Report of the Political, and Military Commandant of the Malvinas (Informe del Comandante Politico y Militar de Malvinas)* Luis Vernet 1832

2658 Cantillo 1843

2659 Hertz 1908 p.141

2660 Opinion of the Law Officers 1947 in *LCO 2/490.* Moot. Leaving 'marks & signs' was standard practice in that period. *cf.* 1776 & 1947

2661 Foreign Office submission to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in 1983. *cf. The Falkland Islands, 5th Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1983-1984 HC 268 25.10.1984*

2662 *Memorandum* submitted to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in 1983 by Dr. M. Akehurst, Reader in Law, Keele University. *cf. The Falkland Islands, 5th Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1983-1984 HC 268 25.10.1984.*

2663 Kershaw draft report – *A policy for the Falkland Islands, 1982/83* (Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons) *cf. The Falkland Islands, 5th Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1983-1984 HC 268 25.10.1984*

2664 Peña & Peña 2018

May 21st, from the Falkland Islands, *Endeavour* sails. [2665]

> *"... about four in the afternoon, we took our departure without the least regret."* [2666]

> *"They left a large Quantity of Stores at Port Egmont, besides Spars for Masts and Yards, with two or three large Boats, and Colours flying at the Block-House, and at the Entrance of the Harbour, on a high hill."* [2667]

"Falkland's Island was evacuated by the English, when they left an inscription to support their claim...." [2668]

"The reports made by officers employed at Port Egmont were of such a discouraging tendency, that no person at that time entertained the least wish to have any further concern with the islands—and for years they were unnoticed—though not forgotten by England. Spain, however, jealous of interference with her colonial possessions, and regarding the Falklands as a vantage-ground, from which those in the south might be suddenly or secretly invaded, maintained a small garrison at the eastern extremity of the Archipelago, where her ships occasionally touched, and from time to time reconnoitred the adjacent ports, in order to ascertain whether any visitors were there." [2669]

May 29th, *Endeavour* encounters bad weather.

> *"The Weather proving very bad, and it being Winter Time in those Seas, (Endeavour) had hard gales of Wind, and the Ship made a great deal of Water; but the most unhappy Circumstance is, that eight Days after she sailed, in a hard gale of Wind, they had the Misfortune to lose the Master, Mr. James Allen, who was washed overboard, with three of the People, Alexander Foster, Philip Trinder and James Gree; the last happily, by Assistance, was saved, but the Master and the other two were lost."*[2670]

June 3rd, from Puerto Soledad, Governor Gil y Lemos also reports poor weather; which has prevented an inspection of Port Egmont. [2671]

In England, a book is published – *A Description of Patagonia and the Adjoining parts of South America ... and some Particulars relating to Falkland's Islands*. [2672]

September 16th, at Woolwich in England, *Endeavour* anchors; releasing news of the garrison's decampment.

> *"We are well informed by a private letter from Portsmouth, that the Endeavour transport, which is arrived from Falkland's Island, hath brought home from thence all the people and stores; consequently there is now an end to that important acquisition, which is tamely submitted to the court of Spain by a timid and most dastardly Ministry."* [2673]

2665 Some journals date the departure as May 23, 1774
2666 Penrose 1775
2667 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774 also *Oxford Journal* September 24, 1774
2668 Boyle 1835 p.987
2669 Fitzroy 1839
2670 *Derby Mercury* September 16, 1774
2671 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.152
2672 Ostensibly by Thomas Falkner, a Jesuit missionary, who had spent "*near Forty Years in those Parts.*" This was probably not Falkner's original work, however, but a compilation of his writings by William Combe. The work was translated into German, French and Spanish. The latter, reputedly, causing some alarm in Madrid. Available here - https://iiif.wellcomecollection.org/pdf/b30408684
2673 *Saunders's News-Letter* Wednesday September 28, 1774

"The reasons for evacuation were much questioned in England. Government apologists suggested that it was due to the discovery that the islands were not worth the expense and trouble of their maintenance. The opposition alleged that the vaunted arrangement with Masserano had been in fact conditional upon England's fulfilling a verbal assurance... There is no substantial evidence on either side." [2674]

September 23rd, news of the garrison's withdrawal from Fort George, reaches Paris.

> *"The munition vessel Endeavour has just brought back to England the small number of men who were still maintained by the government on Falkland Island, where only the implements and ammunition which could not be taken on board were left.*
>
> ***The English flag was also flown at the most prominent place in Port Egmont, as a sign of possession of the said port, and the claim of Her Britannic Majesty to the exclusive property of the Falklands, as the English like Falkland, was engraved on sheets of an unsustainable metal.***
>
> *Despite this abandonment, announced more than six months ago, it seems that these areas will continue to be frequented by the Bostonians who have just crossed the equator and the two tropics to successfully attempt whaling."* [2675]

In early **October**, from Madrid, new instructions are sent to Buenos Aires and Puerto Soledad.

"The bailiff Julian De Arriaga confirmed it in the first days of October to the governor of the Falklands, D. Ruiz Puente, and to the governor of Buenos Aires, D. Juan-José de Vertiz, indicating the steps that should now be taken. He first noted that the British had carried out the evacuation they had announced (and that) His (Catholic) Majesty has decided to allocate two frigates at all times for the safety of the Rio De La Plata and the Conservation of the Falkland Islands. The instruction given (was) when deemed appropriate and in good season, to reconnoitre the coast and the ports ***craftily*** *and* ***covertly*** *and to ascertain whether the English return(ed) to their former establishment..."* [2676]

November 5th, Governor Gil y Lemos issues instructions to Pilot Pellón for covert reconnaissance of the harbour of Port Egmont. If discovered, the observers are to make excuses and lie about why they are there.

> *"Making sure to* ***remain hidden*** *during this operation when possible due to the serious consequences that can follow, and for which you will be responsible... during the trips out and back you will not fire any guns that may set fields alight and attract the attention of the British, nor will you leave any traces by which they can infer they have been observed... If by some remote chance during the land campaign you come across some individuals of the British colony, and they ask you the purpose of that expedition you will answer (that you) look for a soldier and an Indian, deserters of this colony, whose traces were found up to that strait/sound, as (shown in) a letter of mine for their governor, which you will show them and say you have orders to deliver to the (governor's) own hand."* [2677]

2674 Hertz 1908

2675 Newly appointed, French *charge d'affairs* in London, Charles-Jean Garnier, quoted in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1416 citing *Aff. étr. Angl., vol. 506 f° 190 v° Londres, 23 sept 1774.* My emphasis. The '*unsustainable metal*' was lead.

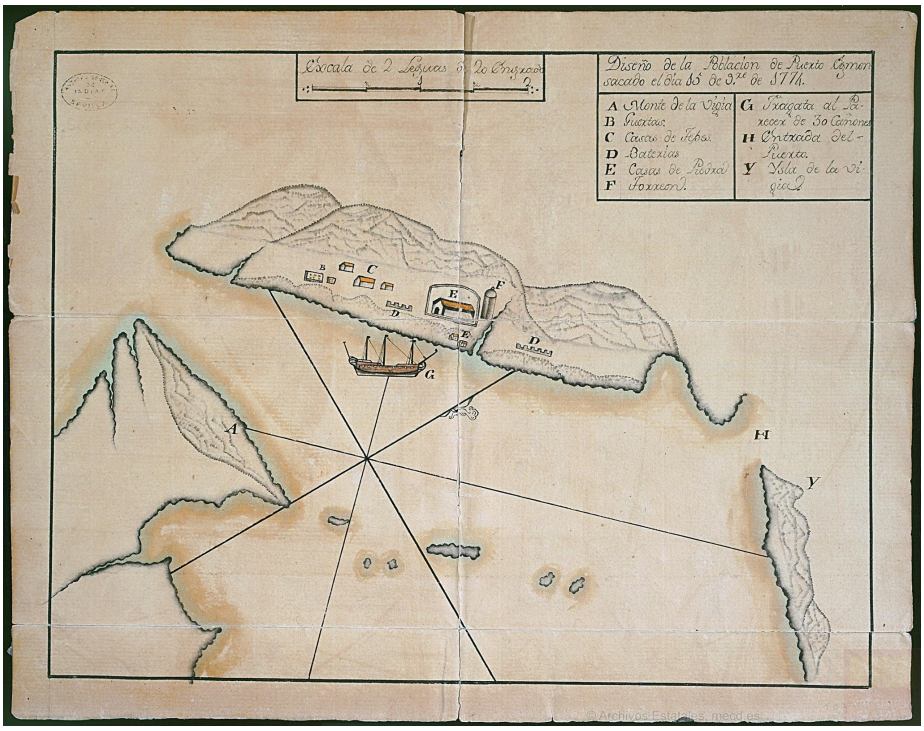
2676 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1421. My emphasis. Two frigates in rotation; the basis of the Gil y Lemos plan as approved in 1773.

2677 *Instrucción que debe observar el 2° piloto de la Real Armada y capitán de este puerto don Simón Fernández Pellón en la expedición que va a ejecutar por tierra desde el Estrecho de San Carlos hasta el Puerto Egmont en la colonia inglesa. Francisco Gil y Lemos, Puerto de la Soledad, 5 de noviembre de 1774. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553.* My emphasis. This order would result in the British garrison's departure not being confirmed to the Spanish court until 1776.

November 15th, from a vantage point on the Great Malouine/West Falklamd, Pellón looks out over the harbour of Port Egmont.

"Simón Fernández Pellón, in the San Francisco de Paula, crossed the strait of San Carlos and the Diamond Bay, advanced by land through the Great Maluina, stood on the nearby mountains and from there examined Port Egmont (November). The impression he got from the fleeting visit was that the old base was not abandoned." [2678]

Pellón covertly sketches a plan of Fort George and the British settlement's layout. [2679]


Escala de 2 Leguas
Diseño de la Relacion de Puerto Egmont
A Monte de la Vigia
B Cuarteles
C Casas de Tablas
D Baterias
E Casas de Piedra
F Hornos
G Fragata de Porrones de 30 Cañones
H Entrada del Puerto
Y Isla de la Vigia

November 24th, Pellón sends his finished plan, to Governor Gil y Lemos at Soledad. Shown as moored off Jasons Town is a ship. "*Frigate apparently of 30 cannons.*" [2680]

December 16th, the sketch of the British establishment is sent to Minister Arriaga in Madrid.

Ten whaling vessels hunt around the Falkland Islands. [2681]

"The Falkland Islands were visited by whalers and sealers at least as early as 1774. Both fur seals and elephant seals were caught from the beginning." [2682]

2678 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.152

2679 One of the finished sketches, dated November 15, 1774, is in the archive at Buenos Aires under *ES.41091.AGI/27?? MP-Buenos Aires 103BIS.* Another in Spain's Archivo General de Indias - *ES.41091.AGI//MP-BUENOS_AIRES,103*

2680 More likely a whaler with little in the way of armament.

2681 *The Blackheath Connection: A Website Book* Dan Byrnes 2000. Also Philpott 1992 quoting *Carterets Voyage Round the World, 1766-1769* Helen Wallis 1965. *cf. An Account of Falkland Islands by William Clayton, Esq. Of His Majesty's Navy* W. Clayton 1776

2682 *The 19th Century Antarctic Sealing Industry. Sources, Data and Economic Significance* Bjørn L. Basberg & Robert K. Headland 2008

1775 – January 17th, Captain James Cook lands on South Georgia, claiming it for George III and Britain.[2683]

> *"I landed in three different places, displayed our colours, and took possession of the country in His Majesty's name, under a discharge of small arms."* [2684]

Witnessed by *Endurance*'s naturalist, Johann George Adam Forster. [2685]

> *"Here Captain Cook displayed the British Flag, and performed the ceremony of taking possession of those barren rocks, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and his heirs forever. A volley of two or three muskets was fired into the air. … South Georgia, besides being uninhabitable, does not appear to contain any single article, for which it might be visited occasionally by European ships. Seals and sea-lions, of which the blubber is accounted an article of commerce, are much more numerous on the desert coasts of South America, the Falklands, and the New Year's Islands, where they may likewise be obtained at a much smaller risk. If the northern ocean should ever be cleared of whales, by our annual fisheries, we might then visit the other hemisphere, where these animals are known to be numerous…"*[2686]

Cook notes the presence of seals. [2687]

"The treaty of Tordesillas (1494) under which the Spanish and Portuguese divided the New World between them… would have the effect of awarding South Georgia to Portugal… at no time has the Portuguese Government claimed any sovereignty over it." [2688]

"It is, we think, a clearly established principle of international law that a discovery by itself confers no more than an inchoate title which must be completed by effective occupation within a reasonable time after first discovery. If this test is applied, the conclusion results, in our view, that in the case of each territory it became after first discovery res nullius, since the discovery was not followed up within a reasonable time by any act which could be said to amount to effective occupation. The result is that each area remained until early in the twentieth century res nullius,.." [2689]

"There is no doubt that Great Britain's presence in the Antarctic has been evident for more than two centuries."[2690]

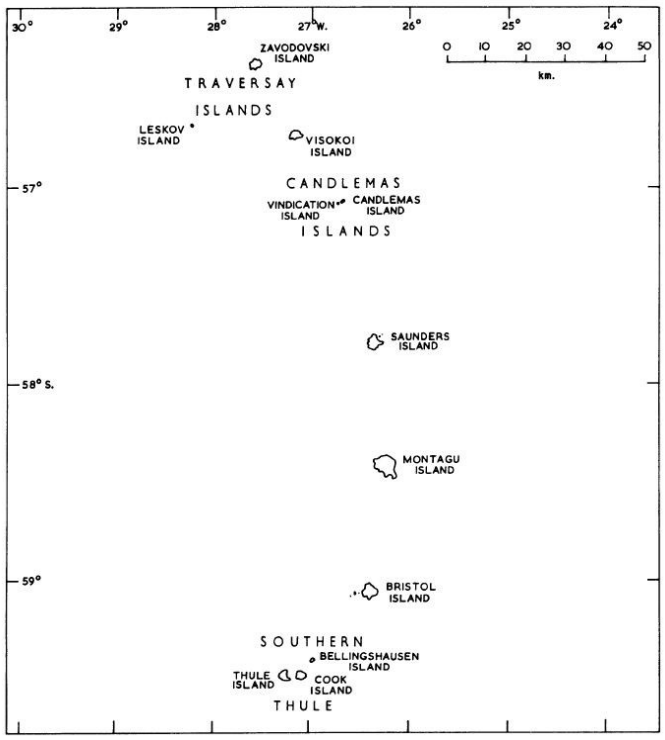
2683 Discovered by English explorer Anthony de la Roche in 1675.
2684 Journal of Capt. James Cook R.N. quoted in *Territorial Claims in the Antarctic Regions* UK (Admiralty) 1919 p.20
2685 The abbreviation HMS (His Majesty's Ship) was not in common use until after 1789.
2686 *Journal* of J. George Forster (George is often styled as Georg)
2687 Pearson 2016 p.5
2688 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands Dependencies* 1947 in *LCO 2/490. cf.* 1494
2689 *Opinion of the Law Officers* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
2690 Joyner 1984

January 20th, in London, during a House of Lord's debate on the situation in America, the Duke of Richmond mentions; *"... the fact stated by count de Guines in his Memorial, that the English ministry, in the question of the Falkland Islands, had agreed to disarm first."*

Lord Rochford rises to declare; *"... that as to disarming first, the count was mistaken; for that long before he (Lord Rochford) had made the proposal of disarming, he had received a letter from Lord Harcourt, informing him that the French had begun to disarm; that the proposal he made about disarming, was to do it reciprocally, at a given time; that the object of the armament being at an end, form was not necessary as to the period of disarming, more especially, as from all his advices from the King's Ministers abroad, both the French and Spaniards had first began to disarm."* [2691]

January 31st, sailing further east, Capt. James Cook discovers a previously unknown chain of islands.

> *"I steered S.E. and in 59° S. discovered another (land) exceedingly high and mountainous, and so buried in everlasting snow, that it was necessary to be pretty near to the shore to be satisfied that the foundation was not of the same composition. I coasted this land to the north and found it to terminate in isles in that direction... "*[2692]



Cook names his discovery – Sandwich Land. [2693]

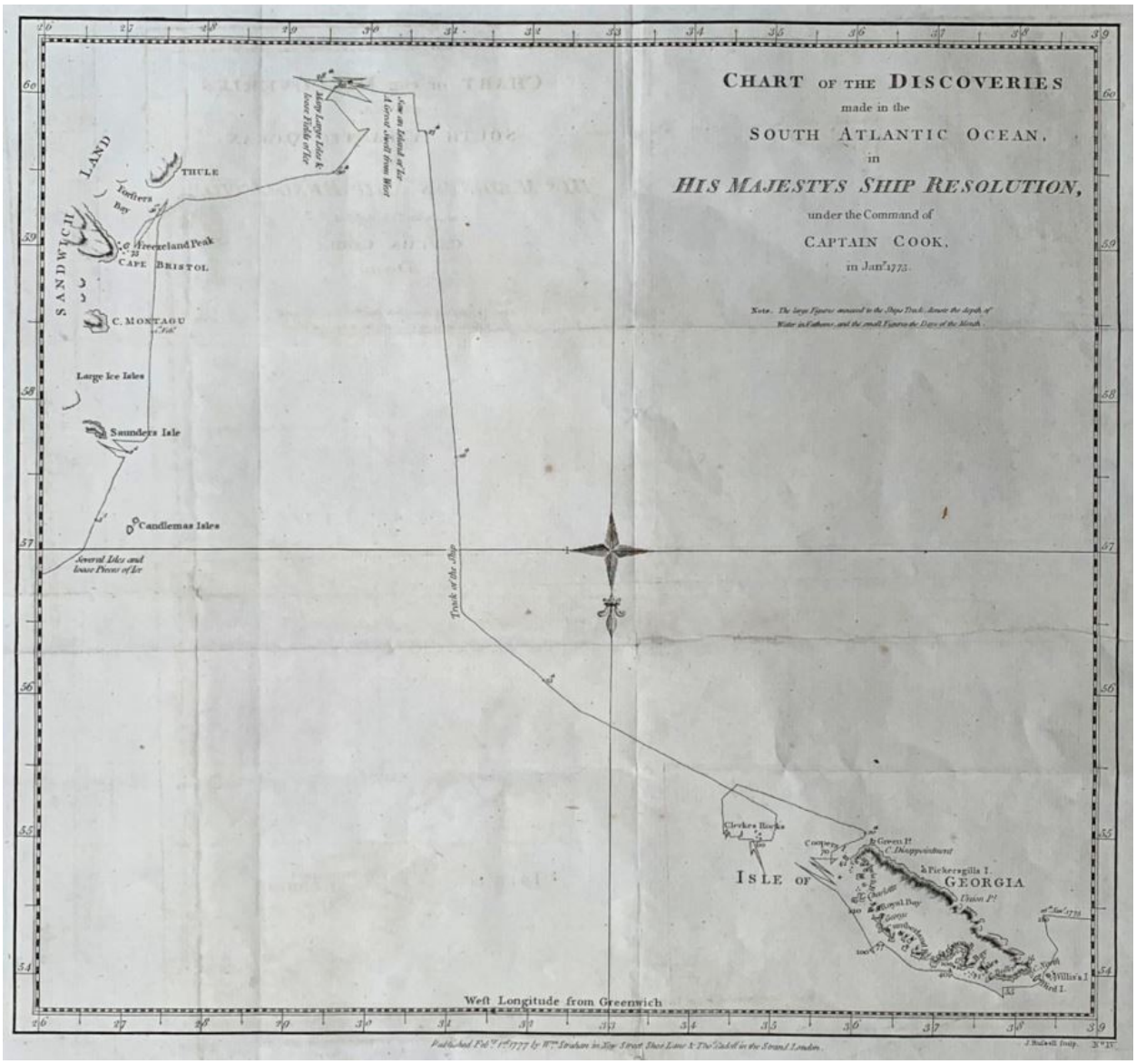
"On 31 January 1775, a seaman named Freezeland aboard H.M.S. Resolution commanded by Capt. James Cook, R.N. Sighted for the first time the rocky island which now bears his name. As the fog lifted a little and the vessel neared the land, Cook was able to make out the three high rocks off the western end of Bristol Island with the ice-covered coast of the main island behind them. He named the land "Cape Bristol", thinking it to be a headland of a larger mass, and, sighting the peaks of the islands to southward at the same time, named them "Southern Thule" because they were at that time the southernmost land to be discovered. Cook was unable to close the land because of the danger of being caught on so savage and ice-encumbered a lee shore, and consequently could not determine the true extent and insular nature of his discovery. Passing northward, he sighted another point of land which he named "Cape Montagu", considering it to be a promontory because he thought he saw land between it and "Cape Bristol". However, he was in no doubt as to the insular nature of Saunders Island discovered on 1 February 1775, and Candlemas and Vindication Islands, found on the following day. Because the weather was hazy and he could not approach close to the land, Cook was unable to give a very detailed description of these

2691 *Parliamentary History of England 1774-1777 T*homas C. Hansard 1813 vol. 18 p.168. Disarming here is in the context of the war preparations by England, Spain and France in 1770, initiated by the Falklands crisis of that year. *cf.* 1770, 1771, above, & May, 1775.

2692 Riesenberg 1950 p.142.

2693 After John Montague, the 4th Earl of Sandwich. Changed shortly after to South Sandwich Land, with 'South" added to differentiate them from the Sandwich Islands in the Pacific (now known as Hawaii). Now known as the South Sandwich Islands. Comprising the islands of Candlemas, Vindication, Saunders, Montagu, Bristol, Bellingshausen, Cook and Thule (discovered by Cook) together with Zavadoski, Leskov and Visokoi (discovered by Bellingshausen in 1819)

islands and failed to report their volcanic nature, but he determined their positions with an accuracy remarkable for the period. After sighting and naming "the Candlemas Islands", he resumed his voyage to the east and so did not discover the three northern members of the island group" [2694]



March 2nd, in the Falkland Islands, from high ground overlooking the harbour of Port Egmont, covert observers from the Spanish garrison at Puerto Soledad note the presence of a British frigate near Saunders Island. [2695]

2694 *British Antarctic Survey Scientific reports No.91 The South Sandwich Islands: 1. General Description* W.M. Holdgate & P.E. Baker 1979. The chart above with a South-up orientation was published in February, 1777 in London and clearly shows the limited nature of Cook's discoveries. He literally ticked islands off as he sailed by. *cf.* December, 1819 & January, 1955

2695 *Despacho no 455 de Juan José de Vértiz a Julián de Arriaga, Montevideo, 31 de julio de 1775. AGI, Buenos Aires, 55.*

*"Making sure to **remain hidden** during this operation when possible due to the **serious consequences** that can follow, and for which you will be responsible... during the trips out and back you will not fire any guns that may set fields alight and attract the attention of the British, nor will you leave any traces by which they can infer they have been observed..."* [2696]

"In 1775 the previous (1774) verification was reiterated. The captain and pilot of the Royal Navy, Juan de la Peña, anchored with his ship behind Mount Vigia, ..." [2697]

In London, on the same day, Britain's Parliament listens to the views of American loyalists regarding Atlantic whaling grounds.

"Among those appearing was Captain Seth Jenkins of Nantucket, who gave not only comprehensive answers to questions but presented a picture of whaling from the Colonies, which commanded the attention ... His listeners learned that, at this time (1775), the Nantucket whaling fleet exceeded one hundred vessels, practically all being owned by members of the Society of Friends,... that these craft had "lately extended their sperm whale fishery as far as the Falkland Islands, and were sometimes twelve months on a voyage," and were the only Colonial mariners fully engaged in this... Southern Fishery." [2698]

March 22nd, Edmund Burke, in a House of Commons speech arguing for conciliation with Britain's American colonists, refers to the expansion of their whaling fleet into the southern Atlantic.

".. look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry."[2699]

At Dartmouth, Massachusetts, *King George* (Greenwood) arrives with a cargo of seal skins and oil from the Falklands archipelago. Captain Greenwood informs Leonard Jarvis, a boat-builder, of the advantages of fishing in the South Atlantic. Jarvis, in turn, passes on the information to a merchant/whaler – Aaron Lopez.

"From the conversation I had with him I think there is a prospect in the Fishery at those Islands well worth attending to, notwithstanding the small quantity of Oil this Vessel brought home..." [2700]

"Lopez had the commercial background to organize an oiling venture. ... His extensive contacts in New England included the Rotch firm of Nantucket... Jarvis, Lopez and Francis Rotch therefore agreed to form a partnership to operate at the Falklands..." [2701]

2696 *Instrucción que debe observar el 2° piloto de la Real Armada y capitán de este puerto don Simón Fernández Pellón en la expedición que va a ejecutar por tierra desde el Estrecho de San Carlos hasta el Puerto Egmont en la colonia inglesa. Francisco Gil y Lemos, Puerto de la Soledad, 5 de noviembre de 1774. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553.* My emphasis. This order from the Spanish Governor at Soledad, was in compliance with instructions from Madrid requiring that a covert watch be kept on Saunders Island. Britain's navy was not there, but Spain's observers had not been able to get close enough to identify the ships as whalers.

2697 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.152

2698 *Whales & Destiny: The Rivalry between America, France and Britain for Control of the Southern Whale Fishery, 1785-1825* Edouard A Stackpole 1972

2699 Hansard vol.18

2700 *Leonard Jarvis to Aaron Lopez April 5, 1775* in *Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800* Boston Society 1914 vol.2 p.15. *King George* had been in the harbour of Port Egmont when Britain's garrison departed. *cf.* 1774

2701 *Seal Fisheries of the Falkland Islands & Dependencies: A Historical Review* A. B. Dickinson 2007 p.29

April 12th, from Paris, Britain's Ambassador writes to Lord Rochford; to tell him that in internal correspondence between ex-Ambassador de Guines and French Minister Aiguillon there is one letter that implies, yet again, a British promise to withdraw from the Falklands. However, de Guines had subsequently asserted that he had not meant to convey this impression. [2702]

April 19th, in North America, following a number of false starts, the War of Independence commences with the first shots fired at the battle of Lexington and Concord.

May 8th, from Puerto Soledad, Governor Gil y Lemos informs Governor Juan José de Vertiz in Buenos Aires that the Royal Order of April 9th, 1774, regarding regular surveillance, has been complied with; and that the British are still present in the harbour of Port Egmont. [2703]

May 17th, from Paris, Ambassador St. Paul writes once again to Lord Rochford.

> *"In consequence of the honor of Your Lordship's letter relative to the Duke d'Aiguillon's correspondence, I have taken an opportunity of seeing M. Le Comte de Guines, and have acquainted him with the necessity you might possibly be under, of mentioning in the House of Lords, what he had said to me upon that subject, viz.*
>
> > *That he was ready to publish to all Europe, in the most explicit terms, that you never told him, either ministerially, or otherwise, that when Falklands Island was restored to us, and the honour of the Nation saved, our intention was to evacuate it, either immediately or at a given time.*
>
> *When I translated the words to him literally he answered that nothing was more true and in his Dispatch of 16th March, 1771, in representing to his Court, that he had reason to presume we should abandon Falklands Island, from the Language held to him by different Persons on that subject, he had particularly said a l'exception de My Lord Rochford. M. de Guines is clear, and precise in regard to this Circumstance, and it is with great pleasure I am able to transmit this..."* [2704]

In **June**, an updated version of the 1753 chart of the Americas, by John Green, is published (detail next page), *"according to Act of Parliament."* It shows the whole archipelago, styled as *Falkland's Isles*, in the colour code for British territory; noting '*Discovered by Sr. John Hawkins 1593*'. [2705]

July 31st, from Buenos Aires, Governor Vertiz informs Minister Arriaga in Madrid that the British are still firmly established in the western Falklands.[2706]

2702 *St Paul to Rochford April 12, 1774* in *SP 78/295/88*

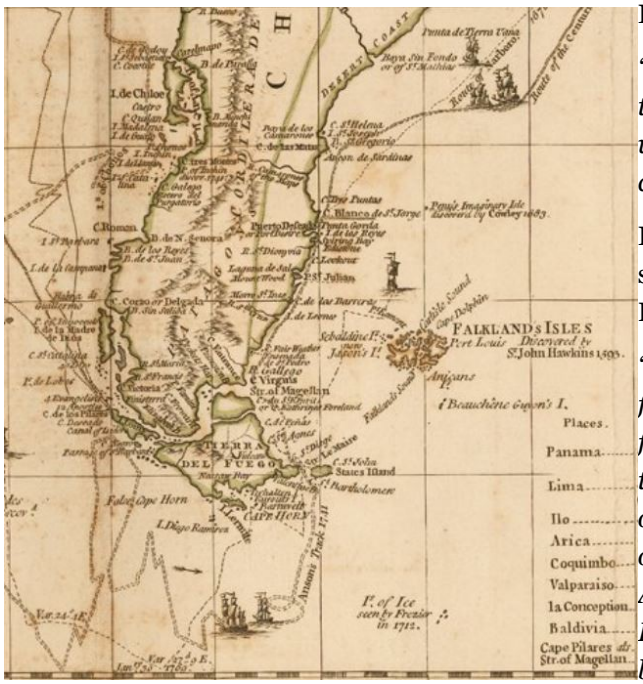
2703 *Gil y Lemos a Arriaga Mayo 8, 1775*

2704 *St. Paul to Rochford May 17, 1775* in *SP 78/296/37.* Underlining is original emphasis. "*Language held to him by different Persons...*" is vague and capable of meaning anything from gossip to reputable sources. De Guines never did name names. The intimation in 1771, and after, was that Rochford had made the offer; something he vehemently denied. The only other possible suspect was Lord North, First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) who also rebuffed any such suggestion. However, it can be seen from the correspondence between 1771 and 1775 that this false suggestion of a promise to completely abandon the western Falklands was a staple of Spanish thinking. A clutched straw. It remains one of Argentina's arguments to this day. Withdrawal had only ever been discussed as a mutual exercise in disarming from the 1770 war footing, and it was frequently confirmed that any such withdrawal could not amount to a cession of British rights. Britain knew it would be back. Spain knew too.

2705 Published by the Robert Sayer/John Bennett partnership some 18 years after Green's suicide.

2706 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.2 p.237. *cf.* Aguado 2012

In **August**, Samuel Enderby, a London based merchant and whaler, writes to a contact in Britain's American colonies with a proposal regarding the exploitation of the whales and seals to be found around the Falkland Islands.



"The plan involved establishing a base at Port Egmont in the Falkland islands from which to operate their business under the British flag and thus market their whale oil directly in London." [2707]

In North America, at Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, ships are outfitted for whaling by loyalists Francis Rotch, Richard Smith, Aaron Lopez and Leonard Jarvis. [2708]

"... in 1774 and 1775 Francis Rotch and Aaron Lopez formed a plan and a company to equip a fleet of vessels for the South Sea fisheries, which after filling, were to go to the Falkland Islands, located off the southeastern coast of South America ... There the ships were to deliver their oil and refit for the South Seas grounds again. Apparently fifteen ships and brigs were equipped in New Bedford and Newport, two of them new ships which were bought in Newbury port."[2709]

"Francis Rotch, ... organized a fleet of whaleships to sail from Nantucket and Bedford... and proceed directly to the South Atlantic, as far as the latitude of the Falkland Islands. The vessels – numbering sixteen – were to avoid "all touch" with the South American coast, and if provisions were needed they were ordered to go into Port Egmont, in the Falklands. Francis Rotch, himself, planned to go there also during this particular period, to supervise the operation of the fleet." [2710]

August 23rd, in London, King George III proclaims the American colonies to be in a state of *'rebellion.'*

> *By the KING,*
> *A PROCLAMATION,*
> *For suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.*
>
> *GEORGE R.*
>
> *WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in North America, misled by dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, after various disorderly Acts committed in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obstruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppression of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the same, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War against Us;*
>
> *And whereas there is Reason to apprehend that such Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correspondence, Counsels, and Comfort of divers wicked and desperate Persons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their*

2707 *Ships Employed in the South Sea Whale Fishery from Britain: 1775-1815* Jane Clayton 2014
2708 Otherwise known as United Empire Loyalists, Tories, Royalists or King's Men. Those colonists who remained loyal to the Crown of England during the American Revolution.
2709 *The Rotches* John M. Bullard 1947 p.51
2710 Stackpole 1972

Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal;

We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmost Endeavours to suppress such Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Justice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and assisting in the Suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts against Us, Our Crown and Dignity;

And We do accordingly strictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours to withstand and suppress such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all Treasons and traitorous Conspiracies which they shall know to be against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpose, that they transmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Persons who shall be found carrying on Correspondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Persons now in open Arms and Rebellion against Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in North America, in order to bring the condign Punishment the Authors, Perpetrators and Abettors of such traitorous Designs.

"Loyalties on both sides of the Atlantic splintered in what was ... regarded as another British civil war." [2711]

September 4th, in Newport, Capt. John Locke (*Minerva*), receives orders from Francis Rotch and Aaron Lopez.

*"You are then for many reasons particularly that of **Insurance** at all events to proceed for Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands where you are with all the rest of our vessels to rendezvous & recruit & where, if no unforeseen accident prevents you may be assured you will find our Francis Rotch etc.- You shall be at liberty either to winter with our Francis Rotch there or to return home again etc..."* [2712]

"From 1771 to 1775, Massachusetts employed annually ... one hundred and twenty-one vessels, of 14,026 tons, in the southern (fishery); navigated by 4,059 seamen. Before the revolutionary war, the small island of Nantucket had ... eighty-five ships, of 10,200 tons, in the southern fishery." [2713]

September 8th, from Massachusetts, Francis Rotch sails to Britain to talk terms with Samuel Enderby.

"(Enderby) was the first adventurer from Britain in this Southern Whale Fishery..." [2714]

"The initial impetus for a British southern whale fishery arose out of the American colonies' quest for independence, when a number of London based oil merchants and their suppliers on the east coast of America sought to relocate the business, some ships and crews from New England to London. Before this time a small number of New England ports, particularly Nantucket, had exclusively supplied sperm oil to the British market. The first ships which sailed from London met with little success. However, it did not take the English ships long to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to make a success of the fishery. The driving force behind the push to conduct whaling out of London at this time is credited to the firm of Samuel Enderby & Co., and there is no doubt that Enderby vessels were amongst the most enterprising of those seeking the whale." [2715]

2711 *The English and Their History* Robert Tombs 2014 p.351

2712 *Rotch/Lopez to Locke, Newport, Sept 4, 1775* in Bullard 1947. My emphasis. That insurance conditions required ships go to Port Egmont is intriguing. Introduced in the early 1600s, marine insurance was only codified in the mid 18th century. Lloyds had been operating since 1720, but there were many other underwriters. More research required.

2713 *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain Respecting the United States of America* Robert Walsh 1819 part.1

2714 Quote in Stackpole 1972 p.17, citing *Memorandum, Board of Trade Records, PRO BT 6/93*

2715 *An overview of the British Southern Whale Fishery* Dale Chatwin 2016

In **October**, as the Nantucket whaling fleet sails south, five vessels are seized by the British men-of-war ships *Renown* and *Experiment*; their crews pressed into service for the Royal Navy. [2716]

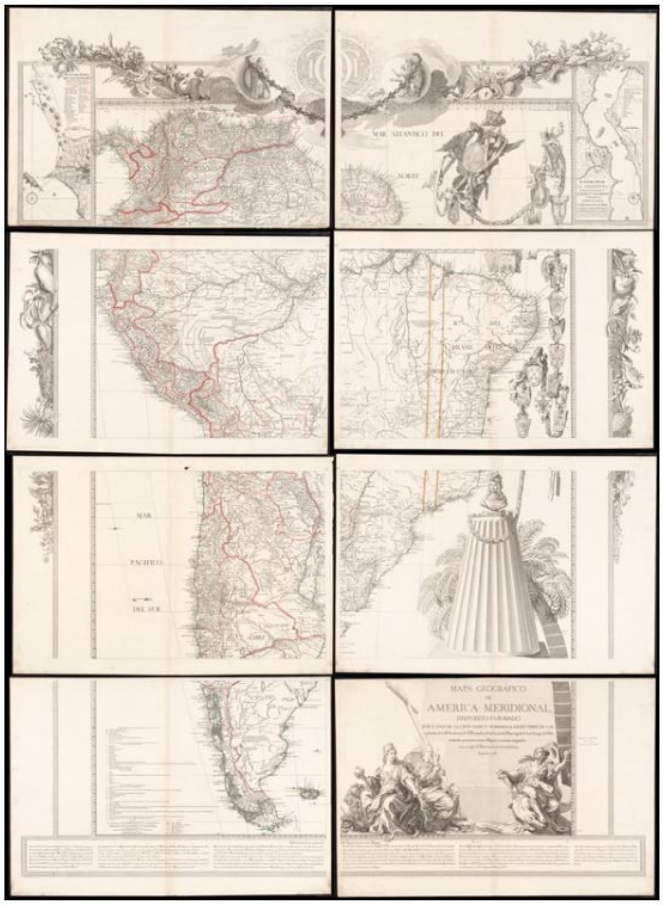
"The various unfortunate occurrences that has attended this pursuit had nearly defeated all our purposes, the most material of which are a seizure of five of our Vessells (sic) on their voyage and bringing them to England, to wit., the Falkland, Enterprise, Abigail, Minerva, and Diana. ... attended with the loss of all our men,.." [2717]

In **November**, in England, Francis Rotch hears of the seizure of the Nantucket ships.

> *"Portsmouth, November 19. Arrived here, the Abigail, Edward, and the Minerva, Clear. These ships, with two others, were taken by the Renown and Experiment men of war, and made prizes of, in the passage to America. They were fitted out at Nantucket, and bound for Falkland's Island."* [2718]
>
> *"Portsmouth, November 25. ... The Diana, Torito; Abigail, ---; Enterprize, Lawford; Minerva, Gellehare, and another, name unknown, are brought in here as prizes."* [2719]

Rotch negotiates with the British Government for the release of the vessels and for protection from the Royal Navy; arguing that this business should be considered an English one, by Loyalists, and not an American enterprise. Those whalers for which Rotch initially seeks protection are *Jacob* (Matthew Cornell); *Africa* (Joseph Ripley); *Cleopatra* (James Fitch); *Lydia* (Thomas Folger); *Charlotte* (John Woodman); *Ann* (John Darling); *Fox* (Silas Butler); *George* (George Whippey); *Mermaid* (Lokbury Blackman); *Minerva* (Ephraim Pease); *Dartmouth* (Peter Pease); *Delight* (Benj. Norton); *Nelly* (Wm. Norton); *Royal Charlotte* (Nathaniel Hathaway). [2720]

"He (Rotch) ... (explained) the intention of their returning to London with their cargoes, and then to fit out from there and become an arm of the newly established British South Whale Fishery,.." [2721]



2716 *Ahab's Trade: The Saga of South Seas Whaling* Granville A. Mawer 1999. Also Byrnes 2000. Five captured, leaving 12 whalers still en-route to the Southern Atlantic. It has been suggested (*CO 5/40 fol.94b*) that a Royal Navy ship of 33 guns, *Niger,* was sent after the 12, but no subsequent reports.

2717 *Francis Rotch to Aaron Lopez February 20, 1776* in Boston Society 1914 vol.2 p.39

2718 *Scots Magazine* November 1775 p.47

2719 *Hampshire Chronicle* Monday November 27, 1775

2720 Stackpole 1972 p.395. Seemingly, the list changed two or three times between November and January, 1776. Names of Captains, not owners, in parenthesis, although in many cases they were one and the same.

2721 Clayton 2014

In Spain, official cartographer, Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, completes a chart of South America (previous page).[2722]

"... Cruz Cano's America Meridional is indeed a monumental map. On eight large sheets it measures about 6 x 8 feet when mounted. No small reproduction can begin to do it justice. ... From this it is clear the Cruz Cano map deserved a much better fate than befell it. In spite of the fact that it was an official project, initiated and paid for by the Spanish government, it appears to have been withheld from public distribution for a quarter-century following the first printing in 1775. ... Considerable evidence indicates the printing of the first edition in October or November of 1775, the second edition in the following February, the third edition later in the same year, and the fourth edition no later than 1802. This evidence is found in watermarks; in contemporary documents with references to printing, paper, and isolated changes on the plates; and in the sheet-states of maps whose existence can be verified prior to 1802. ... After the first printing in November 1775, revisions were made on the plates and, a few months later, the second edition was printed. Ricarte, the engraver of the lettering, did this printing. In February 1776, he reported on it in a letter... In Spain during the first quarter-century of its existence, the map had a varied reception. It was used in government councils, but was withheld from the public, while its author was virtually ignored and disparaging remarks were some-times made concerning it. Later, around the turn of the 19th century, the reputations of both Cruz and his map were somewhat rehabilitated and it was made available to the public."[2723]

On the seventh sheet, the Falklands archipelago is identified as *Islas Maluinas o de Falkland*. A limited edition of the map in colour is requested. [2724]

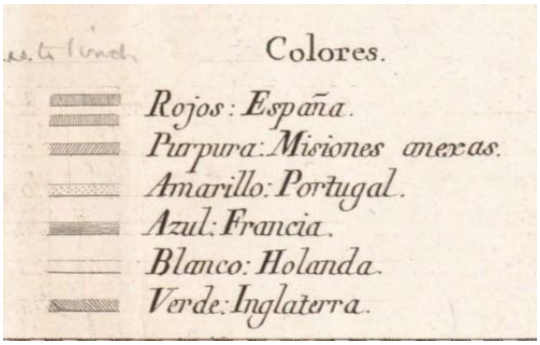
> "*I send you the first proof-sheets of eight plates. I have given an order to print, mount, and color some more examples in case you would like to show one to the King..."* [2725]

2722 This from the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Centre, Boston Public Library. See - https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:cj82kt45t Commissioned by Jerónimo Grimaldi, Chief Minister under Spain's King Carlos III, to make a chart of South America, Cruz Cano was given full access to the records of the Secretariat of State and the Council of the Indies. Based upon more than 62 maps and plans, together with documents from Spain and France, Cruz Cano took 10 years to complete it, finally producing his work in late 1775. However, it immediately caused concern among Spanish ministers - who were due to enter into border negotiations with Portugal - and an attempt was made to recall all the distributed copies. Inevitably, some slipped through the net. A 2nd edition quickly followed in February 1776, with the Spanish-Portuguese borders removed. Then a 3rd edition later that same year, with further changes (see Researcher's Comment below). There were also variants, made up of sheets from different editions. The example above is a 3rd edition variant containing sheets from both the 2nd and 1st editions. A fourth edition was finally put on sale to the public in 1802.

2723 *Cruz Cano's Map of South America, Madrid, 1775: Its Creation, Adversities and Rehabilitation* Thomas R. Smith 1966 in *Imago Mundi* vol. 20 (1966) pp.49-78.

2724 The detail of the chart (next page) held at the Boston Public Library is on the 7th engraved plate. Described as a 3rd edition variant, but with separate sheets dating back to the 2nd edition. The 7th plate is identified as 2nd edition; that is February 1776 – when the colour code was added. A 3rd edition (late 1776) was faithfully copied by William Faden of London (completed 1799), revealing red around the whole archipelago. From this it can be reasoned that the detail above dates from February, 1776, but was only in use for a few months; changing with the 3rd edition. This would coincide with the creation of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata. Juan de la Cruz Cano's original, meticulously researched, map of South America very quickly became mired in politics.

2725 *Iriarte to Grimaldi November 14, 1775* quoted in Smith 1966 pp.49-78. An invoice authorized for payment on January 25, 1776 was for seven charts mounted and coloured.



"The government in Spain first permitted the map, but the moment they saw one of them come out, ..., seized all the few copies which had got out and on which they could lay their hands, and issued the severest injunctions to call in the rest and to prevent their going abroad." [2726]

"This work does honor to the nation, to the wise minister who promoted it and to the author for the careful detail and minute attention with which he had fashioned the map... At the time when the map appeared it was impossible to make another one as exact..." [2727]

In **December**, the British Government agrees to release the New England vessels and crews. In return, Rotch contracts to purchase supplies to the value of £10,000 from merchants in London.

> *"Government, we are informed, intend to make Falkland's Island a place of strength, and that encouragement will soon be made public for establishing fisheries in those seas, which abound with seals, whales, &c."* [2728]
>
> *"By a letter from Gosport, we are informed, that the vessels brought in here about three weeks ago, which were taken by one of our men of war at sea, and deemed prizes, are given up to the merchants; as it appears they were actually bound to Falkland's Island on the service of whale fishing, and they are now getting ready to proceed on the voyages."* [2729]

In late **December**, the first elements of the New England whaling fleet start to arrive at the harbour of Port Egmont in the western Falkland Islands. [2730]

"In 1775 the first British attempt was made at the Southern fishery. Ships of from one hundred to one hundred and nine tons were sent to .., the coast of Brazil, the Falkland Islands, ..." [2731]

2726 Thomas Jefferson in a letter dated August 20, 1786 quoted in Smith 1966 p.67. Jefferson suggested that the original plates had been destroyed, but this was not the case.

2727 *Francisco Requena to Cevallos February 9, 1802* in Smith 1966 pp.49-78.

2728 *Hampshire Chronicle Monday* December 18, 1775 p.3

2729 *Reading Mercury* Monday January 1, 1776

2730 Quite how many is unclear. It had been Rotch's intention to follow the fleet to Port Egmont, but he was recorded as still in London on December 6, 1775 (*CO 5/40 fol.94b*). Two whalers, *Britannia* and *Amazon* would be captured, by revolutionary American privateers, on their homeward journey in August 1777. There is no suggestion, however, that the Spanish made any attempt to interfere in what was a substantial enterprise at the Falklands. *cf. Francis Rotch to Lord Germaine* in *CO 5 vol.115 folio 215.* Also 1777

2731 *A History of the Whale Fisheries* James Travis Jenkins 1921

"The English southern whale fishery, to the south and west of England, commenced from London in 1775 and for the next eighty years the trade was almost exclusively carried out from London to the South Seas. For the first fifteen years the trade was conducted primarily in the mid to south Atlantic." [2732]

1776 – January 1st, in London, at the Royal Society, William Clayton, last British Military Administrator at Fort George, describes the Falklands archipelago.

THE Caledonian Mercury

No. 8555. EDINBURGH, TUESDAY, August 6, 1776.

"Falkland's Islands, or, as the Spaniards and French call them, the Malonie (sic) Islands, are situated between the latitude of 52° 26 and 51° 6 S. they are numberless, forming a mass of broken high lands, or very low sedgy keys and sunken rocks. The largest is the easternmost island, and on the eastern side the Spaniards had a settlement, which the Crown of Spain purchased of M. Bougainville, who on his private account, had formed a settlement in the year 1764,..

Adjoining to the second large island, to the westward, lies Saunders Island, on which the English settlement was made, a blockhouse erected, several spots inclosed for gardens and three storehouses, and five dwelling-houses or huts, built at different times by the ships crews who were stationed there.

The harbour of Port Egmont was formed by these islands, and another high, barren, rocky island, named Kepple's Island, and some lesser islands to the N.E. and eastward, *and was entirely land-locked, or inclosed by the land on every point; it was very spacious; the bottom was muddy and good holding ground. From the hills through the bogs drained several runs of water, and as the landing-places were good, and a natural small cove for boats to lie in safety on the north side of Saunders Island, sheltered from the S.W. Winds, it induced Captain Macbride (sic) to make settlement on it. …* [2733]

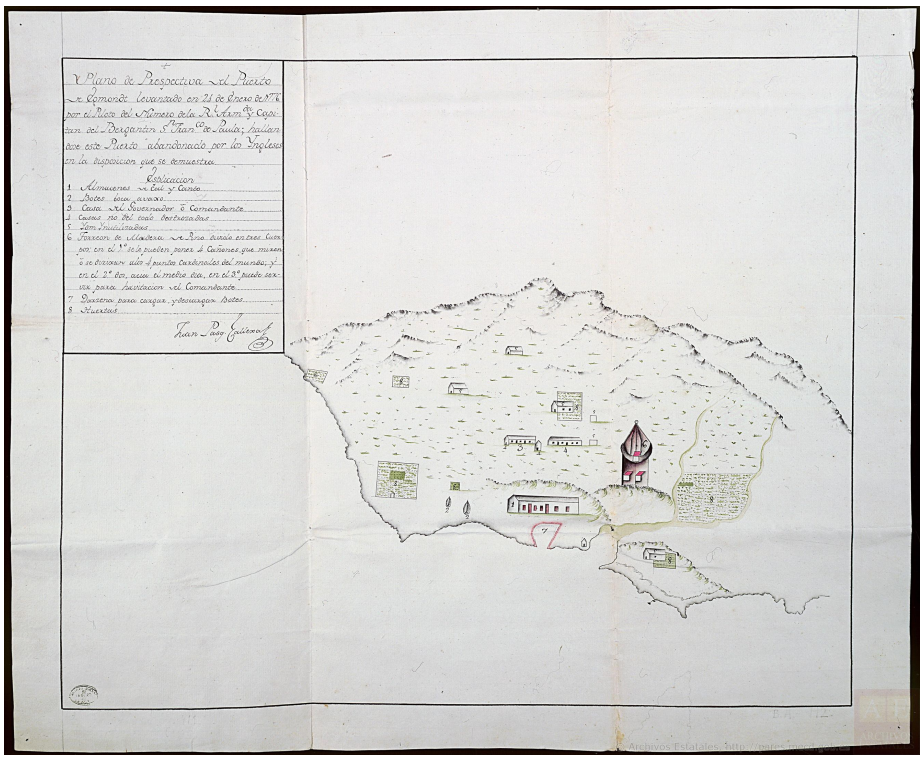
2732 Chatwin 2016

2733 My emphasis. Interesting that Clayton recognised that the eastern Island was the largest, as many charts of the time did not.

The coasts of these islands abounds with whales of the spermaceti kind; the islands with innumerable seals and sea-lions, from whence a valuable fishery might, if thought proper, be carried on. The passage out is twelve weeks; the same home. Ships might be loaded with oil ready made, in six and eight weeks, and the price of that article greatly reduced. These are all the remarks I made while I commanded on that barren, dreary, desolate, boggy, rocky spot, in 1773 and 1774." [2734]

In the Falklands, at Puerto de la Soledad, Piloto Juan de la Peña arrives in the brig *Santa Paula*.

"... the Governor of *Puerto Soledad, in observance of the orders that had been given, and even ignoring the compliance given by the British to the word pledged, continued to maintain a discreet vigilance on that point, which, periodically, was visited by Hispanic pilots. In early 1776, Gil and Lemos obtained information that the British had left the base. He then resolved to verify the truth of what he had been told."* [2735]



January 10th, from Portsmouth, England, whalers *Abigail, Falkland* and *Enterprize*, sail for the archipelago.[2736]

From the Falkland Islands, *Maria* (William Mooers) accompanied by another vessel (Jonathon Mooers), transport a cargo of Elephant Seal oil into Dunkirk in France. [2737]

January 24th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *San Francisco de Paula* (Capt. Juan Pascual Callejas), drops anchor near Saunders Island.[2738] Finding evidence of recent use, Capt. Callejas sketches Fort George and Jason's Town (right), before pulling down and stealing the lead plate left by Lieut. Clayton in 1774. [2739]

"In the beginning of 1776, Captain Juan P. Callejas formally reconnoitered Port Egmont and the adjacent bays; he found the roads covered with grass, the doors of the Houses and Stores open, the roofs almost entirely fallen in and some effects scattered on the shore." [2740]

2734 *Caledonian Mercury* August 6, 1776. Also published in *Philosophical Transactions vol. LXVI*. *cf.* Chapters 2 & 3
2735 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.167. The "*word pledged*" presumably refers to the much disputed secret promise.
2736 *Hampshire Chronicle* Monday January 15, 1776. Also *Francis Rotch to Aaron Lopez February 20, 1776*
2737 Headland 1989 p.78 citing Stackpole 1972. The Mooers had set out from London. During the Industrial Revolution, seal oil was used as a lubricant in the new manufacturing machines.
2738 The first Spanish ship to do so since 1771.
2739 Much is occasionally made of what amounted to little more than an act of petty theft. When the British garrison had withdrawn in May, 1774, its commander, William Clayton, had nailed a lead plate to the door of Fort George, which clearly stated Britain's existing claim. See 1774, above
2740 Vernet 1832 *cf.* 1774 & 1780

"... Callegas (sic) ... visits the remains of our settlement at Port Egmont and discovered there the Inscription left by Captain Clayton upon his quitting the place the year before (sic). This Inscription fully set forth His Majesty's rights and was on a leaden plate, and was sent by Callegas to Buenos Ayres, where I am told it was carefully preserved until General Beresford took possession of the city, and sent it to England." [2741]

"Capt. Pascual Callejas, who visited Port Egmont while carrying out a coastal survey, reported that the abandoned settlement had been virtually destroyed by sealers from New England." [2742]

In England, on the same day, a report is published in *Saunders's News-Letter*:

> *"Two men of war and ten ships are fitting out in the river for Falkland's Islands, but upon what plan they are going out, is not known."* [2743]
>
> *"Captain Cook, in the new voyage which he is going to make (Captain Clarke, the commander of the second ship) is to take Omiah to Otaheite, and from thence to proceed upon the discovery of the North-West passage to the northwards of California..."* [2744]

In London, Spain's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Don Filippo Vitorio Amadeo Ferrero de Biella, Prince of Masseran (Masserano), complains about English ships seen in Port Egmont. [2745]

> *"It is said that the Spanish Ambassador has lately presented a strong memorial against our sending ships into the South Seas; and that, in consequence of which memorial, our Court have come to a determination to put an entire stop to the intended expedition of Captain Cooke, who was soon to have sailed thence, and his destination will be changed."* [2746]

"(The) British Minister again assured him of the abandonment, adding that he had reason to suspect that Vessels belonging to the revolted Colonies of North America often went to the Islands to fish for Whales; on which account the Court of London had in its contemplation to send 1 or 2 Frigates to expel them." [2747]

"... the Prince de Masserano had complained to Lóndres, that some English vessels had been seen at Port Egmout, because this was contrary to the solemn and repeated protests with which he had been assured the total abandonment of that place." [2748]

2741 *Woodbine Parish to Earl Aberdeen 20, November 1830. FO/6/499.* For Beresford, see 1806.

2742 Dickinson 2007 p.27

2743 *Saunder's News-Letter* Monday January 22 to Wednesday January 24, 1776.

2744 *Ipswich Journal* January 27, 1776. Omai, a young man from Raiatea of the Society Islands in Polynesia, had boarded *Adventure* during Cook's second voyage. His return to his homeland was used as cover for a third voyage of discovery.

2745 Vernet 1832. I can find no reference to this in the British archives where Britain's dealings with the Spanish Ambassador are extensively recorded. The only source that mentions the Falkland Islands is Luis Vernet's 1832 report to the Buenos Airean government. Vernet asserted that Madrid noted Masserano's complaint to the British in a letter of February 7, 1776 (see below). However, he provided few details, not even a date for the complaint, and the letter he refers to has never been published. Ambassador Masserano complaining about a voyage of discovery to the southern Pacific is plausible, as Spain very much saw that area as a Spanish sea. Masserano complaining about ships seen in the harbour of Port Egmont, is not. After the extensive negotiations in 1770/71, Spain's Ambassador was fully aware of Britain's position regarding sovereignty. See March 7, 1776.

2746 *Kentish Gazette Saturday* March 16, 1776 p.4. No mention of the Falklands. The South Seas were generally regarded as being the southern Pacific Ocean. I can find no *'memorial'* in the archives. As for Cooke, there is some, rather vague, evidence that the original plan had been for him to take a westward route to the Pacific Ocean, via the Falklands. See July 12, 1776.

2747 Vernet 1832. Not reliable. No frigates were despatched to the Islands.

2748Areco 1885 p.44. The source for this appears to have been Vernet's report of 1832. The wording on the plate left in 1774, by the British commander, rather put the lie to any suggestion of a British abandonment in terms of sovereignty.

Ambassador Masserano informs Minister Grimaldi that, while he has complained to the British government, he has little in the way of evidence to support his argument; *"It is of the utmost importance to publish before long our nation's travel and discoveries made in these regions. The long-promised maps also need to be published for there are no better acts of possession for this nation than such printed materials. With these publications in hand, we can manifest to Europe that no other has the right to claim our now confirmed discoveries."* [2749]

January 31st, from Puerto Soledad, after receiving Callejas's report, Governor Gil y Lemos writes to the Governor in Buenos Aires to tell him that the British settlement is, "*depopulated*." [2750]

In Britain, the *Whale Fishery, etc. Act 1776,* extends the whaling bounty system to the South Atlantic.

> *"It being found that a profitable whale fishery may be carried on in seas south of 44 degrees north latitude, premiums from £100 to £500, to continue for eleven years, were offered by parliament to the five ships, owned, and carrying men and apprentices, agreeable to the regulations enacted for the Greenland ships, fitted out after the 1st of August, and returning to port before the 1st of November, which should bring home the five largest quantities of oil, each being the produce of at least one whale caught by them."* [2751]

"In response to the need to ensure a continuing supply of oil for Britain the Government instituted an incentive scheme which offered premiums to the most successful ships, ranging from £500 to £100. The premiums were designed to encourage success rather than simply reward participation, as was the case with the bounty system employed in the northern whale fishery." [2752]

February 7th, Madrid informs Governor Vertiz that British Ministers have assured Ambassador Masserano that any ships seen at Port Egmont were likely to be American patriot vessels, not under the control of London.

"On this occasion, the Government of Buenos Ayres was desired to cause the Governor of the Malvinas (sic) to again reconnoitre the Islands, and if he found any individuals there to order them off immediately." [2753]

"The government of Buenos Aires was then ordered to conduct a new reconnaissance and require eviction, causing the occupants of that island to be immediately withdrawn." [2754]

February 29th, from London, *Nancy* (Scott) sails for the Falklands' whaling grounds. [2755]

"That the Rotches had not abandoned the Falkland Islands as a base during the Revolution is revealed by an entry in the London customs, showing their ship Nancy, Captain Scott, had been granted a permit to sail hence." [2756]

2749 Masserano quoted in Buschman 2014 p.46 (no source provided, nor any date other than 1776). The "*long promised maps*" may be a reference to Cruz Cano's chart which was not being widely distributed. See above.

2750 *Francisco Gil y Lemos a Juan José de Vértiz, Puerto Soledad, 31 de enero de 1776. AGI, Buenos Aires, 56*

2751 *16 GEO.III c.47.* Introduced to encourage the Greenland industry in 1733, the scheme lasted until 1821. PRO *BT 6/93*

2752 Chatwin 2016

2753 Vernet 1832. Once again, the only source for this unpublished correspondence.

2754 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278. Quesada's source being Vernet's 1832 report.

2755 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards (BSWF = British Southern Whale Fishery). Owned by Francis and William Rotch, commanded by James S. Scott. Returned April 29, 1777. Other whalers sailing for the Falklands in early 1776, exact dates unknown, included *Africa*, *Flora*, *Fox*, *Francis*, *George*, *Minerva* and *Sally.* See November, 1775.

2756 Stackpole 1972 p.16. This most likely refers to the agreement between Francis Rotch and the British Government of December, 1775 to prevent whaling crews being pressed into the British navy. The documents issued to the ships do not appear to have survived.

March 1st, in Madrid, notification of the wording on the plate left at Fort George by the British in 1774, is received at the Spanish Court. [2757]

March 7th, from London, Spanish Ambassador Masserano reports to Minister Grimaldi the departure of British whaling vessels believed to be on their way to the harbour of Port Egmont. [2758]

"It is difficult to be precise about how many ships were involved in the Falklands Fleet venture as the various sources quote different numbers;.. However, twenty-one have been identified in the 'Ships' List'..." [2759]

March 25th, in the Falklands, at the entrance to the harbour of Port Egmont, Spanish *piloto* José de la Peña, arrives below Look-out Hill on Keppel Island, from where he sees a brig anchored near the British settlement site on Saunders Island. The brig's crew appear to be loading and unloading supplies. Peña does not attempt to challenge the vessel, which is not displaying any ensign. Instead he observes it for five days before returning to Soledad for supplies.

Instructed to return, Peña watches the brig for a further seven days before it sails away; after which the Spanish *piloto* lands on Saunders Island. Inspecting Jasons Town and Fort George, Peña discovers a supply of timber, but no people. [2760]

"Thus, in March 1776, Julián de la Peña, captain of the brig San Francisco de Paula, entered the disputed port sighting a brig that was carrying out cargo operations; ..." [2761]

March 28th, from Portsmouth, England, *Frances* (Buckley), sails for "*Falkland's Islands*." [2762]

April 1st, in London, a suggestion is made in Parliament that convicts should be sent to the Falklands. [2763]

April 2nd, from Madrid, Minister for the Indies, Julián de Arriaga, writes to the Governor of Soledad with Masserano's intelligence that twenty or more whaling ships are en-route to the Falkland Islands. [2764]

In Buenos Aires, in receipt of the instructions of February 7th, Governor Juan José de Vertiz orders a more assertive approach; *"Spain then sent orders to the Viceroy of Buenos Aires ... and to his subordinate the Governor of the Malvinas, then Francisco Gil (the governors at Puerto de la Soledad were nearly always Spanish naval officers), to send two frigates to the islands to intimate to any ships from the English colonies that, England having evacuated the settlement, they should cease to frequent those seas and coasts. This intimation seems hardly to have had the desired effect – indeed it may be said the whaling ships quite ignored it."* [2765]

2757 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol 2 p.245 citing *122-5-9 Archivo General de Indias.* No protest was made to the British government. Indeed, the removal of the plate was kept entirely secret. The plate remained in Buenos Aires, until discovered during the British attack on that city. See 1806.

2758 *Masserano al marqués de Grimaldi, Londres, 7 de marzo de 1776. AGI, Buenos Aires, 553.* Somewhat inconsistent with the supposed assurances given by British Ministers just the month before. Also, no suggestion of a protest by Masserano.

2759 *Shipowners investing in the South Sea Whale Fishery from Britain: 1775-1815* Jane Clayton & Charles Clayton 2016

2760 *Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos* Andrew David & Carlos Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.240. The 1778 date in Tatham is a misprint. The work observed was most likely linked to the whaling operations of Francis Rotch.

2761 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.167-168. This author suggests there was another reconnaissance in May, 1776, but offers no evidence in support of such, other than that the report of the March 25 operation was dated May 10, 1776.

2762 *Hampshire Chronicle* Monday April 1, 1776 p.2

2763 *Convicts and Empire: a Naval Question, 1776-1811* A. Frost 1980. Possibly the first time, but not the last.

2764 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol 2 125-5-2 *Archivo General de Indias*

2765 *The Falkland Islands* V. F. Boyson 1924 p.78 (no source cited – probably Vernet's 1832 report). There are no records of any ships being spoken to.

May 10th, from Soledad, Gil y Lemos reports to Governor Vertiz on the March 25th reconnaissance. [2766]

June 8th, Vertiz informs Madrid of the sighting; adding that he has asked for the vessel to be identified. [2767]

In Barbados, One of the Rotch fleet of whalers, *Fox* (Silas Butler), arrives from the Falklands. In too poor a condition to continue, its cargo is sold. [2768]

In Buenos Aires, Mariano Santos, a 20 year old who has already spent seven years in prison for the crime of sodomy, is further sentenced to the Soledad garrison for 'life.' [2769]

July 4th, in Philadelphia, at a '*Continental Conference*', rebels in Britain's North American colonies declare independence. France and Spain agree, in secret, to assist the rebels against the British. [2770]

July 7th, in London, one whaler of Rotch's Falklands fleet, *Abigail*, arrives with 87 tuns of whale oil. [2771]

July 12th, from Plymouth, Capt James Cook sails for the Pacific Ocean. [2772]

August 1st, King Carlos III of Spain appoints Pedro de Cevallos (Ceballos) to be Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata. [2773]

"... located between 15º and 37º latitude South". [2774]

> "*I create you my Viceroy Governor and Captain General of those of Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Tucumán, Potosí, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas and all the Corregimientos, Peoples and Territories to which the Jurisdiction of that Hearing extends; which you can preside in the case of going to it with the own faculties and authority, that enjoy the other Viceroys of my dominions of the Indians, according to the Laws of them, including under your command and Jurisdiction the Territories of the cities of Mendoza and San Juan de la Pica, which today are dependent on the Government of Chile, with absolute independence from my Viceroy of the Kingdoms of Peru,..*"

2766 *Gil y Lemos a Vértiz de 10 de mayo de 1776 AGI, Buenos Aires, 56*
2767 *Ibid.*
2768 Stackpole 1972 p.394
2769 *¿Custodia, castigo o corrección? Consideraciones sobre la cárcel capitular de Buenos Aires a fines de la época colonial (1776-1800)* Lucas Esteban Rebagliati 2015 citing *El memorial en Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Sala IX, Solicitudes de presos, Legajo (L) 12-9-13, Folios (F) 303-307. AGN, Sala IX, Justicia, L 31-2-9, E 20, visitas 9/8/1776 a la 4/12/1776.* Soledad was not a prison, but convictc were used as manual labour.
2770 Neither France nor Spain felt sufficiently prepared to openly declare against Britain, but US records date Spanish assistance from this time. Whilst not obviously related to the Falklands, I include this information as it helps to explain Spain's deteriorating relations with England over the following few years. Spain would eventually declare war in 1779. Although the original agreement with France was made in secret, there is little doubt that the British were well aware of Spanish involvement. Persistent rumours of a planned British attack on Spain's South American colonies circulated London from early 1777. *cf.* 1779 & 1806
2771 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. Having only left London in January, 1776 it is likely that this ship had its cargo of oil transshipped from other members of the New England fleet on its arrival in the Falklands, and had promptly turned around.
2772 Cook's third and final, fatal, voyage into the Pacific via Cape Town and New Zealand.
2773 Cevallos had been Governor of Buenos Aires between 1756 and 1766.
2774 *Revolucion Hispano-Americaux* Mariano Torrente 1829 p.11. As the Falklands archipelago lies well outside these co-ordinates, it would seem that the islands were not initially to be a part of the new Viceroyalty. Map courtesy of San Antonio Museum of Art.

"In 1776, partly owing to Portuguese aggression, the important resolution was taken to separate the provinces of the Rio de la Plata from their dependence upon the government of Peru and to create a new viceroyalty with Don Pedro Cevallos, governor of Buenos Aires from 1757 to 1766, as the first viceroy. The capital of this viceroyalty was Buenos Aires, and it comprised the provinces of Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Santa Cruz de la Sierra or Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno, besides the subordinate governments of Montevideo, Moxos, and Chiquitos, and the Missions on the rivers Uruguay and Pararni. ... Cevallos, as Governor of Buenos Aires, had opposed the Portuguese with vigor, even to the point of war in 1762." [2775]

"The Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata was born from a split of the Viceroyalty of Peru and integrated the territories of the governorships of Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Tucuman and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Village de Cuyo and the villages of the Provencis of Charcas. These territories covered the surface of the republics of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and parts of southern Brazil, northern Chile, southern Peru as well as the Falkland Islands. Also included nominally were the African islands of Fernando Poo and Annobon in Equatorial Guinea today, ceded by Portugal in 1777, although the attempt to colonize them failed. The Viceroyalty was located in the Southern Cone of South America and possessed coasts in both the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Oceans." [2776]

Montevideo is appointed to be Spain's primary naval base for the South Atlantic. [2777]

"For the Argentine, the greatest difficulty arose from the embarrassing fact that the Royal Decree of August 1, 1776, which founded the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, made not the slightest mention of the southern territories when defining the borders of the new viceroyalty. ... The strong point that the Chilean had in his favor was that in 1775, a year before the founding of the Viceroyalty, Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, the geographer of the Spanish Crown, had published a map showing the southern territories as Chilean. ... This map nullifies the hypothesis that Patagonia could correspond to the jurisdiction of the Intendancy of Buenos Aires." [2778]

"From the creation of Naval Apostadero in 1776, the Malvinas were under the Montevidean naval jurisdiction, which has even allowed some scholars to apply for a possible Uruguayan claim of sovereignty ..." [2779]

In the Atlantic Ocean, one of the New England whaling fleet – *Britannia* – is seized by an American revolutionary sloop, *Providence*; commanded by John Paul Jones.

2775 Craine 1961

2776 *Las mercedes del Rey. Los Titulos de Castilla vinculados con el Virreinato del Rio de la Plata* Francisco Javier Almozara Valenzuela 2014

2777 *Real Apostadero de Marina*

2778 *Apuntes Sobre Los Orígenes Del Nacionalismo Territorial Argentino* Carlos Escudé 2008. For the Viceroyalty de la Plata, the southern limit had been set at *"37° latitude South"*.

2779 *Visiones Uruguayas sobre la cuestión Malvinas* José Ramiro Podetti 2013

"She is a Nantucket Whaler, and appeared by the voluntary testimony of the Master, Mate, etc., to be the property of rank Tories, who had ordered their oil to be carried to the London market, and the amount of it to be shipped out in British goods to Nantucket." [2780]

August 9th, from Spain, a Royal Order is forwarded to the Governor of Buenos Aires, Juan José de Vertiz, by Joseph de Gálvez, Spain's Secretary of State for the Indies.

The Royal Order is accompanied by detailed instructions. [2781]

"The evacuation of the establishment which (Britain) made in the Great Maluina has already been verified by the court of London, and it being a constant fact that the situation and sterility of those Islands make population unpractical, and precludes the subsistence of individuals other than those which the King maintains at his own expense, His Majesty has resolved on the idea that two Frigates, destined for the protection of the Rio de la Plata and for the conservation of the Maluinas, (by) the attached instruction signed by my hand, one of them must continually at all times, be present in that colony with two Zumacas, or Brigantines, when it is considered convenient, and as appropriate they shall travel cautiously and stealthily the coast and ports to observe what may occur, and to make sure (that) the English do not actually return to the old establishment." [2782]

Puerto de la Soledad's status is changed from *Gobernacion* to *Comandancia-Gobernacion*. [2783]

"The King considers (it) the greatest work to be followed by the Frigate Commander who is destined (for) the Port of Soledad of the Maluinas on account of having to be at the same time Governor and hold himself in both commands...." [2784]

His Majesty has considered it appropriate to determine that, without making (a) ***formal establishment****, that Port be protected, and (with) continued vigilance for what may happen around it, taking such measures that accord with your present circumstances or await the arrival of the expedition under the command of Don Pedro de Cevallos whom you will advise of this, so that with a greater force and having several ships of the Royal Armada under Lieutenant General Marquis de Casa Tilly, (you) can with his agreement, verify this new plan and advise the Governor of those islands, so he is informed when the time comes (and) in the event of it being put into practice."* [2785]

"... on the concept that two frigates destined to protect this river and conservation of the Maluinas should continue, the Royal Order of August 9, 1776, referring to the instruction of the (King), determined the continued existence of one of (the ships) in that colony with two sumacas and brigs (and) that when it was

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2780 *John Paul Jones to Marine Committee, Continental Congress* in Stackpole 1972 p.8. 'Tory' was a name given to North American loyalists (loyal to the Crown of England), during the American Revolutionary War.

2781 What appears to be a copy, dated August 20, 1776, was sent to Pedro González Castejón y Salazar who had been named Secretary of State for the Navy, following the death of Julian Manuel de Arriaga in January of 1776. Sadly, the Royal Order itself is missing, although it may merely have referred to the instructions. An early copy of the Royal Order appears to be catalogued amongst the *Mata Linares Collection* at the Spanish archive in Seville (*Tome CVII ff.366-368*).

2782 Very much the plan presented by Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos in May, 1773. A cautious vigilance is also consistent with the instructions issued after 1774. A *Zumaca* or *Smack* was a small coastal vessel common around the River Plate at that time; mainly used for fishing. A *Brigantine* was of a similar size; the name referring to a particular style of rigging. *cf.* May & August, 1773

2783 Two commands, two hats – Commander and Governor. These changes were to take effect from the beginning of 1777.

2784 Also quoted in Podetti 2013. The next part of the instructions do not translate well, but deals with remuneration ("*gratificación*") for the new *comandante-gobernador* at Soledad. Also notes problems with supplies reaching the Soledad garrison during the tenure of the Governors.

2785 My emphasis. That the garrison at Soledad was not seen as a '*formal establishment*' is unexpected. The final part suggests that the accompanying order was provisional and subject to revision by the new Viceroy.

deemed convenient and opportune, they should travel the coast with caution and concealment to observe what may happen, and to carry out other reconnaissance and purposes of the Royal service…" [2786]

"On August 9, 1776, the Apostadero de Montevideo was created and there was to be a war frigate prepared to relieve another similar unit that was staying in the Malvinas. As the time passed and a second Spanish naval decay was accentuated, the frigates were replaced by corvettes and later they were replaced by bergantines and even sumacas." [2787]

"… the Commander of the frigates responsible for communications with the Falklands were available as necessary in order to assume the Government of the Islands…" [2788]

"*It is worth reading the Royal Order of August 9, 1776 by which the Spanish crown created the Naval Apostadero of Montevideo, because it allows an appreciation of the importance that the Falkland Islands had. Most of its text, as well as that of its annexed instructions, is dedicated to specifying the rotation of the ships between Montevideo and Malvinas, establishes those that must be fixed in Puerto Soledad, deals with the details of the facilities in the islands and the provision of its marine equipment, and fixes the surveillance routines of the archipelago and its coasts. The Royal Order begins with the explanation that its provisions derive from the then extinct British occupation and by virtue of the risk of further attempts in that regard:.."*[2789]

"During the term of office of Francisco Gil y Lemos as governor at Puerto Soledad (1774-7) the islands were ***demoted*** *from a "gobernación" to a "comandancia", and their commander became a "comandante" with limited responsibilities rather than a "gobernador" with general powers. Overall authority was initially exercised by the Viceroy of Peru, himself subservient to Madrid, but on 1 August 1776 Carlos III signed a "cédula real" [royal warrant] setting up the Viceroyalty of the River Plate, with its seat of government at Buenos Aires. It covered not only what is now Argentina but the whole of Paraguay and Uruguay, parts of Bolivia and the whole of southern Chile – modern Argentina covers only part of the territory of the Viceroyalty of La Plata, which lessens the force of Argentina's claim to have inherited the Falklands from Spain."* [2790]

August 15th, from Spain, instructions are issued for Governor Vertiz.

"The king's instructions concerning the government to be established were issued under date of August 15, 1776. The new viceroyalty was independent of that of Peru, and the power conferred upon Ceballos was the absolute power of the king. At this time the governor of Rio de la Plata was Juan Jose de Vertiz, who, having handed over to the new viceroy the command of the troops and the superior authority over all the cities and territory under his control, was ordered to remain as governor of this province, subordinated to the viceroy as the viceroy was subject to the king." [2791]

September 26th, Spain's frigate commanders receive orders to warn off American ships near the Falklands. [2792]

"… it is the will of the King.. on the adoption of measures with a view to ascertain whether the English from the Colony of Boston continue to cruise in these seas for the purpose of whaling… That no vessel belonging to that nation be molested or detained by our ships of war but that the Commanders of the latter may (mildly,

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2786 *Vértiz to Galvez October 8, 1779* in *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vértiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* Lamas A., López V. F. , Gutiérrez J. M. (eds) 1871 vol.2

2787 Destefani 1982 (2) p.39. An *Apostadero* was a naval command in, mostly, the Spanish colonies.

2788 Aguado 2012

2789 Podetti 2013

2790 Pascoe 2020 p.44. My emphasis.

2791 *Spain's Declining Power in South America 1730-1806* Bernard Moses 1919 pp.161-162

2792 Vernet 1832. *Grimaldi to José Bernardo de Galvez y Gallardo September 24, 1776* also mentions English whalers.

urbanely, ...) ***hint*** *to the masters of such vessels, that these Seas and Coasts appertain to Spanish dominion, and that all nations refrain from frequenting them..."* [2793]

From England, three Rotch ships, *Francis*, *Flora* and *Nancy* sail for the Falkland Islands; followed by *America*, *Abigail* and *Egmont* (George Hayley) *Enterprise* and *Falkland* (Barclay & Co.) and *Beaver* (Harrison & Co.). [2794]

October 12th, from Cadiz, Spain's newly appointed Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata, Pedro Antonio de Cevallos, sails with six warships and an army. [2795]

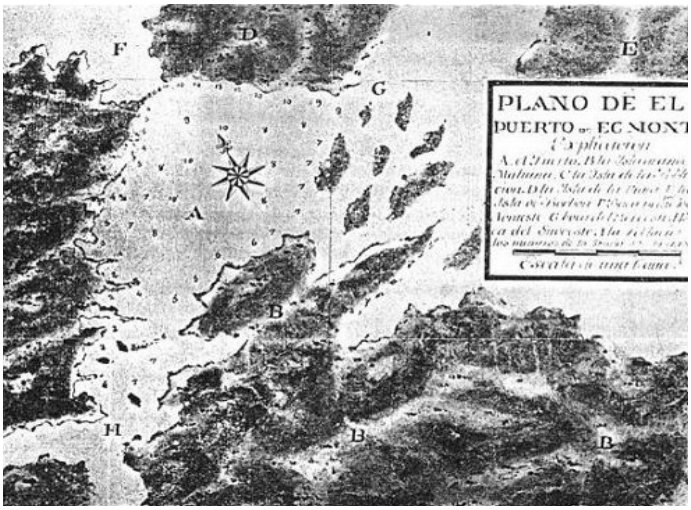
"... a military and naval expedition of 9,000 men was dispatched in secrecy from Spain to the River Plate. Cevallos's mission was to quash the Portuguese in Colonia, and then to confer on Buenos Aires the status of a viceregal capital. ... The territories of the new jurisdiction embraced five regions: the governorships of Buenos Aires (including the Plates east bank and the missions), Paraguay, Tucuman, the corregimiento of Cuyo, and Upper Peru ... Upper Peru possessed both half the population and the silver mines of Potosi." [2796]

December 7th, from Montevideo, Capt. Don Martin de Lastaria writes to inform Secretary Galvez, in Madrid, of an early departure of the packet-boat *San Cristobel.* Carrying supplies for the Soledad garrison. [2797]

"To ensure the survival of the garrison, convicts and the crew of the ship, and necessary repairs of the ship during the trip, it must carry a years food supply at least, clothing, medicines, and the necessary spare parts, for all the people of that place, so the commander of the islands gives notice one year in advance to the Intendant of the Army and Royal Hacienda of what needs to be sent. The beginning of January is the best time for the departure of the ship..." [2798]

Import values into Britain from the Falkland Islands between Christmas 1775 and Christmas 1776 are recorded as £783 5/-. Exports to the Falklands archipelago are listed as being £321 16/- for the same period. [2799]

In the Falkland Islands, Capt. Callejas, surveying the harbour of Port Egmont, reports activity in the area of the British settlement (survey chart right). [2800]



2793 *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/610.* My emphasis. The handwriting is not easy to read.
2794 Information from Jane Clayton – January, 2018
2795 Moses 1919 p.162.
2796 *Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonialism to Alfonsin* David Rock 1987. Widely reported in British newspapers.
2797 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.2 p.262. Also *125-5-2* Archivo General de Indias.
2798 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871
2799 *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation* David Macpherson 1805 vol.3
2800 *Plano de el Puerto Egmont.* Saunders Island is the land mass to the left (C). The harbour of Port Egmont at A., Keppel Island at the top (D).

1777 – January 4th, Spain's Governor at Soledad, Gil y Lemos, sails for Montevideo.[2801]

"His departure also coincided with a fundamental reform of Falklands government. Following the recommendations he had raised three years before, the figure of governor of the islands was suppressed, responsibility passed to the captain of the frigate stationed in Puerto Soledad." [2802]

January 7th, Capt. Lastaria reports the preparation of a brig, *Nuestra Senora de Rosario*, for Soledad's, *"care."*[2803]

January 30th, from Montevideo, Governor Gil y Lemos assures Minister Galvez that *teniente de fragata* Carassa y Souza is fully aware of the need to identify and report on any English ships in the Islands.

February 6th, at Soledad. *teniente de fragata,* Ramón de Carassa y Souza, arrives. His official title is *comandante-gobernador* and his orders are to regularly inspect the harbour of Port Egmont. Also to report if the British return, as they are expected to. Carassa y Souza notes the presence, at the garrison, of 385 head of cattle.[2804]

"Confirmed in office, Carassa continued the work begun by his predecessors. A good part of the constructions continued to be of sod with the disadvantages that derived from such material: two warehouses needed to be rebuilt; the powder store was ruined; the four barracks also required to be rebuilt and four barracks or huts."[2805]

On the orders of the new commander, Juan Pascual Callejas reconnoiters the harbour of Port Egmont in *Señor del Buenfin; "I arrived at the anchorage, finding no one, and disembarked, finding the following: In the same quay was found a quantity of greaves, and pieces of Wolf skins, a(nd) sign of oils from them…"* [2806]

"Traces were found on this occasion of the base having been visited shortly before:… he stumbled upon huge pipes, vessels, tar barrels, lime barrels, traces of roof tiles being made, a furnace and a new forge, more than three thousand roof tiles, etc. The houses were in terrible condition, to the extent that most of them were uninhabitable." [2807]

February 24th, King Joseph I of Portugal dies. His daughter sues for peace with Spain in South America.

March 8th, in North America, from Philadelphia, in a *Memorial* to Spain's King Carlos III, British colonial rebels argue for a Spanish declaration of war against Great Britain. Spain's Chief Minister, the Marquis de Grimaldi, responds.

> *"You have considered your situation and not ours. The moment is not yet come for us. The war with Portugal – France being unprepared, and our treasure from South America not being arrived – makes it improper for us to declare immediately. These reasons will probably cease within a year, and then will be the moment."* [2808]

2801 Officially, Gil y Lemos remained Governor until his replacement's arrival on February 6, 1777

2802 Aguado 2012

2803 *Juan José de Vértiz a José de Gálvez January 8, 1777* in *122-5-9 Archivo General de Indias*

2804 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.110 fn. All of which appear to have been the descendants of the 18 head shipped out in 1768. *cf.* 1768

2805 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.168

2806 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.168 citing *Elementos para la historia de nuestras Islas Malvinas* A. Gomez Langenheim 1939 vol.1 pp.95-96

2807 *Ibid*

2808 *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* Jared Sparks 1829 vol.1 p.408. Spain did, however, agree to supply ammunition.

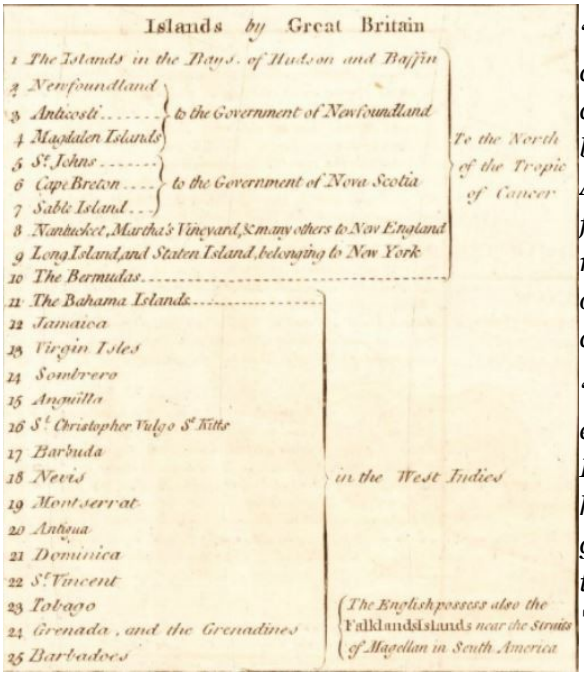
In London, a '*General Atlas describing the whole Universe*' is printed for Robert Sayer and John Bennett (above). Included is a chart of North and South America entitled – *A new map of the whole continent of America: divided into north and south and West Indies with a descriptive account of the European possessions, as settled by the definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Paris Feby. 10th. 1763.* Port Egmont is named; as is *Berkley Sound Spanish Settlement*.

A box on the chart (next page) lists the *Continent and Islands of America possessed by the European Nations*.

> '*The English possess also the Falklands Islands near the Straits of Magellan in South America.*'

April 1st, a Pilot of the Royal Squadron, Don Pablo Sisur, is commissioned to inspect Port Egmont.

"... he was ordered, if he found there any American Vessels, to make to them the before-mentioned intimation, as it was no longer under British dominion; and in case he should find there any English Vessels, he should make the same intimation to them, and further accuse them of a want of good faith." [2809]


Islands by Great Britain

1 The Islands in the Bays of Hudson and Baffin
2 Newfoundland
3 Anticosti ..... } to the Government of Newfoundland
4 Magdalen Islands }
5 St. Johns ..... }
6 Cape Breton .... } to the Government of Nova Scotia
7 Sable Island .. }
8 Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, & many others to New England
9 Long Island, and Staten Island, belonging to New York
10 The Bermudas ..... } To the North of the Tropic of Cancer
11 The Bahama Islands .....
12 Jamaica
13 Virgin Isles
14 Sombrero
15 Anguilla
16 St. Christopher Vulgo St. Kitts
17 Barbuda
18 Nevis
19 Montserrat
20 Antigua
21 Dominica
22 St. Vincent
23 Tobago
24 Grenada, and the Grenadines
25 Barbadoes } in the West Indies

The English possess also the Falklands Islands near the Straits of Magellan in South America

"In April, 1777, Pablo de Zizur was sent to survey the islands and Cape Horn. He was wrecked in latitude 49°S and cast on a rock. He and his companions managed to construct a small boat in which they ventured once more towards the south. After several days struggle and suffering, when strength and food were failing them they saw the Malvinas; and were rescued by a ship anchored in Bahia de la Soledad, and taken on shore – Zizur with a frozen foot which had to be amputated." [2810]

"Pablo Zizur, captain of the brig Santo Cristo del Buen fin, entered Port Egmont and recognized its total abandonment. He found, like the previous pilots, visible traces of the place having been frequented by whalers, such as ballast for boats, greaves, salt barrels, small tablets with inscriptions, etc. The tower was empty and the Governor's house badly treated as "full of grass and dust"..." [2811]

2809 Vernet 1832. The '*want of good faith*' averred to Spain's belief that Britain had '*promised*' to abandon the settlement. *cf.* 1770 & 1771

2810 Boyson 1924 p.79 citing *Coleccion de Obras ... relativos a la Historia ... de las Provencias del Rio de la Plata* 1910 v.220. Boyson's account contrasts somewhat against the other accounts.

2811 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.168

April 22nd, at Montevideo, Pedro Antonio de Cevallos lands his army. Marching on the disputed city of Colonia del Sacramento he forces its surrender, before leading his army towards the Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil. [2812]

April 28th, from Puerto Soledad, *comandante-gobernador* Carassa y Souza reports on Sisur's reconnaissance.[2813]

"... because of the order which he had to reconnoiter and advise if they returned to occupy it, on the (inspection) of 1777 when doing this task, the commissioned pilot found a new situation with no ships in the harbour nor inhabitants on the land, (but) they saw that there were many smaller buildings constructed, such as ovens, smelting sites, covered spaces for storing materials of which there were large quantities." [2814]

In **May**, a sealer, *Flora*, arrives back in England from the Falkland Islands. [2815]

"In the 1776 to 1777 season alone, the following products were brought back to London from the South Atlantic Grounds including the seas around the Falkland Islands; train oil worth £3,786-0s-0d, spermaceti worth £840-0s-0d and whalebone worth £1,280-0s-0d." [2816]

June 6th, from Madrid, instructions require that the frigate stationed at Soledad should be prepared, at all times, to return quickly to Montevideo. In case of need. [2817]

June 30th, from Spain's royal palace at San Lorenzo, a Royal Order is despatched to the Viceroy at Buenos Aires, requiring the destruction of the whalers' buildings and supplies observed on Saunders Island by *piloto* Sisur.[2818]

*"... it was inferred by our Court that some **American** colonists, or other unknown private individuals, without the knowledge of the English Ministry (as they assured us)*[2819] *looked to establish themselves in a permanent fashion; for this the King commanded by his Royal Orders of June 30 1777 to repeat the reconnaissance **with customary precautions**, and when the subject carrying out the commission **has assured himself** that there are **no inhabitants there**, or people from any nation, he should proceed to burn all the buildings which have been started or finished, doing the same with all the materials which have been gathered there..., which with luck, **on the return of the people who have left them there**.., their permanent settling will be put back or made impossible."* [2820]

2812 Peace proposals from Portugal and instructions from Madrid halted Cevallos's advance. See October, 1777.

2813 *138-6-4 Archivo General de Indias.* Considering Boyson's account of Sizur's voyage, it is worth a reminder that some of the accounts emanating from Puerto Soledad were considered likely to be pure fiction. Noteworthy that, for all the signs seen, the Spanish managed to avoid finding any whalers.

2814 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2 p.647. *cf.* Bullard 1947

2815 Clayton 2014

2816 Clayton & Clayton 2016

2817 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2.

2818 *Ibid.* Who may, or may not, have ever seen Saunders Island. *cf.* October, 1779 & February, 1780

2819 See February, 1776, above.

2820 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2. My emphasis. The words appear clear enough. A destruction of buildings built by American colonists or private individuals; but only when they were not there. Not an order to attack Britain's Fort George/Jasons Town establishment as is often claimed. A requirement to sneak in, destroy and sneak out again can hardly be viewed as an act of sovereignty. Indeed, there is no evidence that this order was carried out. Certainly, no British buildings were destroyed before 1780 (see below).

*"In **1777**, the Governor of Malvinas received Orders from the King to entirely demolish the Establishment of Port Egmont, and not to leave a vestige of it remaining. This was **afterwards done**, and the Spanish Government, under the date of the **8th of February, 1781**, acknowledged the receipt of the Despatch acquainting it with the fulfilment of its Instructions."* [2821]

"On June 30, 1777, Jose de Galvez, Minister of the Indies, sent a Royal Order to the Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata to - "proceed to burn the buildings of all kinds which may be completed or begun and the same with any materials found stockpiled."..." [2822]

October 1st, the *Treaty of San Ildefonso* between Spain and Portugal recognises Portuguese sovereignty over Brazil. It also reaffirms the *Treaty of Madrid 1750*, including its provisions abandoning the limitations in the *Treaty of Tordesillas 1494*.

"... both the Treaty of Madrid of 1750 and the Treaty of San Ildefonso of 1777, declared the Treaty of Tordesillas "null and void as if it had never been signed"." [2823]

*"... the Treaty of Tordesillas and its complements were annulled by the Treaty of Madrid of 1750, then reinstated by the Treaty of El Pardo of 1761 and finally abolished by the Treaty of San Idelfonso of 1777, thirteen years after the French occupation of 1764, twelve years after the British settlement in Port Egmont in 1765 and some fifty years before the first **Argentine** effective occupation ... Spain has always based its rights to all territories, terra firma or insular, discovered or not, on the (Papal) Bulls."* [2824]

October 15th, in Buenos Aires, Pedro Antonio de Cevallos, finally arrives to proclaim the Viceroyalty de la Rio de la Plata; and himself as Viceroy.

October 27th, in Spain, on the same day, King Carlos III issues a Royal Order for Pedro Antonio de Cevallos to hand over to a new Viceroy. [2825]

> *"By my warrant of August 1 of last year, I had the right to appoint for Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and District of the Audencia of Charcas with the territories of the cities of Mendoza and San Juan de la Frontera or of the Pico of the Government of Chile, to the Captain General of my Royal Army, Pedro Cevallos, by means of the circumstances that concurred thereto, and during this time Captain General in the commission to which he was stationed in that southern America. And realizing how important it is to my Royal service and good of my vassals in that part of my domains, the permanence of this dignity, because from Lima at a distance of a thousand leagues it is not possible to attend to the Government of the said Provinces so remote, ... I have come to resolve the continuation of said employment of Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa and of all villages, towns and territories to which the jurisdiction of that Audiencia extends, including under the same command and jurisdiction, the territories of the cities of Mendoza and San Juan del Pico, which were in charge of the government of Chile, with absolute independence from the Viceroy of Peru and the president of Chile."*[2826]

2821 Vernet 1832. My emphasis. Seemingly, a deceptive conflation of separate events. *cf.* 1779, 1780 & 1832
2822 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.77
2823 Escudé 2008
2824 Peña & Peña 2018. My emphasis. *cf.* 1493 & 1829
2825 Moses 1919 p.168
2826 Quoted in Valenzuela 2014

"From San Lorenzo, October 27, 1777, the king issued an order declaring the viceroyalty permanent. By this order General Vertiz was appointed to succeed Ceballos, but it was left to Ceballos to determine when this appointment should become effective. … At the head of the political hierarchy stood the viceroy, governor, and captain-general; under him the secretary of the viceroyalty; and there were the following provinces with civil or military governors : Montevideo, Tucuman, Paraguay, Charcas, Potosi, Paz, Chucuito, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Mojos, Chiquitos, Misiones de Indios Guaranis. The Malouine, or Falkland, Islands, and the new settlements on the coast of Patagonia were dependencies of the government of the viceroyalty. The officials of these regions were subordinated to that government,…" [2827]

From the port of London, on the same day, *Egmont*, a sealer owned by Francis Rotch, sails for the Falklands. [2828]

1778 – February 6th, France agrees a *Treaty of Alliance* with the north American rebels.

From Montevideo, two Spanish snows,[2829] *San Cristobel* and *Nuestra Señora de la Gloria*, and a zumaca, *Nuestra Señora de Olivera,* sail with supplies for the Soledad garrison. [2830] Also on board is a prisoner, Antonio Espinoza. Sentenced to manual labour at Soledad for four years. [2831]

March 13th, France informs the British Government of its alliance with the American rebels, and of its recognition of their right to be an independent nation.

March 17th, Britain declares war on France.

March 24th, Madrid sends an instruction to Buenos Aires, requiring the formation of an establishment in the Patagonian Bay of San Julián. To deter British whalers. [2832]

In **May**, from a Buenos Aires goal, Diego Aparicio, who has already served two years, is further sentenced to manual labour at the Soledad garrison for life. [2833]

May 14th, Madrid orders the founding of further settlements on the Atlantic Coast of Patagonia. [2834]

"Our occupation of the Falkland Islands, in the first instance, and the work shortly afterwards published by Falkner in this country, pointing out the defenceless state of Patagonia, joined to the enterprising character of the British voyages of discovery about the same period, appears to have stimulated the Spaniards, in alarm lest we should forestall them, to examine their coasts, to explore their rivers, and to found settlements, of which ***every record was concealed*** *from public view, lest the world at large should become better acquainted…"*[2835]

June 5th, from the Soledad garrison, Ramón de Carassa y Souza reports the loss of a zumaca, *San Antonio*. [2836]

"Carassa, aware of the misgivings of the Court, found in 1778 that the international situation had worsened markedly: there were well-founded misgivings that the English were attempting an invasion: the Colony was

2827 See August, 1776, above
2828 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
2829 A square-rigged vessel with two masts.
2830 *Ramón de Carassa y Sousa* A. David & C. Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.138
2831 Rebagliati 2015 citing *AGN, Sala IX, Justicia, L 31-2-9, E 20, visitas 1/3/1777 a la 27/5/1778*
2832 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones … en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278
2833 Rebagliati 2015 citing *AGN, Sala IX, Justicia, L 31-2-9, E 20, visitas 4/12/1776 a la 27/5/1778.* After six years at Soledad, Aparicio was released due to his age and "*being broken*."
2834 *Economía e imperio. Los establecimientos de la Real Compañía Marítima en América* Carlos Martínez Shaw 2008
2835 *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio Del La Plata* Woodbine Parish 1839. My emphasis. This secrecy would prove counter productive for Spain during the Nootka Sound Convention negotiations in 1790.
2836 David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.138

exposed and its three "small and flimsy batteries" quite deteriorated, at the same time that the gunpowder and rifle cartridge was "entirely in waste"...” [2837]

June 8th, a further (?) Royal Order to Buenos Aires instructs that forts and settlements must be founded on the Patagonian coast from the Rio de la Plata to the strait of Magellan; *“... to ensure the pure possession of those domains, and to guard against the dangerous designs of the British Ministry...”* [2838]

June 12th, in Buenos Aires, Viceroy Pedro de Cevallos hands over to Juan Joseph de Vertiz.

> “*... in order to help you... in the execution of the demarcation line, I am leaving... a map made by D. Juan de la Cruz... containing South America.”* [2839]

“Don Juan Joseph de Vertiz y Salcedo, commander of Puerto-Llano in the Order of Calatrava, lieutenant-general of the royal armies, viceroy, governor and captain general of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Moxos, Cuyo and Charcas, with all the villages, towns and territories to which it extends its jurisdiction: of the Maluinas (sic) Islands, and superior president of the Real Audience of the Silver River &c.” [2840]

June 18th, from Soledad, *comandante gobernador* Ramón de Carassa y Souza writes to the Viceroy complaining that he has been unable to reconnoitre the harbour of Port Egmont, there being no ship available; *“However, from information brought by the Gloria, shipwrecked in the vicinity of that port, he was confident that, since the previous examination in April 1777, there were neither inhabitants there nor any signs that any had returned.”* [2841]

The Viceroy responds: *“In 1778 Vértiz, viceroy of Rio de la Plata, proposed the transfer of the governor's seat from Puerto de la Soledad to Port Egmont (Puerto de la Cruzada), arguing that it offered greater advantages as it was at a shorter distance from the mainland.”* [2842]

October 10th, from the Soledad garrison, surgeon Ignacio Donadeu writes to Montevideo recommending that de Carasa, bedridden with rheumatism, be replaced. The surgeon is unable to treat the commandant, as there are no medicines available. [2843]

2837 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.169

2838 Areco 1885 pp.45-46. Also Angelis 1852 pp.28-32. The instructions of May and June are sufficiently similar and close in time, to suggest a single Order.

2839 *Cevallos to Vertiz, Buenos Ayres, June 12, 1776* quoted in *Cruz Cano's Map of South America, Madrid, 1775: Its Creation, Adversities and Rehabilitation* T. R. Smith 1966. Pedro Cevallos, in Paris to negotiate with the Portuguese, had received a copy of the Cano chart in June, 1776. That would suggest it was the 2nd edition, although there is no information as to whether or not it was a coloured version. See 1775 above.

2840 *Revista del Archivo General de Buenos Aires* M. C. Trelles (pub) 1872 vol.4 p.194

2841 David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.138. The only other reference I have been able to find regarding the *Nuestra Señora de la Gloria* has her foundering, in early 1774, at Port Egmont. However, an 1817 Spanish report talks of the remains of *Gloria* being found in November, 1816 at Puerto Soledad (see November, 1816). Andrew David informed me, via David Tatham, that Carlos Novi had conducted their research in Spain, but that contact had been lost and he had not himself seen the source for this. I have been unable to contact Novi. The August 9, 1776, instructions deployed two frigates to Montevideo with one always at Soledad, (its commander being in charge of the garrison) although some flexibility is implied by the June 6, 1777 order. Captain and his ship appear to have been parted on this occasion, probably due to illness. However, the lack of an available ship seems to have become a regular problem. Visits to Saunders Island quickly reduced to an annual event – with gaps even then.

2842 David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.138. Unconfirmed, however see June 26, 1780.

2843 *AGN IX 16-9-4*

"Of the extent of the Spanish settlement at Soledad during this period, we have no distinct accounts ... It was under the superintendence of an officer entitled Commandante of the Malvinas, who was dependent on the Viceroy of La Plata." [2844]

"In 1778 the cattle bought and raised or left in liberty by the Spaniards, were ... 166" [2845]

At Waterford in Ireland, a whaler *Pitt*, out of London bound for the Falklands, takes shelter. [2846]

In the Port of London, 40,000 seal skins and 28,000 tons of elephant seal oil valued at £40,000, arrive from Britain's Southern Whale Fishery. [2847]

1779 – at the Falkland Islands, British sealer *London*, Capt. Hazard, hunts. [2848]

From Buenos Aires, in accordance with the Royal Order of June 8th, 1778, Juan de la Piedra is sent out to explore and found settlements along the coast of Patagonia below latitude 41ºS. [2849]

February 15, on Hawaii Island in the Pacific Ocean, explorer James Cook is killed.

April 12th, France and Spain sign the Treaty of Aranjuez. Establishing a military alliance, Spain is to assist France in its support for the American revolutionaries. In return, France is to support Spain in its attempts to recover Gibraltar, Minorca and Florida.

"On April 12, 1779 France and Spain entered into an alliance that officially brought Spain into the war. The Treaty of Aranjuez was not a treaty with the United States, and it did not make Spain a direct ally of the American colonies. However this alliance with France tied Spain to the pursuit of American independence, because it stipulated that peace could not be negotiated with Britain until the monarchy recognized the independence of the United States. It also stipulated that neither France nor Spain would negotiate peace without the consent of the other. In turn the French would not discuss peace without the consent of the United States due to their alliance. This treaty also established that the war would continue until Spain held Gibraltar, Minorca and Florida. Before entering into the alliance, Floridablanca gave a final opportunity to King George III. He offered Spanish neutrality if Britain would return Gibraltar. George III refused, and Spain accepted the treaty. The Spanish government announced its declaration of war against Britain on June 21, 1779." [2850]

May 28th, from Madrid, a Royal Order alerts Vértiz in Buenos Aires that a war with England is imminent. [2851]

> *"... on the occasion of the Royal Order of May 28, 1779, in which I was generally warned, (that) I should beware of the designs of the Corte de Lóndres, of whom I was already suspicious of a break, and sending, as I immediately did, the notices and provisions leading to the Maluinas Islands and establishments on the Patagonian Coast, so that they may beware as much as possible and avoid being surprised,..."* [2852]

2844 Greenhow 1842
2845 Destefani 1982 (2)
2846 *Saunders's News-Letter Thursday* December 31, 1778
2847 *The British Southern Whale and Seal Fisheries* A. G. E. Jones 1981 in *The Great Circle* vol.3 April, 1981 citing *The Siege of the South Pole* H. R. Mill 1905
2848 *Caledonian Mercury* Saturday July 17, 1779
2849 Shaw 2008. During 1779, settlements were founded at Bahia Sin Fondo and on the Rio Negro.
2850 *"If the Spanish Would But Join" The Forgotten Implications of Spanish Involvement in the American Revolution* Allison Coble 2003
2851 Noted in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/614-615.* This message would probably have taken at least 6-8 weeks to reach Buenos Aires; suggesting an arrival date in the second half of June, 1779.
2852 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2

"... the Virey of Buenos Aires was ordered to send out some well-armed warships, to reconnoiter those seas, and to protect the new settlements of the Patagonian and Malvinas coast, against English corsairs who were going to leave from London in the direction of Cape Horn." [2853]

"He was warned to guard against the designs of the court of London." [2854]

June 16th, in London, Spain's Ambassador hands a list of grievances to Lord Weymouth and requests his passports, severing diplomatic relations. Lord North attends King George III, before going to the House of Commons with a translation of the Spanish complaints.

> *"... insults on the Spanish flag, and the violation of the Kings territories were carried on to an incredible excess; prizes have been made, ships have been searched and plundered, and a great number of them have been fired upon, which have been obliged to defend themselves, the registers have been opened and torn in pieces, and even the packets of the Court found on board the Kings packet boats. ... The dominions of the Crown in America have been threatened, and they have gone to the dreadful extremity of raising the Indian Nations ... Grievances so numerous, so weighty, and recent, have been at different times the object of complaints made in the King's name, and stated in Memorials which were delivered either to the British Ministers at London, or transmitted to them through the Channel of the English Ambassador at Madrid; but although the answers which were received have been friendly, his Majesty has hitherto obtained no other satisfaction than to see the insults repeated, which lately have amounted to the number of one hundred."* [2855]

"The novelty of the Spanish Ambassador's having delivered in a manifesto, i.e. ***a Declaration of war*** *(for no one expected it, and least of all the minister himself) together with the expectation of the Kings message thereupon, a prodigious crowd of strangers blocked up the door, and filled up every avenue leading to the house, a little after two o'clock, under the most expressive impatience and anxiety for an introduction, while scarce a member came down without a friend or two, who had forestalled him the other side Westminster hall. Lord North having entered the house during the time the speaker was attending the Lords on the Kings commission, to give an assent to the bills, his Lordship upon the Speakers return, acquainted the house, that he had it in command from his Majesty to lay before them a true translation of the Manifesto delivered by the Spanish Ambassador, with a message from his majesty respecting the same."* [2856]

"I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the Manifesto of His Most Catholic Majesty delivered at the Court of London by his Ambassador the Marquis D'Almadovar and the message of the British King there upon to the House of Commons, with some other articles of intilligence copied from a (borrowed) Boston paper of the 23d instant. As this paper has come on with a good deal of dispatch, this may reach Congress sooner than any other notice of it, which has induced me to transmit the Copy by express. I sincerely congratulate Congress on this further confirmation of an event the most interesting and agreable. With the highest respect and Esteem. I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most Obedt humble Servt. Washington." [2857]

2853 Areco 1885 p.46

2854 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp. 201-278

2855 *Independent Ledger & the American Advertiser* (Boston) August 23, 1779. The complaints were vague in nature. See - https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-22-02-0229

2856 *Ibid.*

2857 *George Washington to John Jay August 29, 1779*. See - https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-22-02-0229

"I have the pleasure to inform you that Spain has at length taken a decisive part. In the inclosed paper, you will find her Manifesto delivered to the Court of Great Britain on the 16th June last, ..." [2858]

June 17th, in London, a Royal Proclamation calling for reprisals against Spanish vessels. [2859]

June 21st, Spain makes public its military alliance with France, and declares war with Great Britain. [2860]

June 24th, Spanish forces blockade Gibraltar. [2861]

Also, from Madrid, a Royal decree forbids the admission of British goods into Buenos Aires. [2862]

August 12th, in England, there is press speculation as to the whereabouts of a missing squadron of ships.

> *"... two frigates, and a sloop, ... are now reported to be gone for Falkland Islands, together with a store-ship laden with Ordnance Stores,... The frigate, sloop, and storeship above alluded to sailed soon after Christmas last. It is plain the Spaniards have had no intimation of this,.."* [2863]

> *"The two frigates and a sloop, which have been missing in the Government accounts of the naval forces in different quarters of the globe, are now reported to be gone for Falkland islands, together with a storeship laden with ordnance stores, and all other necessaries to make that settlement respectable; it is also thought, that Captain Cooke, the circumnavigator, is now at the same place."* [2864]

August 15th, from Madrid, instructions are sent out to the Rio de la Plata. [2865]

> *"It has been known with certainty that a company of London merchants authorized and motivated by the British Ministry is actively arming several force ships, some of them with forty and fifty guns in order to head around Cape Horn to harass our coasts of the sea the South. To prevent the damage that these corsairs can cause before reaching their main destination, where they are already prepared to repel their insults, the King wants Your Excellency to send out some well-armed warships to travel those seas, guard the new establishments on the Patagonian coast, and Maluinas to which the English can direct their sights, and do the possible diligence to find and destroy them before they can set up the Horn. It is normal for their ships to be scattered and broken from such a long navigation; and so it will not be strange for them to make a stopover somewhere on those coasts or in the domains of the king of Portugal. If this happens as is to be believed, Your Excellency will have means of spying on their movements and fighting them unless they have a decided superiority of forces. I share it with V.E. of Royal Order for his government and to contribute with his customary intelligence and activity to the performance of this important service."* [2866]

2858 *George Washington to Major General John Sullivan September 3, 1779*

2859 *Independent Ledger & the American Advertiser* (Boston) August 23, 1779.

2860 Surprisingly difficult to pin down the form or wording of Spain's declaration of war. Many sources, refer only to the '*Manifesto*' presented to the British Parliament on June 16, 1779. While Madrid wished to take advantage of what was happening in North America, the Spanish government did not actually approve of it. Spain had no wish to encourage her own colonists to rebel.

2861 The British proved to be better prepared than the Spanish had anticipated. The siege achieved nothing; ending in failure in February, 1783.

2862 Williams 1935

2863 *Stamford Mercury* Thursday August 12 1779. I can find no record of these ships. Perhaps disinformation was the true purpose of these reports? See below.

2864 *Dublin Evening Post* Thursday August 12, 1779. Cook had been killed in Hawaii some 6 months before. The remains of his ill-fated expedition did not return to England until October, 1780.

2865 Angelis 1852 p.32. Too soon to be a reaction to the August 12 rumours in the English press.

2866 *Real Orden del 15 de Agosto de 1779*

"... to counteract the design 'in posse,' against the settlements on his (Majesty's) coasts and at 'Maluinas,' of various English ships which are now being fitted out by private persons, with a view to round Cape Horn and to invade the King's dominions in the South Seas." [2867]

Plano de la Frontera de Buenos ayres que se reconocio por Orden del Exmo Sr. D. Juan Joseph de Vertiz Virrey y Cap.n General de estas Provincias.
Las Lineas punteadas de Roxo señalan el camino q. se seguio.
Buenos ayres 12. de Abril de 1779.
RIO SALADO
RIO DE LA PLATA
Buenos Ayres.
Barragan.
Samborombon
Zanson
Villa de Lusan
Cerrillos.
Punta de Piedras

Plan of the Frontier of Buenos Ayres that was recognized by order of His Excellency Don Juan Ioseph de Vertiz Viceroy and Captain General of these Provinces ...1779

A map of the territory of Buenos Aires is produced (above). [2868]

"... an Account of Patagonia, published in England in 1774 of a Map is prefixed, in which a Line is marked near the River Salladillo, a little to the Southward of the Rio de la Plata, and stated to have been fixed by Treaty with the Indians in 1740, as the Limit beyond which the Spaniards were not to settle to the Southward." [2869]

August 19th, in England, the *Stamford Mercury* reports: *"It is confidently reported that the Spaniards, have received some intimation of the designs of our Court relative to Falkland Island in South America, have privately dispatched a force thither to dislodge any that may have gone from this kingdom."* [2870]

October 8th, from Buenos Aires, responding to the May 28th Royal Order, Viceroy Vértiz writes to Madrid concerning Puerto Soledad. Vértiz recommends that the garrison be abandoned and the cattle killed. [2871]

> *"... it turns out that (the Islands) cannot be defended against an enemy moderately prepared to attack them, and it is also clear that any help from the province will not cover them ... and what can inevitably be expected if in fact they are harassed by the enemies with medium force (is that) possessed*

2867 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing *Salvez (sic – Galvez) to the Viceroy of La Plata, 15th August, 1779 (Document No.64); Enclosure in Harris to Gastrell, No.16, 21st January, 1880 FO 6/502.* The Latin term *'in posse'* means not in actuality, but having the potential to exist. In other words, the possibility of an expedition being launched against Spanish possessions. Private persons would suggests privateers.

2868 A South-Up orientation, *i.e.* south is at the top.

2869 *Leeds to Fitzherbert August 17, 1790* quoted in Burges 1791. The 1774 map referred to is here - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/1774-map-by-thomas-falkner.jpg *cf.* 1740 & 1790.

2870 *Stamford Mercury* Thursday August 19, 1779. Again, too quick to be a reaction to anything after early August, 1779.

2871 *Vertiz a Joseph de Galvez Octobre 8, 1779* in *AGN V 125-5-2.* Vértiz had at his command less than 500 men, no ship of the line and only 2 frigates. See King 2009. Also Aguado 2012. For Madrid's response, see June, 1780

of our island they would manage to get more than 500 heads of larger cattle and many flours, ovens, utensils and other aids that would serve as a refreshment to continue their expedition and to make the privateering without other designs that they could bring, so that this should be considered a port that in time of war risks dishonor of losing it (to the) consequent utility and advantage of enemies, and in (time) of peace it causes increased expenses to the Treasury" [2872]

October 22nd, from Madrid, instructions are sent to Buenos Aires, specifically ordering the destruction of the British establishment on Saunders Island; to deny the enemy a base for any attack on South America. [2873]

"The declaration of war on England and the intervention of Spain united with France in the struggle waged by the rebel settlers of North America, prompted the adoption of new measures in the far South. The Governor was especially charged with the destruction of everything found in Port Egmont (October 22, 1779)" [2874]

In **November**, from the Falklands, the sealer *London* returns to England.[2875]

"Sealing and whaling were quite different trades though they were often undertaken by the same people. More complex technological requirements and the higher capital costs of outfitting a whaling ship precluded sealers from going whaling, but not whalers from going sealing. The navigational and sailing skills required to pilot a ship in the pursuit of the sperm whale at sea were also considerably greater than the skills required in sealing and to a lesser extent, shore-based bay whaling. The pursuit of the sperm whale had its rewards, however. For much of the life of the trade sperm oil was worth on average twice as much (sometimes even three times as much) as seal or black oil." [2876]

November 22nd, at Soledad, Lt. Salvador de Medina y Juan takes over as *comandante gobernador* from Ramon de Carassa. [2877]

"On November 22, 1779, Carassa was relieved of command by Lieutenant Salvador de Medina. The new chief inspected the defence works and verified their weakness. The three batteries were not able to withstand "the fire of a Frigate from any part of the Bay" and there was no possibility of resisting or preventing a landing."[2878]

November 23rd, from Soledad, *Nuestra Senora del Rosario* sails for Montevideo, with the departing commandant and a letter from Salvador de Medina, for the Viceroy.

"... the day after taking over as governor, he informed Viceroy Vértiz that with the departure of the brig Nuestra Senora del Rosario, stationed until then at Puerto de la Soledad, with no other small craft left in the colony, it was no longer possible to comply with royal orders that included keeping a watch on Port Egmont and other duties in the Islands. He therefore asked the Viceroy to consider his situation in that light and to consider what course of action it was proper for him to take." [2879]

2872 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2

2873 Viceroy Vértiz's letter of October 8 would not reach Madrid before, at the least, late November, 1779. In a similar fashion, the October 22 instructions from Madrid would not reach Buenos Aires until late December 1779. Therefore Madrid's instructions could not have been a reaction to the Viceroy's concerns. The two letters clearly crossed.

2874 Caillet-Bois 1952 (2nd ed) p.169.

2875 Clayton 2014. This vessel was renamed *William* in 1780.

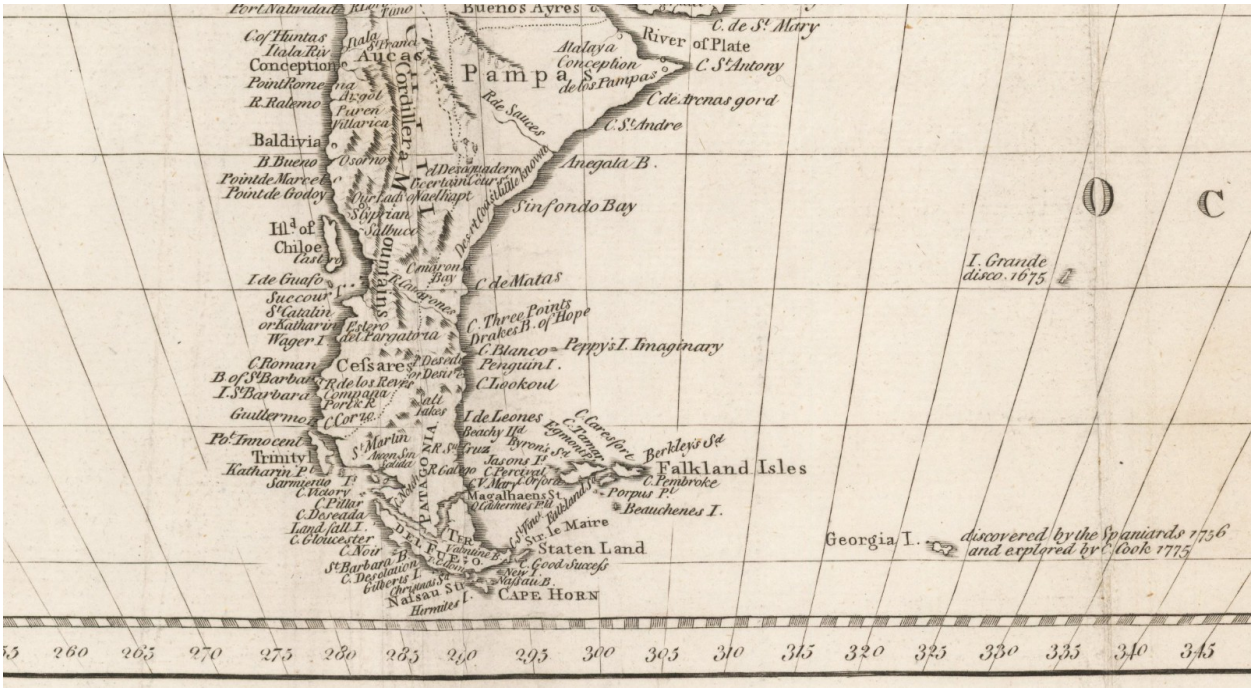
2876 Chatwin 2016

2877 One source (Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982 p.169) suggests that an order for Fort George/Jasons Town's destruction was given by Vertiz to Salvador de Medina before he sailed for Soledad in November, 1779. If so, Vertiz was acting on his own initiative. *cf.* 1780.

2878 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.169

2879 *Salvador de Medina y Juan* David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.366

In London, an engraved map of South America by Thomas Bowen appears in Charles Middleton's *New and Compleat (sic) System of Geography* (detail below).



In **December**, the value of imports into Britain from the Falkland Islands, between Christmas 1778 and Christmas 1779, is put at £3,400. [2880]

1780 – in **January**, Madrid's October 22nd order arrives in Buenos Aires. [2881]

From Spain, the status of the garrison at Puerto Soledad is officially raised to *presidio*. [2882]

"In 1780 the penitentiary was established in the Malvinas. At that time the population of the Malvinas was composed of officers, troops, seamen and convicts. Supply ships, brigs or mercantile frigates came annually in the summer with reliefs and stores. The governors ... were distinguished officers ... The civilian population had been evacuated, and no French families or civilian colonizers remained. In the library ... seventeen books could be found. ..." [2883]

"... by 1780, all women and children may have left. The military establishment included the Commandant and three aides, three chaplains, a surgeon, a storekeeper, ten naval officers, two laborers, 19 naval artillerymen, 16 sailors, ten apprentice seamen, four brigade artillerymen, 24 soldiers from a naval battalion, nine servants, and seven prisoners." [2884]

2880 *Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries, and Navigation* D. Macpherson 1805

2881 Nieto 1947

2882 The Soledad garrison had effectively become a presidio in December, 1769, when 20 prisoners arrived to serve out their sentences. More penal colony than settlement, as women were prohibited. A frontier military establishment.

2883 Destefani 1982. Convicts were sent to be used as manual labour; rather than being locked in cells. Prisoners had been sent out to Soledad for this purpose since 1767, so the change in official status may have been merely an administrative formality.

2884 Bernhardson 1989 p.129. *cf.* 1766 & 1767

"Inmates were sent regularly, some of whom also covered trades and even some exiled characters appear, sent from Spain." [2885]

Buenos Aires founds settlements on the coast of Patagonia at San Julian and Puerto Deseado. [2886]

January 16th, at Soledad, living conditions are assessed by the garrison's priest. He records a lack of piety with poor attendance at the Chapel and at mass. Also noting that drunkenness and bestiality are "*common*." [2887]

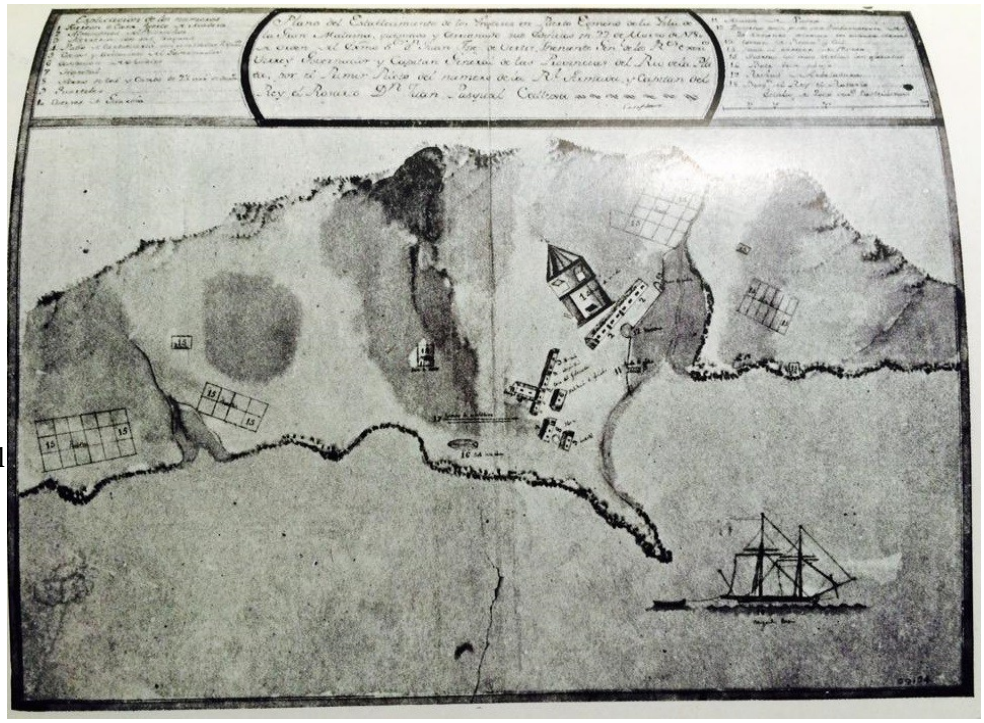
In late **February**, the Viceroy sends Juan Pascual Callejas to the archipelago in the brig *Nuestra Senora del Rosario*. Callejas is instructed to carry out the demolition of anything remaining at the British settlement on Saunders Island. Callejas is, however, to proceed with caution, and retreat if he finds a force there greater than his own.

> *"... **having already declared war** with England, I dispatched the pilot in the Royal Navy, Don Juan Pascual Calleja, so that, with the utmost precaution and reserve, he should proceed to the reconnaissance of Port Egmont and, (if) finding no superior force on arrival and (if when he) went down to the land, he saw that the English had left, immediately move to destroy the wooden keep, warehouses, barracks, hospital, ovens, and every building he found standing, burning the woods and rendering impossible what he found capable of any service, .."* [2888]

March 4th, from Puerto Soledad, unaware that Callejas is en-route to assist, *comandante gobernador* de Medina again writes to the Viceroy complaining that he has no ship with which to reconnoitre the archipelago.[2889]

March 17th - 24th, arriving in the harbour of Port Egmont, Callejas anchors off Saunders Island. Jasons Town appears deserted, although Callejas notes signs of recent use.

Sketches are ordered of the area, including the settlement and fort, together with the laid out horticultural sections (right).



2885 Podetti 2013. I can find no records of any "*exiles*" from Spain.
2886 Shaw 2008. The San Julian settlement would be abandoned in 1784.
2887 *Francisco Diaz a Salvador de Medina Enero 16, 1780* in *AGN IX 16-9-5*
2888 Vértiz quoted in *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. My emphasis.
2889 David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.366.

"In compliance with the order the pilot Juan Pascual Callexa, commanding the brig Rosario, came to Port Egmont on March 17th, 1780, where it was easy to see that ***the British had been in that place shortly before****. On the 18th, after making a plan, everything given to the flames which was capable of being burned; simultaneously pulling down walls and ceilings, a demolition to the total destruction of the old base."* [2890]

"They began with a thorough reconnaissance of the area. It seemed the British (or Americans: the Spanish report calls them all "Yngleses") had only recently left, since they found fresh-looking footprints and a newly-whittled piece of wood used as a bolt on the door of the main storehouse. The following day, 18 March, Callejas had a sketch-map of the buildings made, then the work of destruction began. First they burnt spars, a boat and timber on the beach, and demolished the garden walls (essential to growing vegetables), which took all day. On 19 March they demolished the bakery, a stone house and the smithy, and piled wood from their roofs around the base of the wooden blockhouse-tower, which took them until the 21st. Then at 1pm on 22 March they set fire to the blockhouse, the storehouses and dwellings. The blockhouse, being of wood, was totally consumed, and the work of burning continued throughout the 23rd and into the 24th. ... Finally, some ***8,000 new slates*** *piled up by the jetty were destroyed "by hand",..."* [2891]

March 25th, with work complete Callejas sits out a storm, before departing on the 28th. [2892]

"Of the old Settlement we could discover foundations of what appeared to be a row of barracks and houses built with some regularity of plan, but the Spanish Authorities had endeavoured to destroy all trace of habitations and had not left even the remnant of a wall standing." [2893]

"... completely ruined, of the houses of stone there remain the walls but no ceilings, nor doors." [2894]

"... there was no official reaction to the destruction of the settlement at Port Egmont carried out by Spain.." [2895]

"... the buildings at Port Egmont were destroyed in wartime, which is unremarkable. Even after the destruction British and American sealers and whalers regularly used Port Egmont and even partly rebuilt it – the Spaniards were powerless to stop them." [2896]

April 29th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Vértiz informs Madrid that the destruction of Fort George is complete.[2897]

2890 Caillet-Bois 1952 (2nd ed.) p.169. My emphasis. Total destruction is, at best, moot.

2891 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.316.

2892 Clearly, and despite some claims to the contrary, there had been no previous destruction of the buildings erected by the British between 1766 and 1774. Even the gardens established during that period were still there, and in sufficient good order as to be sketched. Any recent use, was most likely by sealers/whalers who continued to use Port Egmont as a place of refreshment and for overwintering. That said, and in light of numerous rumours of ships leaving England for the Falklands, the presence of 8,000 new slates is intriguing. The destruction by Callejas – total or otherwise – was an act of war. Not an act of sovereignty. On sailing away, Callejas left nothing behind to record his passing. No flags, no notices, no marks or signs of sovereignty. This was a wartime raid.

2893 Captain Grey's *Journal* of 1836 quoted in E*xtracts from the diary of Admiral the Honourable George Grey* Thompson W H. (ed.) 1969. Perhaps not entirely surprising, 56 years later. However, James Weddell claimed to have found signs of the old fort when he visited Jasons Town in 1823, although these may have been the remnants of structures reported to have been erected in 1787 or 1817 by sealers. See January 10, 1833 for a description of Jason's Town as discovered by an officer aboard HMS *Tyne*.

2894 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170 citing *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* vol.2 No.6 pp.636 to 655. The problem with this report, is that "*remained the walls*" suggests that the 1780 destruction of the British establishment at Port Egmont was not as complete as reported by Callejas.

2895 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.55. A ridiculous comment. A declaration of war rather precludes the need for protests.

2896 Pascoe 2020 pp.45-46

2897 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. Also *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/615*

June 26th, from Madrid, Chief Minister Gálvez responds to the Viceroy's October 8th, 1779, letter.

> *"In a letter dated October 8 of last year, number 203, Your Excellency, answering the Royal Order of May 28 of the same year, relates in general (terms) the provisions that (you) had given for the defense of that province, taking charge of the current situation, the establishments on the Patagonian coast and the Falkland Islands, and ... that it would be the best approach to abandon (Soledad). The King having been (reminded) of all the antecedents that motivated the acquisition of the Malvinas Islands and their conservation and of this proposal of Your Excellency, His Excellency considers the abandonment of that establishment to be very dangerous and harmful to his interests because the Court of Lóndres could then consider the Malvinas as pro derelicto, (to be) acquired in favor of the first occupant by the right of the people.*
>
> *The occupation of that territory is an encumbrance of the crown, as are others, in exchange that our enemies do not have them, who from there would achieve their fixed point of support and refreshment to settle in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan, invade our establishments and ride Cape Horn with ease. For these reasons it is not the King's spirit to maintain a formal population, nor that it be precisely in the same port of La Soledad, because if it were better to transfer it to Egmont or the Crusade port, His Majesty wants to do so in a small presidio, capable only of resisting some light vessels that may arrive there on the occasion of fishing, and not to an attack or formal expedition, so that from any treaty England cannot claim her peaceful possession and our abandonment; (although), for now, there is no reason to believe that there is any expectation by the State or the English government for those (circumstances).* [2898]
>
> *Under this concept, which is what Your Majesty has proposed, it leaves to the penetration of Your Excellency and your well-known dedication to the best service, the decision of what should be done to verify it in the terms that Your Excellency finds most appropriate and that correspond to your interests, and so I warn Your Excellency (as to) its fulfillment, advising me of the results of what he intends to provide or do for the news of His Majesty. The King believes that a presidio of twenty-five or thirty men will suffice to preserve our possession in Malvinas."* [2899]

"In reply to his communication No: 420, touching the condition, in which the Establishment at 'Malouines' should remain, signifies His Majesty's approval of the garrison being diminished; on condition that reconnoitring operations at Port Egmont be carried out by vessels returning from San Juliano ..." [2900]

"(The) Virey is ordered to hold the Malvinas at all costs so that England could not consider them derelict." [2901]

"This document is the clearest demonstration that Spain never recognized the claims of S.M.B. and that it was determined to maintain its effective possession in order to preserve the dominion of the Crown of S.M.C. Moreover, it had full right to occupy Port Egmont, abandoned by the English since 1774." [2902]

2898 See June 18, 1778, above.

2899 *Gálvez a Vértiz June 26, 1780* quoted in *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784 in Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2. Also *Quesada to Bayard, May 4, 1887* and *125-5-2 Archivo General de Indias. cf.* 1766 & 1783

2900 Note dated May 22, 1781 in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/615.*

2901 Areco 1885 p.46

2902 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278.

"... a large saving was obtained, lowering expenditures to 11,102 pesos, which represented one fifth of what they used to be." [2903]

"The occupation of that territory is a responsibility of the crown as are others, .., (as) from there they would obtain a fixed place of backup, and to settle in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan, invade our establishments and easily set up (in) Cape Horn." [2904]

"... the strategic value of the archipelago was clearly perceived by Spain – and by Great Britain, of course – as verified in a note sent by the Minister José de Gálvez to the Viceroy José de Vértiz in 1780, in response to a letter from the latter to the King (regarding) the possibility of leaving the islands. There it was recorded that - "The occupation of that territory is a burden of the crown, as are others in exchange for not having our enemies there, who would achieve a fixed ... (base) ... in the vicinity of the Strait of Magellan, to invade our establishments and easily set up near Cape Horn."..." [2905]

In Paris, an Atlas is published by Guillaume Raynal using charts by cartographer Rigobert Bonne.[2906]

A map of Chile includes the Falklands archipelago as *Isles Malouines ou Falkland*. Port Egmont is marked as *Port Egmont de la Cruzada*. Berkeley Sound as *B. de l'Annunciation*. The Spanish garrison site is not indicated.

1781 – January 26th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Vertiz acknowledges Madrid's decision of June 26th.

> *"Instructed as to the will of His Majesty and yet (despite) that the establishment of Port Egmont offered more advantages to the object with which that of Solitude is maintained, having destroyed the buildings left (there) by the English, and that (considering) it would be necessary to do the same with the de la Soledad, killing the cattle or transporting them at all costs, and building new rooms in the other, it seemed to me nothing new should be done, (just) preserving the establishment of La Soledad where thirty men subsist only to prove possession with their commander of the navy who also of the small ship that remains there ..."* [2907]

February 8th, the Spanish Court notes the destruction of the British fort and establishment at Egmont on; *"... receipt of the Despatch acquainting it with the fulfilment of its Instructions."* [2908]

> *"The King has learnt, with much satisfaction, from H.E.'s letter of the 29th of April last, of the destruction of all habitations and of everything belonging to the English, at their settlement at Port Egmont."* [2909]

February 20th, at Puerto Soledad, *capitan de frigata*, Don Jacinto Mariano del Carmen Altolaguirre, arrives.[2910]

February 26th, taking command as *comandante-gobernador*, Altolaguirre records that the garrison's compliment consists of two priests, a treasury official, three officers, a surgeon, 50 soldiers, 43 convicts, one mason and a baker.

2903 Destefani 1982

2904 *Espanoles y Extranjeros en las Regiones Australes: Aspectos Economicos y Sociales de una Vinculacion Obligada* Hernan A. Silva & Marcela V. Tejerina 1996 citing *Memorias de los Virreyes del Rio de la Plata. Recopiladas por Sigfrido Radaelli.* Bs. As., Bajel, 1945 p.69.

2905 Panella 2015

2906 *Atlas de Toutes les Parties Connues du Globe Terrestre, Dressé pour l'Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Établissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes* G. Raynal (pub.) 1780.

2907 Vértiz in *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2. Also *125-5-13 Archivo General de Indias*

2908 Vernet 1832

2909 Note dated February 8, 1781 in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/615.*

2910 The first 'criollo' – of Spanish descent born in South America – to hold the post of commander-governor.

There are 20 buildings plus five '*rooms*.' Half made of stone, and the remainder of turf. [2911]

Defences consist of 3 batteries equipped with 4 twenty-four pound guns; 7 eight-pounders and 2 six-pounders, together with ammunition. Also 4 three-pounder stone mortars at the head of the pier. There are 614 head of cattle, plus 48 horses and 98 geese.
"In the time of Governor Altolaguirre there were more than forty convicts; many of them were "criollo" farm-hands who worked with the horses and cattle." [2912]

"In his inventory of buildings for that year, Altolaguirre noted that the church required repairs to the altar, the door frame, the window frames and chests of the sacristy, the door frames to the padres' apartments, and even the walls. Storehouses for peat, food, and other goods required roofing and other repairs.... The baker's oven needed doors, and the bakery an entire new roof. The hospital ceiling was collapsing, and its entire roof needed new thatch. Of 29 buildings, only three did not require repair." [2913]

"... there was a significant traffic of supplies that allowed construction of the necessary buildings (bricks, tiles and lime), to equip them (furniture, tables, wood and nails, glass, reeds, tin leaves, estuary, canvas, tents, cauldrons), and sustain its population. There are numerous remittances of cattle (cattle, sheep and poultry) along with the fodder to keep them, as well as food of a very varied type. The lists also include medicines and medical utensils, clothing and cloth, fabrics and blankets, coal and firewood, wheels for wagons, brakes and spurs, parts and ammunition for artillery, gunpowder, weapons. There are also money remittances for payment of salaries and other effects. For all this traffic, ... a stone pier was built in Puerto Soledad and numerous vessels of different types and tonnage were facilitated. For the defense of the site, four batteries with cannons of various calibers were built, whose ammunition was provided regularly from Montevideo." [2914]

Altolaguirre orders a reconnaissance of Port Egmont harbour; *"... one of his first actions was to send acting Teniente Vicente Villa in the snow San Cristobal to reconnoiter the former British settlement in Port Egmont ..."* [2915]

September 30th, José Morel observes the harbour of Port Egmont; *"In September 1781, Port Egmont was reconnoitered **by land** by .., José Morel, and by the farm laborer, José Calletazo, without discovering anything of importance."* [2916]

2911 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol 2. See April, 1783.
2912 Destefani 1982
2913 Bernhardson 1989 pp.128-130
2914 Podetti 2013
2915 Davis and Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.42. A *snow* was a type of brig and typically, a merchant vessel. There appears to be no subsequent report.
2916 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170. My emphasis. There appears to be no subsequent report.

1782 – February 1st, at Puerto Soledad, it is recorded that 300 head of tame cattle have escaped. [2917]

March 27th, in Britain, the position of Southern Secretary is abolished; the office holder becoming the Foreign Secretary. That of Northern Secretary is re-designated as Home Secretary, to oversee domestic matters. [2918]

April 8th, at Puerto Soledad, after 12 months, *comandante-gobernador* Altolaguirre prepares a manifest; *"... the establishment, including the crew of the San Cristobal, consisted of 7 officers, 34 soldiers forming the garrison, 41 seamen and 43 convicts."* [2919]

"... the Commandant reported almost every structure reconstituted. Except for the newly thatched peat shed, which still required work, and the estancia house beyond the settlement, where gauchos kept watch on the cattle, all were in good condition. The hospital was newly roofed, its walls and interior renewed, along with the chapel's walls. ... Although Altolaguirre may have overstated improvements, the garrison and presidio undoubtedly enjoyed better living conditions." [2920]

In **May**, 2º *teniente de navio*, Vicente Villa, again reconnoitres the area around Port Egmont. [2921]

Tentative peace talks commence between British and north American rebel representatives; seeking an end to the revolutionary war. [2922]

In Paris, France, a map of the world is published (detail right) - *Carte Reduite du Globe Terrestre Pour servir aux Trois Voyages autour du Monde et vers les deux Poles, saits par M. de Pages, Chevalier de l'Odre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis, Capitan des Vaisseaux di Roi, et Correspondant de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, Dressee d'apres toutes les nouyelles decouvertes, par le S.Seguin, Ingenieir Geographe du Roi, en 1782.* [2923]

November 30th, American and British negotiators sign preliminary articles of peace; *"Peace negotiations were dominated by Shelburne. He had long sympathized with the American Patriots, and wanted to safeguard trade and political influence by a generous settlement... Britain*

2917 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.110 citing *Estado del Ganado existente que hay en esta Ysla, con distinción de machos y hembras, procreación anual, consumo que se hace en la colonia y sobrante con que S. M. puede contar.* Signed by Pedro Sanguineto. In *AGI-ABA, 553*.

2918 Southern/Northern Departments dated from 1660. Prior to 1782, the Southern Secretary had been responsible for Ireland, the Channel Islands, France, Spain Portugal, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. The Northern Secretary for the Dutch Republic, Scandinavia, Poland, Russia and the Holy Roman Empire. Domestic responsibilities in the UK were divided between them. Thus, it was the Southern Secretary that had dealt with the Spanish following the ejection of a British garrison from Saunders Island in the Falklands in 1770. Reorganised, the domestic responsibilities of both Departments were taken by a new Home Secretary, and the foreign responsibilities of both, by a Foreign Secretary. Each had an 'Office'.

2919 Andrew Davis and Carlos Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.42.

2920 Bernhardson 1989 p.129 citing *AGN IX 16-9-5*

2921 *Ibid.* There appears to be no subsequent report.

2922 There had been no actions since the British defeat at Yorktown in October, 1781. By September, 1782, information received at Philadelphia regarding French approaches to the British government provided an impetus for Benjamin Franklin to let London know he was willing to talk seriously.

2923 *Reduced Map of the Terrestrial Globe To serve the Three Voyages around the World and to the two Poles, known by M. de Pages, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of the King's Ships, and Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Drawn up according to all the new discoveries, by S. Seguin, Engineer Geographer to the King, in 1782*. Surprisingly, the English name is used for the Falklands archipelago; not the French name Malouines.

gave full independence to all the thirteen colonies involved in the rebellion, ceded to them all of the territory south of the Great Lakes, and returned Florida to Spain. The Americans jumped at this, abandoning their allies – the preliminary peace agreement was signed without the French even being informed." [2924]

From Buenos Aires, a "*famous and incorrigible*" thief, Antonio Rodríguez, is banished to the Soledad garrison for life. He is warned that if he breaks his exile, the gallows will be waiting. [2925]

December 30th, Viceroy Vertiz informs Altolaguirre that *San Cristobal* will be replaced by a brig, *Rosario*. Manning at the Soledad garrison is to be maintained at a minimum level.

1783 – January 14th, in the Falkland Islands, complying with orders issued by Soledad's commandant, Altolaguirre, 2° Lt. Vicente Villa of the mail-boat *San Cristobal*, embarks upon an overland reconnaissance of Port Egmont harbour. With Spain and Britain still at war, Altolaguirre's order requires that Villa use all caution.

January 20th, British/Spanish/French negotiators sign preliminary articles of peace. [2926]

> *"Art. 1. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world."*

January 22nd, from a hill on the island of Gran Maluine, Lt. Villa looks over the harbour of Port Egmont.[2927]

> *"Sworn statement that I, Don Vicente Villa, 2nd lieutenant of the Royal Armada and chief of the compliment of the king's vessel San Cristobal, existent in the establishment, give in regards of the reconnaissance of Port Egmont, Bahia de la Cruzada, and the territory of the Gran Malvina; that I have just done by land (having crossed San Carlos strait on the boat of the Zumaca Perdida, called El Carnero) following the order and instruction that I obtained, and I fulfilled on Jan 14 of this year, from (the) Governor of these Islands, Don Jacinto Altolaguirre, which I fulfilled in its totality, and I declare here: Having observed precisely in my march, what this Governor ordered me about the fulfillment of the superior order, I managed to reach with the requested caution, after 4 days of march, to the Bay of San Carlos; from where, with the boat 'Relacionada', I crossed on the 18th, the strait of that name, and entered in(to) the Bay Chica del Diamante, from where I (re)started my trip, reaching in front of the (habitation) of the said establishment as I did on the 22nd of the same month; with the objective that I could carry the observation required, and with the caution mentioned in the order. In my punctual observance, I didn't see (any) vessel, nor remains of it, nor individual on land, nor smoke indicating the existence of any inhabitant, which I ratified the next day, so I arranged to return to the Colony, (conformable), to my mission, and with caution on my march, to the stipulation of the order, which meant the same procedure, which I executed on the 23rd, and I finish(ed) the (day) prior to the current day, not having found .., anything worth the attention, nor that could cause, any suspicion or indication of foreign explorers. ..."* [2928]

"... second Lieutenant Vicente Villa reconnoitered Port Egmont by land, bay of the Cruzada and territory of the Great Maluina, proving the total abandonment in which the territory was found." [2929]

2924 Tombs 2014 pp.360-361
2925 Rebagliati 2015 citing *AGN, Sala IX, Justicia, L 31-2-9, E 20, visitas 6/6/1782 a la 24/12/1782.*
2926 Cobbett 1814 vol.23. See September, 1783.
2927 West Falkland
2928 *Report of Vicente Villa, March 4, 1783* in *AGN Sala IX 16-9-6* supplied by Juan Celli of Buenos Aires.
2929 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170. Callet-Bois dates this inspection as February, 1783. He also asserts that Jose Ignacio Goicoechea spent 6 days at Port Egmont in 1783, but provided no month or circumstances.

February 22nd, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Vértiz writes to Minister Gálvez in Madrid; complaining of the expense (*1,24,000 reales*) in maintaining the outer stations at San Julian, Santa Elena, San Gregorio, Puerto Deseado, and the garrison at Soledad. Vértiz proposes that these be abandoned; leaving behind a "*column or pilaster*" with an inscription identifying ownership by the Spanish Crown. [2930]

"When I was in command of this province, I calculated the expense to which the conservation of these islands rose annually, and, according to the smallest computation, it reached 53,528 pesos, without (taking into account) the salaries of the troops guiding that colony ... (about) this growing expense, I was determined to find the means to obtain the greatest saving of the Real Estate, and consult(ed) on the matter with the captain of the Royal Navy, Don Felipe Ruiz Puente, governor ... of those islands, and with that captain of Frigate, Don Francisco Gil, who had been repeatedly in that place,.." [2931]

"In 1783, the viceroy of Buenos Aires, Juan Jose de Vertiz, appalled at the expense entailed by the preservation of settlements on the Falklands, proposed to his government that these establishments be abandoned." [2932]

April 1st, at Puerto Soledad, a supply vessel from Montevideo arrives. Altolaguirre hands over command of the garrison to c*apitan de fragata* Don Fulgencio D. Montemayor, whose initial manifest records that the establishment, including the crew of his vessel *San Sebastian*, consists of 7 officers, 25 soldiers of the garrison, 29 seamen and 22 convicts. He also notes that the fort has 62 horses and 89 geese. [2933] There are 720 head of cattle; *"By this time, then, the Spanish appear to have abandoned any thought of permanent settlement and instead committed themselves to a presidio to isolate some of their more recalcitrant prisoners and a garrison to discourage the return of the British."* [2934]

Sealer *General Knox* (Frost), hunts at the Falkland Islands. [2935]

August 1st, from Madrid, orders go out for the abandonment of the majority of Spain's new stations along the Patagonian coast. To reduce costs following the appeal from Viceroy Vértiz. [2936]

> *"... the establishment in the ports and places of the Bay of San Julián (to be) effectively abandoned, leaving in it a **column or pilaster containing the real arms of His Majesty**, and an inscription that proves the ownership of that land, which shall be visited and recognized every year at the same time as that of the Port of Egmont in the Falkland Islands,.."* [2937]

*"... after three or four years, in which upwards of a million of hard dollars was spent upon them, orders were sent out to abandon them all, except the settlement upon the Rio Negro, after setting up at San Joseph's, Port Desire, and San Julian's, signals of possession, **as the English had done at Port Egmont**, for evidence in case of need, of his Catholic Majesty's rights."* [2938]

2930 *Quesada to Bayard, May 4, 1887.* Traditionally, Spain had erected columns or iron crosses in South America as an indication of its sovereignty. *cf.* 1770 & 1771

2931 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2. Vertiz later claimed that he had achieved a reduction in costs to 11,102 pesos by 1784.

2932 Goebel 1927 p.424. No settlements in 1783. Only a garrison/presidio.

2933 *Fulgencio D. Montemayor* Andrew David & Carlos Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.379. Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.170) dates the handover to March 8, 1783.

2934 Bernhardson 1989 p.129. It had been a condition of the French handover in 1767, that Spain maintain a garrison in the Islands; so that Britain would not obtain exclusive control over the south-west Atlantic.

2935 *Lloyds Lists* show that during the 1780's British whalers; *"... were exploiting Brazil, Trinidad, the Falkland Islands, South Georgia, and, after the establishment of Botany Bay, Norfolk Island."* See Byrnes 2000.

2936 *Historia del Río de la Plata* Roberto P. Payró 2007. Also Shaw 2008

2937 Quoted in Angelis 1852 p.33. My emphasis

2938 Parish 1839. My emphasis.

"... these establishments were found to cost the government large sums, and, with the exception of that of Rio Negro, were later abandoned by the authority of the king. At the same time the king directed that a ***column*** *should be left there, on which should he* ***fixed the royal arms and an inscription*** *affirming the Spanish sovereignty over the region; and that this territory should be visited or otherwise recognized every year."* [2939]

However, with regard to Puerto Soledad, Viceroy Vértiz is reminded of the instruction of June 26th, 1780. [2940]

"The Spanish Government took the obvious view that such a step would be regarded as a dangerous precedent and one prejudicial to Spanish rights, since the British would be justified in treating the islands as derelict and therefore subject to occupation." [2941]

September 3rd, in Paris, the *Treaty of Versailles* officially ends the American War of Independence.

> *"This day the definitive treaties between Great Britain, France, Spain and the United States of America, were to be signed. On the part of Great Britain it is a day of humiliation – she confirms the independence of her own subjects, and treats them as Sovereign States."* [2942]

The British Government signs separate agreements with France and Spain. That with Spain, renews and confirms, *inter alia*, the treaties of 1670 and 1713. [2943]

Article 6 deals with Britain's occupancy of the Mosquito Shore. [2944]

> *"Art. VI: ... all the English, who may be dispersed in any other Parts, whether on the Spanish Continent,*[2945] *or in any of the Islands whatsoever, dependent on the aforesaid Spanish Continent,.. shall retire within the district which has been above described, ..."* [2946]
>
> *Art. VIII: All the countries and territories, which may have been or which may be* ***conquered*** *in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, as well as by those of his Catholic Majesty, which are not included in the present treaty, neither under the head of cessions, nor under the head of restitutions, shall be returned without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation."* [2947]

"... in the 1783 Peace Treaty of Versailles, at the end of the North American War of Independence, there was a ratification of the previous stipulations of 1670, 1713 and others that prohibited the English from sailing in the Southern Seas." [2948]

2939 Moses 1919. My emphasis. The marks and signs of sovereignty.

2940 See above

2941 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* quoting Goebel's 1927 (p.424) opinion almost word for word. Goebel's 1927 book is now considered largely flawed. *cf.* 1880, 1887 & 1927

2942 *Kentish Gazette* Saturday September 6, 1783

2943 *The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship, between His Britannick Majesty, and the King of Spain, 3 September 1783.* Not to be confused with another treaty signed that same day between Britain, France and Spain and then acceded to by Portugal.

2944 The Caribbean coastline of what is now Nicaragua, between Honduras and Costa Rica in Central America. British logwood cutters had been there since the 1680s, although the area had never been considered a British colony.

2945 Spanish negotiators had originally argued for just '*Continent*' to be used within the article, but Britain insisted upon '*Spanish Continent*', considering it suitably imprecise.

2946 Art. 6 permitted logwood cutting to continue within a limited area; although the wording was sufficiently vague as to allow for local reinterpretations that would continue to annoy Spain. Following an agreement in 1786, over 2000 logwood cutters were moved by Britain from the Mosquito Shore to Belize. Presumably, Belize was not part of the Spanish Continent. *cf.* 1784 & 1786

2947 My emphasis. Art. 8 is sufficiently equivocal to cover Saunders Island provided the 1780 attack could be interpreted as a conquest. See below.

2948 Speech to the *Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples September 9th, 1964* by Dr. José María Ruda. Inaccurate.

"In the peace (talks) held in Paris in 1783, which recognized the independence of the United States of America, nowhere (is it) recorded (that) the British attempt(ed) to secure their purported rights to a land on which their installations had just been destroyed. We consider it obvious to emphasize that, not for a moment, did they advance an hypothesis of expelling their rivals from Puerto Soledad." [2949]

"Further territorial provisions were included in the peace treaties of 1752, 1763 and 1783. But beyond the borders actually drawn there was no comprehensive description of the possessions at large, which meant it was still open to doubt to which territories mutual recognition and guarantee applied." [2950]

"Finally, in 1783, France and Spain signed a series of treaties at Versailles reallocating among themselves the various colonial possessions seized during the conflict. The North American colonies gained independence, but Britain recovered various important Caribbean sugar islands lost during the war... The Treaty of Versailles also required the evacuation of British settlements, except Belize, from all parts of the 'Spanish Continent.' This ambiguous phrase immediately became a source of discord..." [2951]

"The fate of America was largely decided in the West-Indies, which had first call on British troops and ships. Despite the legend of lumbering Redcoats being defeated by straight-shooting frontiersmen, there is little doubt that the Crown forces, including many Americans – among them the native and enslaved – could have defeated the half-hearted 'Roundheads' had Britain not also been fighting a world war. This, however, is not how we remember it. ... Here indeed is a case of history being written by the victors." [2952]

November 27th, at the harbour of Poole in Dorset, England, *Commerce* (Coffin) arrives from the Southern Whale Fishery with 12 "*fish*." [2953]

"Almost immediately after the Treaty an import duty of £18/3 was placed on American oil. The news was a vital blow to the Nantucketeers. With the establishment of the import duty the British government gave the London merchants both a protection and an incentive."[2954]

"Attempts by loyalist or neutral Nantucketers to avoid becoming embroiled in the conflict between the mother country and the colonies were unsuccessful and the island was unable to protect or maintain its stated neutral status in the years following 1775. When the British Government introduced its Prohibitory Act in 1783, implementing a punitive tariff of £18.3.0 on American oil, Nantucket was effectively excluded from the British market. In response, some Nantucketers left the island and relocated to Nova Scotia, Britain, and even France."[2955]

In the Falkland Islands, *United States* (Hussey) and *Canton* (Whippy) engage in the business of oil. [2956]

2949 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170 fn.15. Following the uneasy accord of 1771, there was no need for the British to attempt to expel them. The western Falklands continued to be occupied only by whalers and sealers; not the Spanish.

2950 Fisch 1983 p.118

2951 *The Evacuation of the Mosquito Shore and the English who stayed behind, 1786-1800* Frank G. Dawson 1998 in *The Americas* vol.55 no.1 (Jul., 1998) pp.63-89. *cf.* 1786

2952 Tombs 2014 p.361

2953 *Hampshire Chronicle* Monday December 1, 1783

2954 Stackpole 1972 p.13

2955 Chatwin 2016

2956 *A Voyage round the world, but more particularly to the north-west coast of America: performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon. Dedicated, by permission, to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart* Captain George Dixon 1789 p.34-35. See 1786.

1784 – March 7th, in Buenos Aires, Viceroy Vértiz hands over to a new successor, Nicolas de Campo.

> *"For the subsistence of the (Soledad) garrison, some convicts and crew of the ship, besides the regular spare parts for these voyages, you must send at least for one year of food, clothes, medicines, and other spares.. At the beginning of January is the preferred time for the departing vessel..."* [2957]

Vértiz points out to de Campo that the abandonment of Soledad is not an option, much as he has recommended it, because the King; "*does not find it convenient*."

"In compliance with the previous royal orders, a garrison of thirty men remained in the Malvinas to accredit the possession. They sent them annually from Buenos Aires, food, clothing and medicines; the governor of Soledad informed the intendant of the capital of the Viceroyalty (of) what he needed, thus spending 11,102 pesos per year in that possession, ... This document is dated March 12, 1784." [2958]

In London, Sir Robert Liston is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid. Specifically, he is charged with finding a solution to the ongoing dispute with Spain concerning British loggers on the Mosquito Shore. [2959]

"The Treaty of Versailles (1783) also required the evacuation of British settlements, except Belize, from all parts of the 'Spanish Continent.' This ambiguous phrase immediately became a source of discord as Britain asserted that the Shore, never having been conquered or settled by Spain, was not within the 'Spanish Continent. ... A resumption of hostilities seemed likely unless diplomats could agree modifications of the (1783) Treaty with which neither the British nor the Spanish were totally content. In 1784 Sir Robert Liston was appointed English Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid to negotiate a resolution of the controversy." [2960]

May 1st, at Puerto Soledad, Lt. Don Agustín de Figueroa, takes over command of the garrison as *comandante gobernador*.[2961] He notes that the establishment consists of 34 buildings; *"... the population (of) 82 people and the cattle to 7774 head."* [2962]

"In 1784, (Rotch) fitted out his family's ship United States at Nantucket for elephant sealing in the Falklands under Capt. Benjamin Hussey. [2963]

December 21st, from London, a whaler, *Orange*, sails for "*Falkland's Island*." [2964]

2957 *Government Report presented to the Marquis de Loreto by his predecessor the Viceroy of Buenos Aires Juan Jose de Vertiz* in *Revista del Río de la Plata: periódico mensual de Historia y Literatura de América. Tomo III 1871*

2958 *Memoria de Gobierno Presentada al Marques de Loreto por un Antecesor el Virey de Buenos Aires D. Juan Jose de Vertiz 1784* in *Revista del Rio de la Plata* 1871 vol.2.

2959 When negotiations moved to London in April, 1785, Liston continued talks with Floridablanca in Madrid. *cf.* 1783

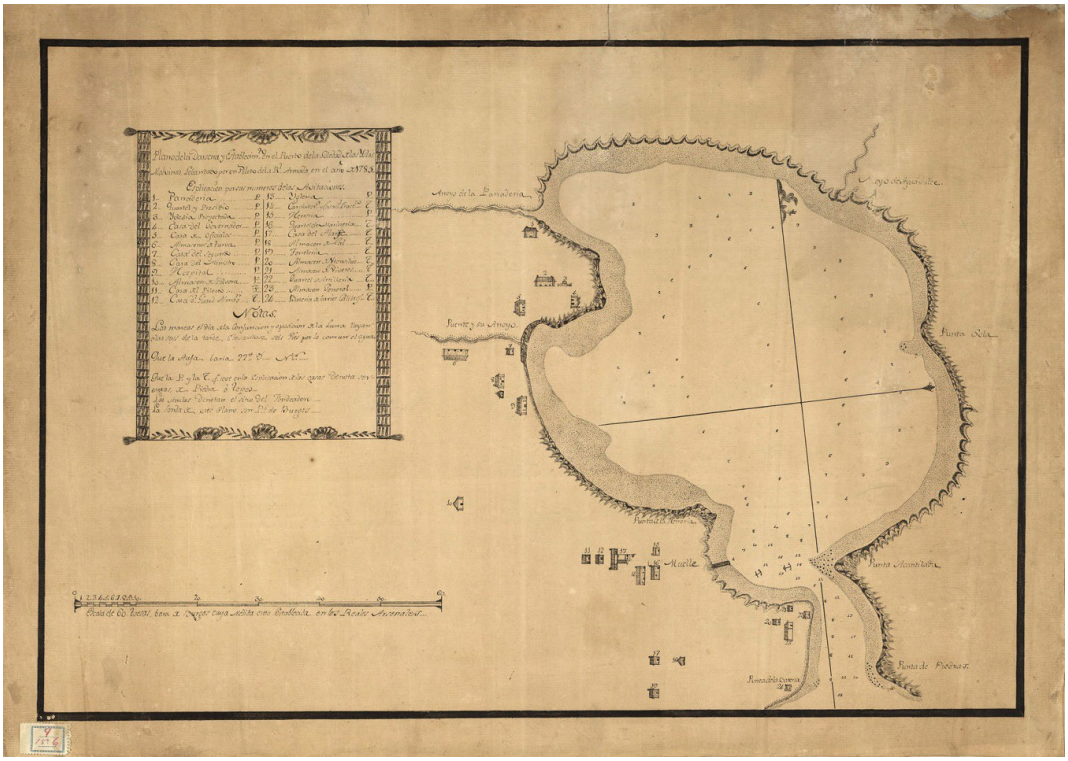
2960 Dawson 1998 pp.63-89. *cf.* 1783, 1786 & 1789

2961 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170

2962 Areco 1885 citing *Informe del gobernador de Malvinas D. Luis Vernet, por el Dr. D. Valentín Aliina.*1832. Cattle numbers in 1781 were put at 641. A dramatic increase to nearly 8000 in just three years? This figure cannot be correct. 777 or 774 would seem more likely. Worth noting that the source appears to be the report by Luis Vernet of 1832. Submitted to the government of Buenos Aires during an argument with the USA over alleged acts of piracy from Port Louis (Puerto Soledad). Vernet either made an error, or was inflating his figures in support of his cattle ranching business on East Falkland Island. *cf.* 1832

2963 *The War against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery* Briton Cooper Busch 1985 p.6

2964 *Caledonian Mercury Wednesday 12 January 1785*



1785 – a plan of Puerto Soledad is completed by "*a Pilot of the Royal (Spanish) Navy*" (above).

In **April**, Anglo-Spanish negotiations regarding the Mosquito Shore dispute move to London.

May 15th, at Puerto Soledad, *capitan de fragata,* Don Ramón de Clairac y Villalonga, takes over command.

"When he took over as governor in 1785 the settlement had consisted of 34 buildings and its population was under 100, including the garrison. The settlement was also protected by batteries which had been established earlier, two of which he repaired. Livestock of ***all kinds*** *numbered 7,774 head (sic). Communication between Puerto de la Soledad, Puerto Deseado on the coast and Montevideo was kept up by six warships with orders to protect the Islands from all attacks."* [2965]

From Buenos Aires, Viceroy Nicolás Francisco Cristóbal del Campo, Marquis of Loreto, reports to Madrid that there are; *"... (a) considerable number of English and Bostonians frequenting those (southern) seas under the pretext of whale fishing, possible with hidden intentions,.."* [2966]

August 18th, from the Port of London, *Maria*, a Rotch family whaler, sails for the Falkland Island. [2967]

> *"The Americans, ... have sent 25 Ships to the Southern Whale Fishery, and we have only sent seven."* [2968]

2965 *Ramon de Clairac y Villalonga* Andrew David & Carlos Novi in Thatham (ed.) 2008 p. 153. My emphasis. I suspect that these authors did not believe the livestock numbers either. This appears to be a straight lift from Boyson 1924 p.79.
2966 Silva & Tejerina 1996 citing *AGI Audiencia de Buenos Aires, 70*
2967 Stackpole 1972 p.111
2968 *Derby Mercury* Thursday August 11, 1785

"Amount of Oil produced from the Southern Whale Fishery from 1777 to 1785 Inclusive: 2485 Tons at £40 Ton on an average - £151,585. Bounties paid for 9 years - £16,000 near 10 percent." [2969]

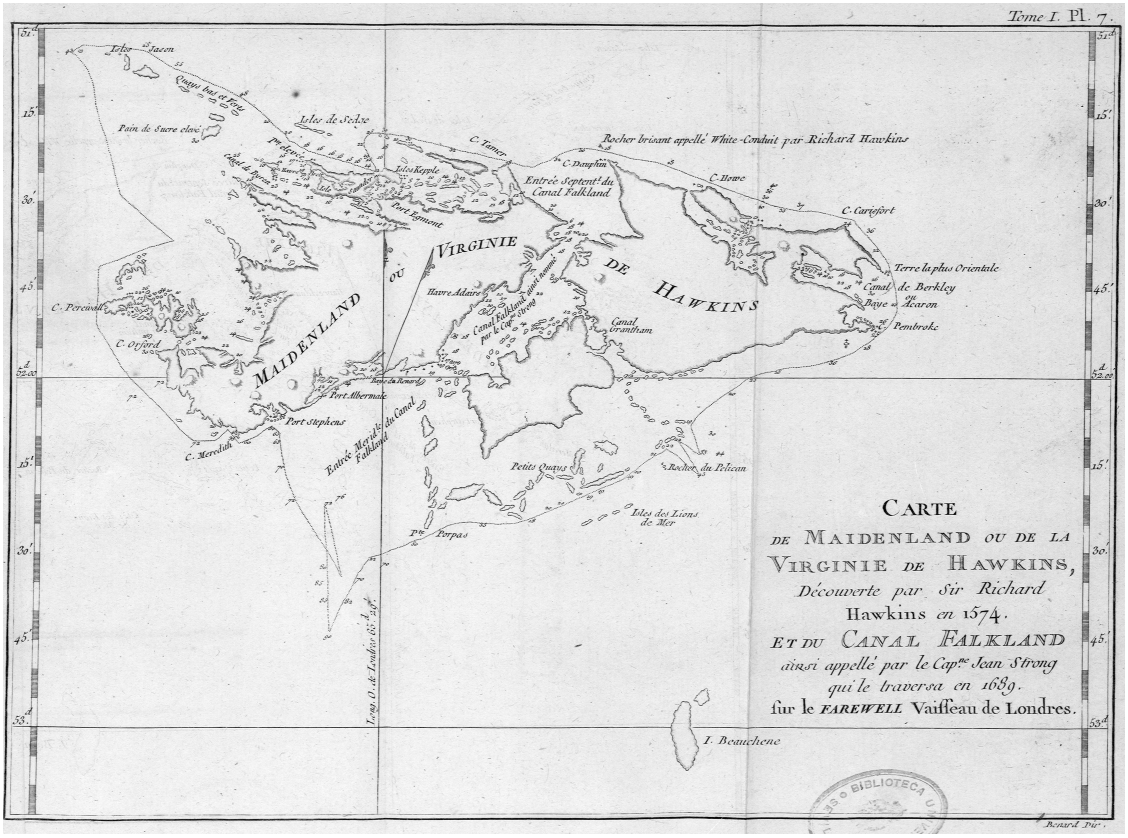
In **September**, in England, Lieut. Thomas Edgar, on leave from the Royal Navy, is appointed Master of the whaler *Hope*. [2970]

September 21st, from Poole in Dorset, British whaler *Sophia* (Clark), sails for the Falkland Islands. [2971]

November 4th, British sealer, *Hope,* sails for West Falkland.

"... the British Southern Whale Fishery had been gradually developed over the decade following Enderby's fitting out their first ship in 1775. In 1776 there were ten whaleships owned in London; twelve in 1777; thirteen in 1778...; dropping to four in 1779 and seven in 1780, but rising again to ten in 1781... six in 1782... fifteen in 1784..; and eighteen early in 1785..."[2972]

In Paris, the Hôtel de Thou publishes - *Cartes et figures du troisième voyage de Cook* (Maps & Figures of Cook's Third Voyage. Included is *Carte de Maidenland ou de la Virginie de Hawkins* (below). [2973]



2969 *TNA BT 6/93* at *50.* These figures were laid before the House of Commons (*Kentish Gazette* April 4, 1786)

2970 Edgar had served as Master on *Discovery* under Capt. Clerke on Cook's third, final, and fatal, voyage in 1776. Promoted to Lieutenant in 1781. See below.

2971 See May 20, 1786.

2972 Stackpole 1972 p.73

2973 A surprising inclusion as Capt. James Cook did not visit the Falkland Islands on his third voyage. This chart appears to be based on Hawkesworth's 1773 map (see above).

1786 – January 5th, English ships *King George* (Nathaniel Portlock) and *Queen Charlotte* (George Dixon), arrive at the harbour of Port Egmont. [2974]

> *"We stood in for the harbour under an early sail, and at eleven o'clock came to anchor with the best bower on the East shore in twelve fathoms of water… when moored we were land-locked, except at the entrance we came in by…"* [2975]

> *"At eleven o'clock both ships came to anchor in Port Egmont, in seventeen fathom water over a sandy bottom … Tis most probable that this was near the place where Captain Macbride lay in the year 1766 …"* [2976]

Captains Portlock and Dixon take soundings around the shores of the harbour. [2977]

January 8th - 9th, Portlock grants shore leave on Saunders Island.

> *"… some of them discovered the ruins of a town, with some garden ground adjoining, in which there were a few flowers; several sorts of vegetables in small quantities, such as horseradish, shallots, a few small potatoes, and some celery... They landed on the West side of the harbour, near the ruins of the town…; and at some distance in the country saw a bullock, a cow, and several hogs, which probably were left behind when the place was evacuated."* [2978]

> *"... we found on the adjacent shore the ruins of several houses, said to be built by him, but destroyed since by the Spaniards..."* [2979]

January 14th, from the ruins, stone ballast is taken aboard both *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*. [2980]

January 15th, a sloop, *Speedwell* (Coffin), arrives in the harbour of Port Egmont.

> *"Sunday 15. At nine o'clock this evening a sloop arrived in the harbour, and anchored off the town. Early next morning, captain Coffin came on board the King George, and informed me that his sloop is named the Speedwell, and is tender to a ship called the United States, commanded by captain Hussey, and now lying in a good harbour at Swan Island, in company with the Canton, captain Whippy: both these Vessels were employed in the oil trade, and had nearly completed their cargoes; the United States having 300 tons of oil on board, and the Canton about half that quantity. The chief part of their oil is procured from animals they call sea elephants. These creatures are certainly amphibious, as they generally frequent sandy bays, or the points of bays that are composed of smooth flat stones. A good sea elephant yields near half a ton of oil, which is produced without boiling, the blubber is so exceedingly free: if put into casks, the blubber will soon run to oil, and afterwards it may be strained off into other calks; but this process being rather tedious where there are very large quantities of*

2974 Both vessels were owned by the King George Sound (aka Nootka Sound) Company of London and both captains had sailed on Cook's ill-fated third voyage. Portlock had been given overall command. The voyage was intended to exploit the sea otter fur trade possibilities noted by Cook on the north-west coasts of America.

2975 *Voyage round the World: but more particularly to the North-West coast of America performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 by the King George and Queen Charlotte Captains Portlock and Dixon. Dedicated, by permission, to His Majesty* Nathaniel Portlock 1789 p.29

2976 Dixon 1789 p.36. Two books with, almost, the same title but differing dedications.

2977 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. Also *Voyages round the World* E. Fanning 1833

2978 Portlock 1789 p.33

2979 Dixon 1789 p.36. Seemingly aware that it had been the Spaniards that had caused the destruction at Fort George/Jasons Town during the 1779-1783 war between Britain and Spain/France/American Revolutionaries

2980 *Ibid.* p.34. Seven tons were taken aboard *King George* and a greater weight onto *Queen Charlotte*. In 1767, 50,000 bricks had been delivered to Port Egmont for help in the construction of Jasons Town. Demolished in 1780, the rubble has never been found. It seems possible, even likely, that it ended up as ballast.

blubber, captain Coffin informed me they had discovered a better and more expeditious method. They build a tank on shore, of a size sufficiently large to contain any quantity of oil they expect to procure. Over this tank a grating work is fixed by way of strainer; the blubber is then thrown on the grating, and weights being put on it, the oil is soon pressed out. Adjoining to the large tank is a smaller one, into which the oil is strained a second time; by this means it is rendered perfectly fine, and may be put into casks at pleasure." [2981]

January 17th, in London, owners of the whaling fleet approach the Government with proposals for the encouragement of the Southern Whale Fishery; through changes to the system of bounties. [2982]

"The Londoners knew they had powerful friends in government. Whatever private inquiries were advanced to the Privy Council were treated so sympathetically that the merchants were encouraged. On January 17th, 1786 a well prepared "Memorial" was submitted by Samuel Enderby Sr., and Sons, Alexander Champion, and John St. Barbe. ... The "Memorial".. stipulated that no time element be established for the departure of the ships, as they were fitted out at all seasons of the year, "either to the Coast of Brazils, Guinea, Falkland Islands, West Indies, or elsewhere, as it almost requires sailing at different seasons from each of the above named places.... Your Memorialists have proposed the Bounty of 40 shillings per ton for three years..."..." [2983]

"The whalers sought pelagic sperm whale, which was either being fished out in some areas or becoming more successful at avoiding whalers. In January 1786, leading fishery firms approached the Treasury for financial assistance, bounties, and the right to sail into the Indian and Pacific Oceans." [2984]

"In 1786, a quantity of 1,113 tons of whale oil was brought into Britain without duty having a value of £26,712 and whalefins (bone) totalling 357 cwt., worth £2,860 in 42 whaling vessels from the southern oceans. Of this, 327 tons was sperm oil that sold at £43 per ton." [2985]

January 19th, *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* sail for Swan Island.

"... captain Coffin came on board the King George, in order to pilot us into West Point Harbour; ... he likewise put a pilot on Queen Charlotte ... At noon we anchored with the best bower in West Point Harbour, in seven fathom water, over a sandy bottom, and moored with the kedge. ... This harbour is certainly one of the finest in the world, being sheltered from every wind..." [2986]

January 21st, *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* arrive off Swan Island; anchoring near *United States*. [2987]

"Here we found riding at anchor the United States, the Canton, and the Speedwell and Maria sloops,..." [2988]

2981 *Ibid.* pp.34-35
2982 *TNA BT 6/93.* See below
2983 Stackpole 1972 p.52 citing *Memorial of Samuel Enderby & Sons, et al, January 21, 1786 BT (Board of Trade) 6/95*
2984 Byrnes 2000
2985 Clayton & Clayton 2016 citing Beale 1835 p.145
2986 Portlock 1789 pp.40-41
2987 *United States* had been captured by the Royal Navy in 1777 when she was called *Delaware. S*ubsequently sold to Mrs Mary Hayley, a loyalist living in London and an associate of Francis Rotch. Also known as *States* or *Rising States*, she had been anchored around the archipelago for the purpose of the trans-shipment of oil during 1784 and 1785. Trans-shipping 100 tons of *spermaceti* oil to the *Lucas* at Port Egmont later in 1786. There were two reasons for the trans-shipment of oil; firstly to ensure that ships heading back to England took a full load and secondly, to ensure that only British ships took oil back. Avoiding the duty placed upon American whalers arriving in Britain. *cf.* Clayton 2014.
2988 Portlock 1789 pp.40-41

"The United States was the property of Mrs Hayley, relict of the late George Hayley, Esq; and sister to the celebrated Mr. Wilkes. ***These vessels had been at Falkland's Islands occasionally for more than a year****, and had wintered in Huffey Harbour…"* [2989]

January 23rd, *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* sail for Cape Horn.

From Madrid, on the same day, Britain's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain, Sir Robert Liston, writes to the Marquis of Carmarthen.

"… I have reason to believe that a Plan has actually been formed by the Court of Spain for the Encouragement of the(ir) South Whale Fishery, and that proposals lately made, by Subjects of the United States of America, for supplying the Country with Whale and other Animal Oil, have been in a great Measure rejected." [2990]

February 7th, at the French Port of Dunkirk, a whaler, the *Comte de Vergennes* (Richard Coffin), returns; *"… laden with 30 barrels of sperm (whale) oil, 250 barrels of whale oil and 2,740 pounds of baleen, most of which he obtained on the course to, or around, the Falklands."* [2991]

February 21st, in Buenos Aires, Mariano Solis and Ambrosio Riquelme are sentenced by a Viceroyalty court to 200 lashes and "*ten years of imprisonment in Maluinas.*"

February 28th, Viceroy del Campo notes reports of a French whaler seen at Egmont. He calls for continued surveillance. [2992]

March 22nd, in London, a Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations), considers the Southern Whale Fishery. The Enderby & Sons representative informs the committee that they have; *"… in 8 years… received £7,700 Premiums and in that time have received from their South Whale Fishermen (34 sail) Oil to the amount of £77,000…"* He adds that; *"… the Quantity of Oil imported from America in one year was 5,000 tons which sold for £200,000… two thirds came from Nantucket."* [2993]

"… the Council being a continuation of the Royal Council – the Curia Regis – through which governmental power was exercised in the years following the Norman Conquest. …" [2994]

April 9th, from Madrid, information received from Spain's envoy in New York is forwarded to Buenos Aires.

"… a merchant from one of the responsible houses in London, whom I know from many years ago, provided me with a conversation, which I think it may be convenient to inform Your Excellency… I asked him about the state of several branches of the commerce of England after the separation of these states; and he informed me among other things that the prohibition for the introduction of whale fat, had revived … fishing again on the coasts of Falkland Island where some boats were directed in the year 1784 but many more in the year of which we were talking, precisely from 1785, where he did not doubt that the whalers could have formed some settlement on the same island, because apart from

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2989 Dixon 1789 p.38. My emphasis.

2990 *TNA BT 6/93* at *79*

2991 *Balleneros, Loberos y Guaneros en Patagonia y Malvinas: una historia socioambiental del mar: 1800-1914* S. C. Haller 2023 citing *Memoires de la Société Dunkerquoise* 1909

2992 *122-6-1 Archivo General de Indias.* Possibly the *Comte de Vergennes*, which had already returned to France.

2993 *TNA BT 6/93*

2994 *The Privy Council and the constitutional legacies of empire* Paul F. Scott 2020 in *Northern Ireland Law Quarterly* Summer 2020. Scott also describes the Privy Council as *"… a black hole at the centre of the British constitution"*. A powerful committee at the heart of the governance of the British Empire

being useful for refreshing the water, they found a lot of amphibious animals and skins of great value. He concluded this subject by telling me that he had sent a merchant frigate to that destination (which had been there) for nine months and that for this reason he speaks with experience and that he did not doubt that many adventurers could be found (there).'' [2995]

Spain's Chief Minister, José de Gálvez y Gallardo, Marquis de Sonora, attaches further instructions. [2996]

"... it was with date April 9 of this year his Excellency Marquis of Sonora, telling me of the Royal Reserved Orders, with the news received by His Highness that several commercial vessels from the United States of the North of America were fishing for whales on the coasts of these islands and sends me a personal commission with which I am in agreement, that I effect reconnaissance of the Port and island of "Falklan" (sic), and that I destroy as many buildings and barracks which I may find as it has been done before..." [2997]

"Royal palace of El Pardo, April 5 (sic), 1786. From His Majesty to Virey. He sends a copy of a letter written in New York by D. Diego Gardoqui, Spanish envoy, ... it requires (him) to reconnoitre the port and island of Falkland and destroy any buildings and barracks (he) find of the English." [2998]

May 5th, in London, the Privy Council's consideration regarding the Southern Whale Fishery, is debated. [2999]

May 8th, from Madrid, Sir Robert Liston reports on his progress regarding the Mosquito Shore negotiation. [3000]

"... the British minister plenipotentiary appointed to negotiate a solution to the dispute, reported from Madrid in May 1786 that while both the Spanish king and his First Minister, the Count of Floridablanca, were anxious "to hasten the conclusion of the Mosquito Affair," the French wished to prevent a settlement and "will make a new effort to disappoint the Mosquito Business and set Spain and us by the Ears." As Liston observed, it was in Britain's interest to cultivate good relations with Spain to prevent its joining a proposed French and Dutch alliance." [3001]

May 20th, at Puerto Soledad, a British whaler, *Sophia*, arrives near the Spanish garrison site during a storm. Don Fernando Zambrano is sent out to interview its captain, Tristan Clark.

"The commander of the corvette Mr. Gil Don Pedro de Mesa, who returned from the command of the Malvinas Islands to Montevideo, gives an account of what happened in the Port of Soledad with a Bergantin who turned out to be English, named Sofia (Sophia), her (captain) Tristan Clark, coming from Paulle (Poole?) in England on the 21st of September of 1785, planning to enter in(to) the seas of the south for whale fishing, having filled with its oil 20 pipes, and still for filling ... 300. That was its only load, and (Sophia) must return in April of 1787. Sighted on May 20, 1786, ... a storm made it enter the Port, and in two statements that were taken ... expressed, that even though he went to the Port of Egmont to cool off and hunt until August, he was made to deviate by the storms, not knowing this place in which he was because of not knowing the islands, and becoming aware of being in Puerto de la Soledad, or San Luis, he answered (that) he knew it had been French, not knowing that it belongs to

2995 Document and translation provided by Juan Celli, of Buenos Aires.

2996 *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.2

2997 *Viceroy Loreto to Pedro de Mesa November 23, 1786* in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150132673.* Royal Reserved Orders probably refer to June, 1777 and October, 1779. See November, 1786.

2998 *Catalogo de 3,036 Documentos ... del Archivo General de Indias de Sevill* Enrique D. Parodi 1891 in *Revista del Paraguay* pp.115-116. A catalogue of correspondence to be found in the Spanish archives in 1891, with only a basic description of each item. Diego Gardoqui was a Spanish diplomat. An envoy to the USA, based in New York.

2999 *Sussex Advertiser* Monday May 8, 1786

3000 *Liston to Francess May 8, 1786* Pitt Papers University Library Cambridge Add.6958 f.100

3001 *William Pitt's Settlement at Black River on the Mosquito Shore: A Challenge to Spain in Central America, 1732-87* Frank G. Dawson 1983 in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63(4), 1983 pp.677-706

Spain. And he gave the news to have seen in those seas up to 20 boats destined to fishing from Brazil to Cabo Blanco (no war ships) of them 10 Americans, and 3 English little-frigates that told him they were going to ***Puerto Egmont****, it is the* ***point of reunion*** *of those of his nation, spending the winter on board, for not having coves.*[3002] *The commander Mesa, according to the reserved instructions of the Viceroy, made the captain understand with great gentleness, that by the treaties with England, no one can frequent those seas or even enter any port of the islands,.., to which he answered he did not know, and he would let the other captains that he may find know. He (Mesa) made this captain 3 gifts of fresh meat and vegetables, (Clark) making a request of license to hunt while the weather did not allow him to raise the sail, (Mesa) granted it for only the island of La Paxa, sending troops with him with all the necessary precautions, and putting them in his brigantine under the pretext of preventing desertion... The weather (was bad) until 25, (when) the bergantin raised sail and was lost from sight."* [3003]

May 25th, at Soledad, Lt. Don Pedro de Mesa y Castro officially takes over as *comandante-gobernador*, from Ramon de Clairac. [3004]

June 7th, in London, Britain's Parliament passes an *Act for the Encouragement of the Southern Whale Fishery*. Existing bonuses are increased for vessels fishing below latitude 36° South. [3005]

"Act 26 Geo III c.50 gave whalers Cape Horn to 50 degrees west of cape and up to Equator, Cape of Good Hope, 15 degrees east of cape and up to 30 degrees south. Some 29 ships brought home sperm oil, whale oil and seal skins valued at £53,350." [3006]

"In 1786 an 'Act for the encouragement of the southern whale fishery' cemented for the trade its privileged position. In addition to the existing premiums, further 'prize' premiums, ranging down from £700 to £300 this time, were to be offered to the five most successful ships returning each year. In recognition that if the trade was to continue to develop and expand it would require experienced seamen, a special clause was inserted to promote wholesale movement of Nantucket whalemen and their families to England." [3007]

From the Falkland Islands, a shipment of seal oil and skins arrives in Britain. [3008]

"When the Nantucket whale ship Canton arrived at Falmouth, England in June 1786, she brought four thousand seal skins as well as whale oil from the Falklands. [3009]

July 8th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Loreto acknowledges receipt of the New York intelligence, and the destruction order from Spain's Chief Minister. [3010]

3002 My emphasis. Confirmation that Port Egmont remained a recognised, and well used, rendezvous for British whalers.

3003 Report by Pedro de Mesa dated October 6/8, 1787 Montevideo: Spanish web archive identification code – *BMDB20150132697*. *Sophia* had been hunting for some months when this encounter took place, but the amount of oil on board would suggest that this vessel had either been very unlucky or had already transferred its load. Notable that the Spanish were still using kid gloves with the British. Which island or islet was then known as La Paxa, I am unable to ascertain.

3004 *Pedro de Mesa y Castro* Andrew David & Carlos Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008. The *Sophia* report suggests that de Mesa was already in control on May 20, 1786.

3005 *26 GEO.III c50 955-75*

3006 Byrnes 2000. Headland (1992 p.33) suggests that regular sealing around South Georgia commenced in 1786.

3007 Chatwin 2016

3008 *A Voyage to the North West Side of America: The Journals of James Colnett 1786-89* Robert Galois 2003 p.302

3009 Stackpole 1972 p.121. Also Clayton 2014

3010 Parodi 1891 p.116. Another related file in the Spanish Archives – *ES.41091.AGI / 23 // BUENOS_AIRES, 44* – remains undigitized. *cf.* April, 1786, above, November, 1786 & February, 1787.

July 14th, Britain and Spain sign the Convention of London. Britain agrees to evacuate its citizens from the controversial Mosquito Coast of Central America. [3011]

> *"Article I. His Britannick Majesty's Subjects, and the other Colonists who have hitherto enjoyed the Protection of England, shall evacuate the Country of the Mosquitos, as well as the Continent in general, and the Islands adjacent, without Exception, situated beyond the Line herein after described,.."* [3012]

"... Britain agreed to evacuate the Shore, and in return Spain extended Belizean logwood cutting boundaries, agreed to permit mahogany cutting and fishing, and conceded the right to occupy St. George's Key and other islands." [3013]

August 14th, in England, the whaler *Diana* arrives back from the Falklands, with 52 tuns of whale oil. [3014]

August 15th, in London, a map is printed for Robert Sayer - *A new map of the whole continent of America: divided into North and South and West Indies wherein are exactly described the United States of North America as well as the several European possessions according to the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles Jan. 20, 1783.* [3015]

August 23rd, in London, following a new Order in Council, the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) is upgraded and granted new powers. [3016]

Commonly referred to as the Board of Trade,[3017] Charles Jenkinson, Baron Hawkesbury in the County of Gloucestershire, is appointed President by William Pitt.

> *"Every man who is acquainted with the commercial and political interests of this country must applaud the encouragement given by parliament, on the suggestion and motion of the late Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Hawkesbury, to the Southern Whale Fishery. The importance of that, and of the Whale Fishery in general, may be estimated from the endeavours that France is now making to encorage (sic) her subjects to turn their thoughts to that branch of trade,.."* [3018]

3011 Ratified September 1, 1786. 2600 British settlers were subsequently relocated, most going to Belize. *cf.* 1783 & 1789

3012 *Convention between His Britannick Majesty and the King of Spain. Signed at London, 14 July 1786* in *The British Supertendency of the Mosquito Shore 1749 – 1787* William S Sorsby 1969 (Internet published thesis). Worthy of note that 1783's "*Spanish Continent, or in any of the Islands whatsoever,..*" had been reduced to "*the Continent in general, and the Islands adjacent..*". Britain and Spain had disputed the definition of adjacency in 1770. Spain considered that 100 leagues (300 miles) was adjacent, but Britain did not accept that. *cf.* 1770 & 1790

3013 Dawson 1983

3014 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

3015 On the left hand side of the chart is a list of territories and to which party to the 1783 treaty they were assigned to – *The English possess also the Falkland Islands near the Straits of Magellan in South America.* The border colour red indicates a British possession. For a better copy, see - https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3290.ct007308/?r=0.156,0.383,0.157,0.094,0

3016 His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council of England and Scotland (as it was in 1786) was, and is, a formal body of advisors to the sovereign. See 1789.

3017 A name only officially adopted in 1861.

3018 *Kentish Gazette* Friday December 29, 1786. Jenkinson's son, Robert Banks Jenkinson, also known as Lord Hawkesbury, would be Foreign Secretary when the French demanded a fishing establishment on the Falklands. *cf.* 1801

"As constituted in 1786 the Board of Trade took the form of a Committee of the Privy Council composed partly of the holders of certain offices ex officio and partly of specifically nominated Members. The ex officio Members fell into three groups. The first consisted of the holders of the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, First Lord of the Treasury, First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Speaker of the House of Commons. The second consisted of the holders of the offices of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Paymaster General, Treasurer of the Navy and Master of the Mint, provided that they were members of the Privy Council. The third consisted of such members of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom as held offices in Ireland." [3019]

From the port of Hull, in England, whaler *Albion* (Storey), sails for the Southern Whale Fishery. [3020]

September 7th, Thomas Delano in the *Lord Hawksbury* sails from England for South Georgia. [3021]

September 26th, from Spain, a Royal Order is sent to the Viceroy at Buenos Aires regarding the way in which fishing vessels of foreign nations should be treated.[3022]

> *"For ways how to conduct ourselves regarding vessels, which are employed for fishing when coming or going or which cover the coasts... or who go in to our coasts, or ports, the Royal Order of September 26th must be used ... so that nobody can allege ignorance, ... those seas belonging to the Spanish Domain and which all nations (should) even refrain from transit through them, .., and in the case of arrival of a foreign vessel, which can't be avoided, the most exquisite precautions must be taken to avoid introduction of goods, even if they are legal to commerce, because no one is permitted at our establishments, the commander will be responsible for permitting, (or) not permitting..."* [3023]

In **October**, at the Falkland islands, British whaler *Sophia* (Clark), is recorded as still fishing. [3024]

October 31st, from England, London whaler *New Hope* sails for the Falklands. [3025]

November 16th, from Buenos Aires, the Viceroy reports to Madrid that a relief ship will depart for Soledad in January and will not be subject to further delay. That vessel then providing an opportunity for the destruction of any building or barracks found around Port Egmont, once the change of garrison has taken place.[3026]

In the Falkland Islands, Thomas Edgar (*Hope*) arrives. After dispersing the sealing crews, Edgar sets out to survey West Falkland Island (next page. South-up orientation). [3027]

3019 See - https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol3/pp39-65

3020 *Newcastle Courant* Saturday September 2, 1786

3021 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. Also Headland 1992

3022 There is a passing mention of this in *Nicolas del Campo a Pedro de Mesa Noviembre 23, 1786* in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB201550132673.* I have not, as yet, found a copy of this Order.

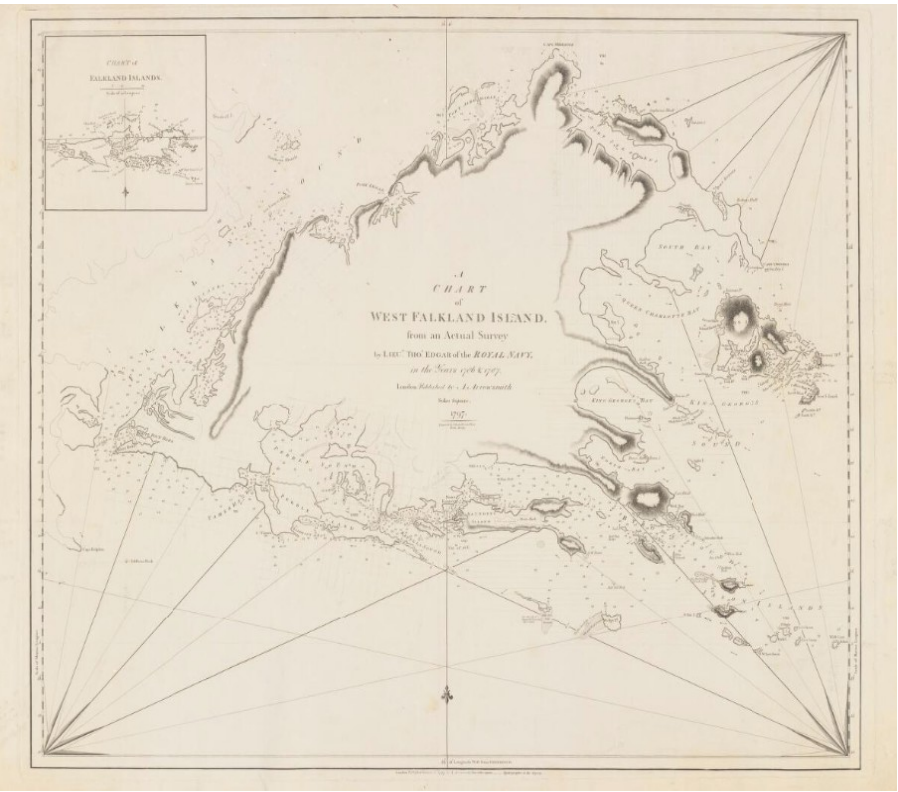
3023 *Ibid.*

3024 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. *cf.* May 20, 1787

3025 *Ibid*. See June 19, 1787.

3026 Parodi 1891 pp.116-117 and *122-6-2 Archivo General de Indias.* ee February 1, 1787.

3027 In the style of McBride's chart of 1766 and Hawkesworth's 1773 map (albeit upside down). Originally published by Arrowsmith in 1797, the current location of Edgar's survey work of 1786 and 1787 is unknown; although a copy of the West Falkland chart was published as late as 1831, according to the Royal Geographical Society. A copy of the 1797 publication, held in the National Library of Australia, was apparently carried by Luis de Freycinet in 1820. Full map here - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1786-7-edgar-published-1797-north-is-down.png However, a far better (with zoom) copy is available to view here - https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/56023/a-chart-of-west-falkland-island-from-an-actual-survey-by-lie-arrowsmith



November 23rd, Viceroy Loreto instructs *capitan de fragata* Don Ramon Clairac; *"... please to take the control of the establishment of the Port of Soledad and Malvinas Islands, I caution Your Excellency that your predecessor the Lieutenant of Navio D. Pedro de Mesa y Castro is appointed by me for the reconnaissance and operations that must be performed at your expense ... according to the instructions I have given you ", etc..."* [3028]

Loreto also issues orders for de Mesa, on what he should pass on to Clairac; *"... (you) will give to your successor in that command, a perfect and reserved intelligence of all what is considered necessary for him knowing, and for practising reconnaissance, which he must (complete) in the appropriate seasons, I recommend covering coast and ports of all the islands with caution and slyness, to observe what could be happening, confirm the news, understand, we must proceed according to that..."*

> *"... After the arrival of the relief... Your Grace (de Mesa)... using the Brig Rosario, will go to Port Egmont, ... ensuring its reconnaissance, with the customary precautions, if no vessel is found with crew... to do the diligent deed with no witnesses, who can record. ...*
>
> *Your Grace should go ashore, and make sure that there are* ***no inhabitants nor passengers of any nation****, you will* ***then*** *proceed to destroy all buildings of all types which you find finished, or started or existing in any form, even vestiges, do the same with materials which you may be lucky to find, in this way making useless all that exists ... (that has) the purpose of shelter against the weather,.. this should make it more difficult for them...*
>
> *If at Port Egmont nothing were found by Your Grace, it must be repeated, by necessity, both by land and sea, there or nearby, or by water to other places further away, may Your Grace extend reconnaissance, because the news leaves us in no doubt, that on those coasts there are formed settlements, barracks at least, for use of adventurers, to renew water, and other refreshments ... we should not be satisfied with reconnaissance made so far,.. because we must try where possible, to pursue the foreigners with our vigilance everywhere... so they are delayed and ultimately unable to settle.*
>
> *As Your Grace has been informed, that* ***if such establishments or ranches have not been abandoned, you must not try to extend your diligence any further,*** *except to perfect reconnaissance: this is what the Royal Orders demand, and which direct that* ***all such operations be carried out without witnesses,***

3028 Quoted in Parodi 1891

***evading being recorded**, (there may be) consequences between the Courts and even that they may adventure a resistance, it is clear Your Grace, that for to expel by force, different dispositions must be taken,.., I instruct to do this on the terms in what it has been done, ...”* [3029]

November 24th, from London, whalers *Audacious* (John Loveday) and *Waterford Packet* (Barrett), sails for the Falklands. [3030]

December 8th, London whaler *Prince of Wales* (Shubael Coffin) sails for the Falklands. [3031]

1787 – from London, ships sailing for the South Atlantic include *Spencer* (Owen Bunker); *Ranger* (Matthew Swain); *Fox* (Ransom Jones); *Dolphin* (William Swain); *Ann Delicia* (Timothy Fitch) and *London* (Joshua Coffin). [3032]

From the British colony of Nova Scotia, vessels operating in the Southern Whale Fishery include *Romulous* (Latham Chase); *Rachael* (Obed Barnard); *Lively* (Jonathon Chadwick); *Parr* (Tristam Folger); *Sally* (Paul Worth); *Watson* (Daniel Ray); *Argo* (Daniel Kelley); *Lucretia* (Jonathon Coffin); *Somerset* (Stephen Gardner); *Industry* (William Chadwick); *Hero* (Valentine Pease); *Hibernia* (Francis Coffin); *Jasper* (William Pinkham) and *Peggy* (Silas Paddock). [3033]

January 10th, from Montevideo, three ships depart for the Puerto Soledad, under the command of Ramon Clairac – *Santa Elena*, *San Sebastian* and *Rosario*.

“Clairac in his report gives the names of seven English (and one American) vessels in Port Egmont Harbour from 1787-90, employed in the whale and seal fisheries;...” [3034]

January 15th, at the Falkland Islands, James Colnett, commanding *Prince of Wales*, accompanied by Charles Duncan in *Princes Royal*, arrives en-route to the north-west coast of America. To trade in furs. [3035]

February 1st, from Buenos Aires, the Viceroy informs Madrid of the departure of the relief for the Soledad garrison; carrying with them the orders for the destruction of buildings around Port Egmont as required by the Royal Order of April 5, 1786. [3036]

3029 *Nicolas del Campo a Pedro de Mesa Noviembre 23, 1786* in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB201550132673.* My emphasis. There is a theme, commencing in 1774, when the then Governor at Soledad issued instructions that reconnaissance of the harbour of Port Egmont should be carried out covertly. A requirement that appears again and again in Spanish orders and reports. Destruction, but no witnesses. Avoidance of direct confrontation. Why? If Spain was confident that the British had abandoned the western islands of the archipelago and had done so in compliance with some secret understanding of 1771, why not boldly state their authority? But, hiding around corners until the sealers had gone to work, before sneaking in and burning their buildings? Or, in another case (see below) lying to a ship's Pilot as to why they were at Egmont, before suggesting politely that he tell his captain that no ships other than Spain's were allowed in those seas? It is clear that Spain was less than confident that the British had abandoned their claims; less than certain that any action they took would not again result in a rift with London. Despite being, during that period, more often at war with England, than being at peace, still the Spanish seemed intent on avoiding a head-on clash over who owned the Falklands. Hard not to see this as an oblique recognition of British rights over Egmont and West Falkland.

3030 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. Loveday, or possibly Lovejoy.

3031 *Ibid.* Owned by *Champion & Co.* Not to be confused with the vessel of the same name under the command of James Colnett, which was a fur trader. See January 1787. Capt. Coffin returned to London on April 28, 1788.

3032 *BT 5/5* at 49. A general list of sailing during 1787. Specific dates not provided. Where I have been able to ascertain a date, I have made the appropriate entry.

3033 Stackpole 1972 p.92

3034 Boyson 1924 p.80 citing *MS.13974 ff.367-72*

3035 Galois 2003 p.85

3036 Parodi 1891 p.121. This message was acknowledged on October 8, 1786 – a surprising 8 months later.

*"... from there they must undertake their voyage to the Island of Falkland and Puerto Egmont in compliance with the order of April 1786 to destroy the buildings and barracks that the **American** settlers have built, all under the instructions given by the commander..."* [3037]

February 7th, at the Falklands, a Boston schooner, *Peregrine* (John Palmer), arrives. [3038]

In Buenos Aires, rumours of a new British settlement at Port Egmont circulate. [3039]

February 16th, from Puerto Soledad, Don Pedro de Mesa reports the arrival of an English brig. [3040]

March 6th, following the arrival of Ramon Clairac, Lt. Pedro de Mesa commences a inspection of the Islands.

*"Lieutenant of Navio Pedro de Mesa commissioned (by) the commander of the Maluynas Islands, the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, so that after he was relieved by his successor he undertook with the corvette San Gil and the Bergantin Rosario, with all reservation the reconnaissance of all the islands, destroying, **when there were no witnesses**, all the establishments and effects that he found, (because) he had news that the **Americans** were fishing (for) whales there.*

*The expedition left the Puerto de la Soledad on March 6 of this year, and having completely fulfilled his commission, he returned on the 20th, guaranteeing that (not) the British nation nor any other has in Puerto Egmond (sic) or in any other place of the Falclan (sic) Islands fixed establishment nor temporary, nor stores in any place that can serve those who frequent these ports; firmly believing that the English only use them to invest, refresh the(ir) water, hunt and kill sea lions, for which they travel between all these islands with smaller vessels, stopping only in the places where they find (sea lions) for their cargoes and generally staying on board their ships, and under barracks or the sails of boats while they make the slaughter or in shacks as it is practised by the Spaniards in Soledad when spending the night in the field. ... only in **Port Egmont** (found) an English frigate "the Diana" with a single cannon... and (it) was almost filled and full of pots with oil of sea lions, for which reason her captain was not on land, and we have only spoken with the pilot **who was made to believe that we were looking for a lost Spanish bergantin** ...*

Said pilot expressed his plans ... that he had left from England six months ago and wished to remain there another six months and according to the Instruction received, the pilot was informed gently ... that, according the treaties with England nobody can frequent those seas, much less enter the port of the Islands, except in (emergency); to which he replied, that he believed that the prohibition was only applicable to Puerto San Luis and with the best harmony and friendship he said that he would make this known to his captain, ..." [3041]

"In March of 1787 D. Pedro Meza obeyed the order of the Virey Marquez de Loreto Las Malvinas in its entirety; and he did not find in them (islands) English, nor any foreigner." [3042]

3037 My emphasis. Information and translation provided by Juan Celli of Buenos Aires.

3038 No further details regarding this voyage, but see December, 1789.

3039 *AGN VII 1.3.34* and *AGN B.Nat. Leg. 196.* Around this time, sealers were dropped off at Staten Island by *Prince of Wales* (Colnett) on its voyage to the north-west coast of America – this was also reported to Buenos Aires. One of this party was Master J. Leard RN. See *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science and Empire 1780-1801* David Mackay 1985.

3040 Parodi 1891 p.119. No name or other details provided.

3041 *Report of Pedro de Mesa October 6, 1787* in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150132673*. My emphasis. This report was written in the third person; presumably for the information of Madrid. Interesting that Lt. de Mesa was prepared to lie about his reasons for being there.

3042 Areco 1885 p.46. Inaccurate, as de Mesa had discovered *Diana* in the harbour of Port Egmont.

"Following the instruction given by Loreto, Mesa himself carried out a personal inspection of Port Egmont. There he found an English frigate." [3043]

From London, whaler *Nimrod* sails for the Falkland Islands. [3044]

March 20th, on his return to the Soledad garrison, Pedro de Messa reports that he had discovered many sealer's tools and stoves; huts around the harbour of Port Egmont, and cabins in other places around the islands. [3045] As for Jason's Town: *"... completely ruined, of the houses of stone there remain the walls but no ceilings, nor doors."* [3046]

March 29th, a manifest describes the force at Soledad as consisting of 9 officers, 24 soldiers of the garrison, 88 seamen of the *Santa Elena* and 25 convicts.

Off Saunders Island, *Audacious* (Loveday) anchors in the harbour of Port Egmont, for the purpose of trans-shipping oil and furs.

"The English whaler Audax, (Clairac) says has been employed from the beginning of 1786 (sic) to the end of 1789 in Port Egmont, in loading oil and skins to sell to the other ships of its nation which sail among these islands." [3047]

"From early 1787, the ship was stationed at Port Egmont ... loading oil and seal skins to sell to other British ships." [3048]

April 6th, reports in England place the London whaler *Edgar* at the Falkland Islands with 200 barrels of oil. Liverpool sealer *Quaker,* is also reported to be at the Falklands. [3049]

May 4th, off Gravesend, *Sophia* (Clarke) is reported returning; "*from Falkland Islands*." [3050]

May 7th, at Puerto Soledad, it is recorded that there are 2000 head of cattle at the Spanish garrison. [3051]

From the Falkland Islands, *Joseph* (Lancelot), sails for Dublin with a cargo of oil. [3052]

3043 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170. The map of Soledad Island with a South-up orientation (above) apparently dates from 1787 and depicts a Warrah together with large wading birds.
3044 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3045 Parodi 1891 pp.119-120. Mesa's original report was dated March 26, 1787
3046 Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170 citing *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional* vol.2 No.6 pp.636 to 655. Another report suggesting that the 1780 destruction of the British establishment at Port Egmont had not been not as complete as suggested. *cf.* 1780
3047 Boyson 1924 p.80. Exact date unknown. *Audaz* in Spanish. *Audacious* arrived back in the UK on May 4, 1790.
3048 Clayton 2014. Also *BSWF Databases – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards*
3049 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3050 *Kentish Gazette* Friday May 11, 1787. Clarke does not appear to have reported his encounter with the Spanish garrison, or if he did, nothing survives. See May 20, 1786, above.
3051 *AGN IX 16-9-6*
3052 All the crew perished in a fire on June 24, 1787 (*Cumberland Pacquet* Wednesday August 8, 1787)

May 15th, Captain Don Ramón de Clairac y Villalonga sets out to reconnoitre the archipelago.

"In 2 cruizes made by Don Ramón Clairac in 1787, he found in different parts of the Islands, the ship Hudibras, the Shallop Audaz, and the Brig Malplaquet, all English Vessels. They made divers excuses for being there, and were all likewise ordered off." [3053]

May 20th, John Loveday, the commander of *Audacious (Audaz),* is ordered to leave the Falklands by Clairac. [3054]

June 1st, from Buenos Aires, in receipt of the results of de Mesa's March reconnaissance, the Viceroy reports to Madrid.

"The Viceroy gives account with documents – of the acknowledgement practised in the island of Falkland and especially of the port Egmond (sic) in fulfilment of the Royal order of April 5, 1786; of the one that was executed before by land; of the arrival of an English brig in the port of La Soledad and of several occurrences that give an idea of how much foreigners frequent those seas, and proposes to occupy ... port Egmond (sic) to prevent it, and increase the Spanish establishments." [3055]

June 12th, from Hull, in England, the whaler *Edward* (Blackhouse), sails for the South Atlantic; *"She is entirely new, and supposed to be the most complete and best ship hitherto employed in that fishery."* [3056]

June 18th, from the port of London, *Adventure* (Pinkham) sails for the Southern Whale Fishery. [3057]

3053 Vernet 1832. For *Audaz* (*Audacious*) see above. I am unable to identify either *Hudibras* or *Malplaquet* (*Mail-packet?* - however see February, 1788). Parodi (1891 pp.121-122) refers to a chart being prepared on the instructions of Clairac. The chart (above) is Spanish and dated 1787, but otherwise unattributed. It appears to show the track of a reconnaissance; either that of Lt. De Mesa in March, 1787, or that of Clairac in May, 1787. Port Egmont is incorrectly marked too far to the east.

3054 See July 1789.

3055 Parodi 1891 p.120. The proposal to occupy Egmont was made on more than one occasion. The simplest act of sovereignty by Spain would have been to raise its flag over the remains of Fort George. An action that Spain – surprisingly – never took.

3056 *Leeds Intelligencer* Tuesday June 12, 1786

3057 Stackpole 1972 p.93. Also *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

June 19th, *New Hope* returns to England with a cargo of 80 hundredweight of whalebone, 100 tuns of whale oil and 6 tuns of sperm oil. [3058]

July 3rd, from Hull, *Minerva* (Jones) sails for the Southern Whale Fishery. [3059]

July 8th, at the Falkland Islands, American whaler *Enterprize* (Palmer) arrives.[3060]

July 25th, *Prince of Wales* (Shubael Coffin) is reported at the Falklands. [3061]

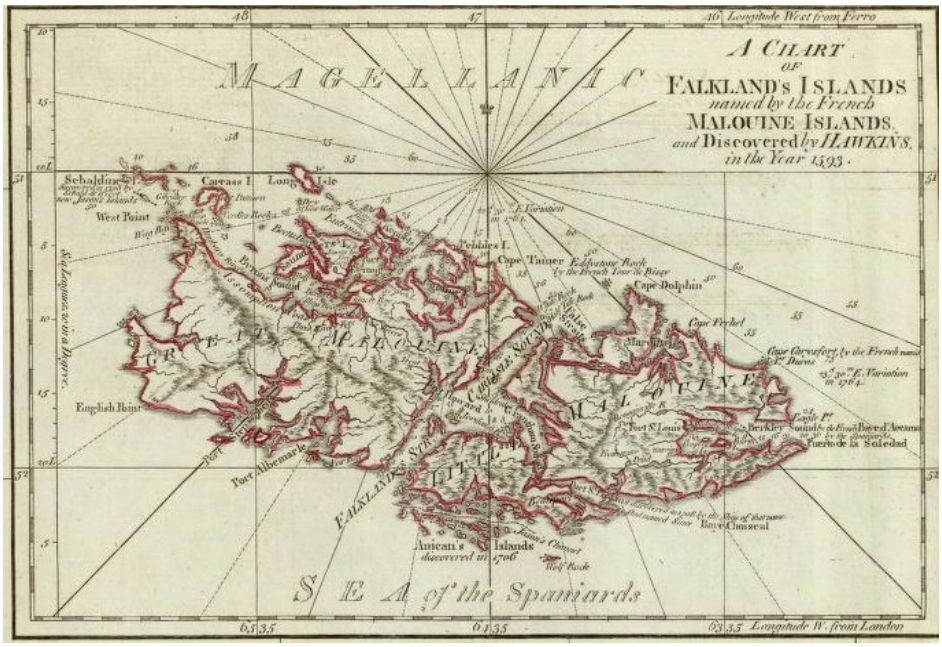
August 25th, from the Downs, London whaler, *Lucas* (William Aiken), sails for the Southern Fishery. *Albion* (Thurston) follows.

At the Falklands, *Duke of York* (Wolfe), hunts. [3062]

October 26th, at the port of Bristol, *Hope* (Thomas Edgar) returns. [3063]

November 5th, Lieutenant William Bligh, commanding *Bounty*, writes to Sir Joseph Banks; *"... I shall take 18 Months provisions, which with other supplies will do very well, and my present intention is, that as I shall be late round Cape Horn, not to depend on touching there, but complete my water if convenient at Falklands Islands, for if I get the least storms round the Cape I must make the most of it."* [3064]

In London, a map of Falkland's Islands is published by Thomas Kitchin (right). West Falkland is named Great Malouine, and East Falkland, Little Malouine.



November 14th, at the port of London, British whaler, *Triumph* (Coffin), returns with a full cargo of oil from the Southern Whale Fishery; for the company of Alexander and Benjamin Champion. [3065]

December 5th, British whaler *Sappho* (Thomas Middleton) sails for the South Atlantic. *Sappho* carries a '*passport*' issued by the Admiralty, identifying the ship as of London and naming the captain as Thomas Middleton - *"made and commissioned for whale fishing..."*.

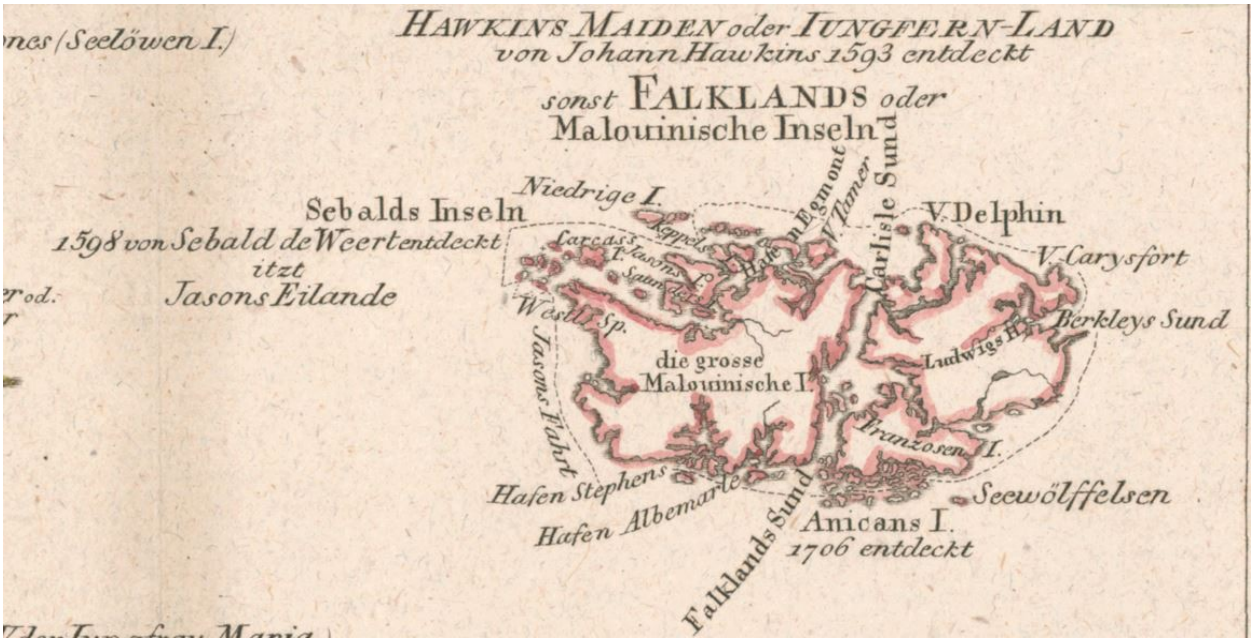
3058 See October, 1786, above
3059 BSWF Databases – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3060 *Lloyd's List October 30, 1787* reported in the *Caledonian Mercury* Saturday November 3, 1787
3061 *Ibid.* Richard Coffin, out of Dunkirk in the *Comte de Montmorenci*, was reported as hunting whales between the La Plata river and the Falklands from August, 1787 until July 1788. See Haller 2023. Big family.
3062 *Caledonian Mercury* Saturday December 29, 1787
3063 *Caledonian Mercury* Monday October 29, 1787. See 1786 above, and 1797.
3064 *From the Bounty at Spithead, England, Nov 5, 1787* State Library of New South Wales
3065 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

"1. To the first I answer that I left London on December 5, 1787, my trip was to catch whales, seawolves and other animals raised in the water. 2. the name of the masters are Jaime Ogle, and Eduardo Ogle, and Tomas Middleton, the name of the Bergantin is the Sappho of London, load (I) did not bring any. 3. I left the Dunes on December 25, 1787 with a large group of merchant ships that went to different parts of the world with trade but none for these seas that I knew. 4. Passport holder I do not know what it is, but I have such papers that we take out of customs as usual in England to clarify the ships for travel, those of my nation. ..." [3066]

At the Falkland Islands, a British whaler *Amelia* (Shields), en-route to the Pacific Ocean, takes on water. [3067]

"In 1787 the London fleet increased to fifty ships, totalling 11,555 tons and employing 988 men. The price of sperm oil this year went up to an unprecedented £55 per ton..." [3068]

In Vienna, a chart of the South Atlantic is published by Franz Anton Schräembl (detail below).



3066 Interviewed by Francisco Franco of the Royal Spanish Navy in April 1789. I have only a poor translation into Spanish of the document that Middleton presented. Records in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150135636.* The passport referred to is most likely to have been an Admiralty Protection to prevent the impressment of a ship's crew, and to act as a guarantee that the purpose of the voyage was peaceful and legitimate.

3067 Headland 1989 p.81

3068 Stackpole 1972 p.90

1788 – British ships working the Falklands and South Georgia include *Lucas* (William Aiken,) *Intrepid* (John Leard) and *Quaker* (Shadrick Kearn). [3069]

"By 1788 the price of sperm oil had risen to the unprecedented price of £60 per ton, with the prized head matter (spermaceti) reaching an all-time high of £68 per ton. Fifty whale ships sailed that year, forty-three from London... While the Greenland, or northern whalers, could remain on the whaling grounds for only four months at best, the Southern fleet had a much longer period, their voyages now nearing eighteen months in duration. The range of their cruisings increased during the 1785-1789 period to an extent never anticipated. After proceeding to the South Atlantic, the ships cruised on the "Brazil Banks," then to the south and the "River Plate" grounds, and on to the Falklands and the coast of Patagonia." [3070]

"Following the American war, the new owners in the southern fishery capitalised on the advantage offered by the tariff on alien oil and continued to expand." [3071]

February 16th, off Saunders Island in the Falklands, American Captain John Kendrick anchors the *Columbia Rediviva* and the *Lady Washington*. Third Mate, Robert Haswell, visits Fort George; *"We arrived at the place the Garrison stood early in the afternoon. Here are standing a number of the sides of turf houses and two or three built of stone but have no roofs. There is a small stone pier or dock built for the reception of boats."* [3072]

From London, whaler *Venus* (Daniel Coffin) sails for the Southern Fishery. [3073]

February 23rd, at Soledad, *Waterford Packet* (Barrett), is spoken to by the Spanish garrison.[3074]

"... the rumour spread of two English establishments, one in Puerto Deseado, and another in a mysterious place, designated with the name of New Ireland, which by the indications given, corresponded to the Island of the States, to the east of Tierra del Fuego. The one who first divulged the news of this last establishment, was the captain of an English ship named Harfort (sic) Packet, unimpeachable testimony... He first showed the Governor of the Malvinas the diary of his navigation, in which he had pointed out the latitude of the place occupied by the new colony, and the number of its inhabitants who, according to him, were not seafarers, but farmers, protected by a garrison and a warship." [3075]

"He found stranded in the Bay of O(este) of the Island of Solitude an English brigantine, whose captain declared that in the latitude S. of 55° 15' and longitude of 309° 44' his nation had an island named New Ireland where several families and a hundred garrison men were established with a war corvette. He added that on another trip he had made, he had recognized by chance the island of Pepis located at latitude S. of 46° 43' and the longitude of 38° 20'." [3076]

"Barrett was "notified in the friendliest terms that these seas and coasts belonged to the Spanish dominions, and that despite the reciprocal correspondence between His Catholic Majesty and His Britannic Majesty, the vassals of each power should contribute to their conservation and abstain from frequenting these seas and ports..."..." [3077]

3069 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3070 Stackpole 1972 p.113
3071 Chatwin 2016
3072 *Log of the First Voyage of the Columbia* J. Haswell 1941 in V*oyages of the Columbia to the North West Coast 1787-1790 and 1790-1793* F. W. Howay (ed.) 1941. These ships remained for a month. *cf.* 1780
3073 Stackpole 1972 p.93
3074 *AGN IX 16-9-7.* Owned by the London Merchants *Lucas & Spencer. cf.* January, 1787 & July, 1788
3075 Angelis 1852 p.36. New Island in the Falklands was a preferred anchorage of American ships. See September, 1790.
3076 Parodi 1891 p.173 citing *Loreto to Madrid July 1, 1788*. The *Bay of O(este)* was the name for what is now known as Salvador Water on East Falkland Island. A short distance overland from the Spanish garrison.
3077 Bernhardson 1989 p.133

"Her captain, James Barrett, told the Spaniards that he and his crew had processed 200 pipas of whale oil (which fetched 80 pesos per pipa), 30 of seal oil (which fetched 60), and 90 sealskins. ... Barrett apparently not only confirmed the existence of Pepys Island, but told of another island called "New Island" at 55° 45', inhabited by British families and protected by 100 men and a corvette. He seems to have been trying to send the Spaniards on a wild-goose chase..." [3078]

"The foreign crews, far from being intimidated by their encounters with the Spanish warships, returned to the fisheries and continued preying on the southern seas." [3079]

February 25th, in the harbour of Port Egmont, *Waterford Packet* founders. [3080]

March 7th, a whaler, *Attempt*, out of Cork, is reported as lost at the Falkland Islands; "*some stores saved*." [3081]

In London, arriving back from the Falklands, the master of *Sappho* (Middleton) reports the presence of 12 other British whalers in the South Atlantic fishing grounds – *Good Intent, Ranger, Rasper, Lucas, Tiger Fox, Active, Experiment, New Hope, Liberty, Adventure, Queen* and *Quaker*. After unloading its cargo, *Sappho* turns around and heads back towards the Falkland Islands. [3082]

March 18th, in London, Parliament reviews the bounties payable for the Southern Whale Fishery.

April 4th, at the port of Dover, England, *United States* arrives from the Falklands with 25,000 gallons of oil.[3083]

"... when that ship returned to England from her long and memorable voyage to the Falkland Islands, and found her oil not clearing British customs without paying the high tariff, Francis Rotch and his brother William, ordered the ship to go to Dunkirk. Here the oil was sold at a handsome profit." [3084]

At Puerto Soledad, Comandante Ramón de Clairac, orders Joaquín de Bedriñana to make a survey. [3085]

"During his first government, Clairac made three explorations of the coasts of the islands, knowledge which he expanded in early 1788, with a land-based discovery of much of the Eastern Island." [3086]

"The Spaniards showed little interest in exploring the land surface of the Islands. Except for hunting expeditions during Ruiz Puente's tenure, there was no land reconnaissance of Soledad until 1788. ... Comandante Ramón Clairac, forwarding this report to the Viceroy, observed that it was the first land exploration of the perimeter of the Island, although from the short duration of the trip and the difficulty of the terrain it is unlikely the party went far beyond the isthmus which leads to the southern peninsula... a complete trip around the Island would take much longer that the 11 days Bedriñana was gone." [3087]

3078 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.325. For the fictitious Pepy's Island, see January, 1684. Barrett clearly had a sense of humour.

3079 Haller 2023

3080 *Ibid.* Crew rescued in May by two Spanish ships and taken to Montevideo. However, just to confuse, records of wrecked shipping show a *Nimrod* (J. Barrett) foundering in 1788 at the Falklands, with the crew rescued by the *Waterford Packet* and taken to the Azores.

3081 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

3082 Stackpole 1972 p.95 & p.122

3083 *She Captains: Heroines and Hellions* Joan Druett 2000

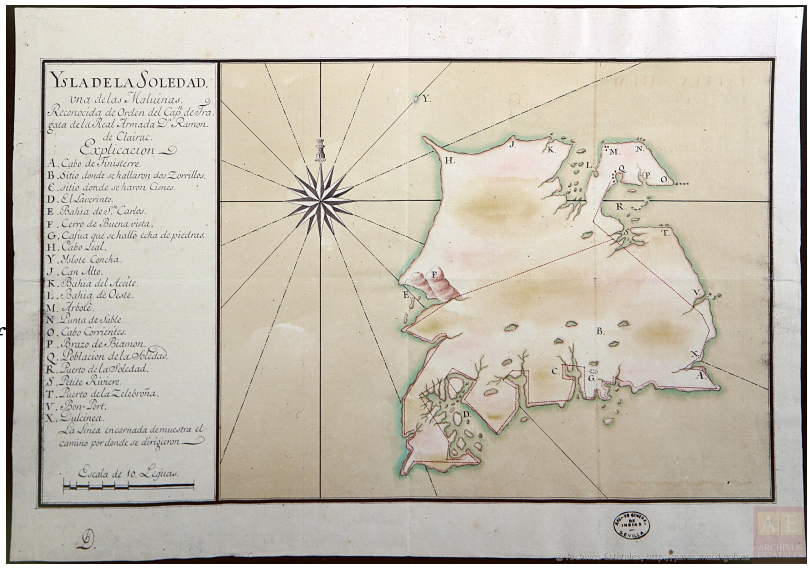
3084 Stackpole 1972 p.102. *United States* seems to have sailed from the Falklands to the USA (Nantucket/New York) with 13,000 seal skins (Busch 1985 p.6) before conveying its cargo of oil to London where it fell foul of British customs who were aware of the ship's transshipping practices when at Port Egmont. Recognising the danger, Rotch's father negotiated a duty-free deal with the French, and *United States* was subsequently renamed *Dauphin*. The 13,000 seal skins found their way via Calcutta to Canton, were they sold for $5 each. Busch (1985 p.6) mistakenly gives the year as 1786.

3085 *Clairac a Loreto Abril 11, 1788* in *AGN IX 16-9-7.* Also *Memorandum* by Joaquin Bedriñana, April 11, 1788 in *AGN IX 16-9-7*

3086 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.170. After 21 years, they still knew very little of the Island where they were based.

3087 Bernhardson 1989 p.131

A chart of East Falkland Island (Soledad) is prepared (right) – *Ysla de la Soledad un de las maluinas. Reconocido de Orden del Capn. de Fragata de la Real Armada Dn. Ramon de Clairac.*


Ysla de la Soledad.
una de las Maluinas.
Reconocida de Orden del Capn de Fragata de la Real Armada D. Ramon de Clairac.
Explicacion
A. Cabo de Finisterre.
B. Sitio donde se hallaron dos Zorrillos.
C. Sitio donde se hicieron Cenizas.
D. El Laverinto.
E. Bahia de S.t Carlos.
F. Cerro de Buena vista.
G. Casita que se hallo echa de piedras.
H. Cabo Sud.
Y. Molate Concha.
J. Can Alto.
K. Bahia del Acate.
L. Bahia de Oeste.
M. Arbole.
N. Punta de Sable.
O. Cabo Corrientes.
P. Brazo de Ramon.
Q. Poblacion de la Soledad.
R. Puerto de la Soledad.
S. Plate Riviere.
T. Puerto de la Zelebroña.
V. Bon-Port.
X. Sulcinea.
La Linea en carnada demuestra el camino por donde se dirigieron
Escala de 10 Leguas.

"The expedition was brief, of only 11 days, but Bedriñana made a detailed report, describing an area of many lagoons (probably those along the northern shore of Choiseul Sound); his men killing warrahs and swans, and found a stone house." [3088]

April 10th, to Soledad, Lt. Don Pedro de Mesa y Castro returns as *comandante gobernador*; reporting that the *presidio*, including the crew of the corvette *San Gil*, consists of 13 officers, 28 soldiers, 105 seamen and 22 convicts. He also notes 2,180 cattle, 116 horses and 66 geese. [3089] Commandant de Mesa complains that the garrison's church needs to be rebuilt, but there is only one mason at the garrison.

April 11th, on his departure from the Falklands, Ramon Clairac prepares his journal for the Viceroy. [3090]

April 18th, whaler *Experiment* is reported to be at the Falklands with 100 barrels of whale oil. [3091]

"It is important to note that the trade at this time was heavily focused on 'black' whaling. In 1788 only 22 per cent of production was sperm oil and until 1800 the main product of the southern fleet was black oil." [3092]

April 28th, in Spain, responding to the Viceroy's message of June 1, 1787, the Court rejects the proposal to occupy the area of Port Egmont, but confirms that steps should be taken to prevent English establishments. [3093]

"By a Royal Order, dated in Aranjuez on the 28th of April, 1788, Instructions were given to ***foment*** *the Fisheries in the Islands, and to reconnoiter their Establishments, in order not to allow any English to remain, either on Falkland, or any other part."* [3094]

"... by Royal Order of April of the same year it is banned to promote fishing in the islands so as not to allow the English in Falkland or elsewhere." [3095]

July 1st, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy del Campo writes to Madrid with details of English ships discovered in the Falklands during the previous ten months; including *Waterford Packet* and *Audaz (Audacious)* at Port Egmont.[3096]

3088 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.323. As charts of the archipelago go, remarkably inaccurate.
3089 *AGN VII 2-3-3*
3090 Parodi 1891 p.124
3091 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. Had sailed from London September 4, 1787
3092 Chatwin 2016
3093 Parodi 1891 p.170.
3094 Vernet 1832. My emphasis. Foment = to stir up trouble. The existence of this instruction would seem to be born out by the subsequent events at Puerto Deseado in 1789. *cf.* 1789 & 1790
3095 Areco 1885 p.46
3096 *Loreto to Madrid July 1, 1788* in *122-7-1 Archivo General de Indias*. Attached, as noted by Parodi (1891), there were charts compiled by Pilot Joaquin Bedriñana and a further reflection on the presence, for long periods of time (transshipping oil), of *Audacious* (*Audaz*) at the harbour of Port Egmont.

"... Virey Loreto remits extensive accounts (three) of three surveys practised on the large island of Malvinas and its adjacen(cies). ... he proposes to the Government (he) occupy Port Egmond (sic) with enough strength to prevent foreigners from forming their establishments there." [3097]

July 16th, in London, John Leard (*Intrepid*) writes to Charles Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, President of the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations). Leard refers to the great numbers of seals on the coasts of Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego and Staten Island; which he recognises as territory claimed by Spain.

> *"From my having made a voyage to the Coast of Patagonia for the purpose of carrying on the Seal Fishery independent of the Whale Fishery, which voyage is the very first made on this plan, I therefore think it is my duty… to send your Lordship a copy of my observations on the Seal Fishery; and as I mean to continue the carrying on of this Fishery, provided it is not offensive to the Spaniards. I should therefore be very thankful to be informed what some of the Spaniards have thought of the English carrying on the Fishery on the Southern coast of Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego and Staten Land, which are not inhabited by the Spaniards..."* [3098]

"... whaleship Intrepid, returned in July 1788 with a cargo of oil and six thousand seal pelts. Captain Leard had found himself in the rather doubtful position of taking seals along a coastline in Patagonia, South America, controlled by Spain. His voyage had been an outstanding success and he was well aware of the potential for voyages for seal skins, but his training as a naval officer made him appreciate that he was operating in Spanish waters... he was advised to write a memorandum for the attention of Lord Hawkesbury and the Board of Trade." [3099]

Capt. Leard also proposes that sealing be regulated, with limits placed on the numbers that can be taken. [3100]

"As for the question raised by Captain Leard concerning the legality of a British vessel utilizing this coast, the government was not prepared to answer specifically, other than that the coast of a deserted land was not "off limits" to a vessel belonging to his Majesty's kingdom." [3101]

"Spain operated a policy of mare clausum ["closed sea"], attempting to completely exclude all other countries from trading with the Spanish South American empire. ... By contrast, Britain maintained a policy of mare apertum ["open sea"], in which the seas and trade were open to all. The two policies were mutually incompatible, so there was bound to be a clash." [3102]

September 23rd, reported in the *Leeds Intelligencer*; *"Last week the Minerva, Moss, and the Edward Birnie, sailed from Hull, for the Southern Whale Fishery."*

October 16th, from London, *Elizabeth & Margaret* (James Hopper), a *Spencer & Lucas* company whaler, sails for the Falkland Islands. [3103]

3097 Parodi 1891 p.171. Clearly, the Viceroy had not received Madrid's April rejection of his earlier proposal.

3098 *Capt. John N. Leard to Board of Trade, Memorandum BT 6/95* quoted in Stackpole 1972 pp. 120-121. While Capt. Leard felt it necessary to report his activities on the coasts of Patagonia, it is important to note that he did not consider the Falklands, or South Georgia, as being Spanish.

3099 Stackpole 1972 p.120

3100 Mackay 1985

3101 Stackpole 1972 p.122. *cf.* April, 1789

3102 Pascoe 2020 p.31

3103 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

In **November**, at the harbour of Port Egmont, Spanish 2nd Lt. Fernando Zambrano discovers a party of English sealers.[3104]

"In 1788, Ensign Fernando Zambrano found and interviewed English sealers inhabiting crude houses near the old jetty at Port Egmont while they awaited a shipment of supplies. There was abundant evidence of their efforts in the form of barrels of oil and storehouses stacked with sealskins, guarded by a dog. The British informed Zambrano that other whalers and sealers operated in more westerly sites such as New Island. Zambrano inspected all the islands in King Georges Bay without locating any more sealers; but found evidence of their activity; pigs and goats placed upon small islands and, most conspicuously, burned areas. At Beaver Island, he "found no indication of there having been visitors except the huge burn which not only this but every other island to the west is in the same condition". He also found turf shelters and the ruins of stone houses, but no signs of recent occupation. Later, however, he contacted British and American ships full of barrels of whale and seal oil, as well as sealskins, and warned them against further efforts in South Atlantic waters; one of these ships informed him that, the previous year, seven frigates, three sloops, and four brigs had left London for the Falklands and Staten Island.... On returning to Port Egmont, Zambrano found no more men but large supplies of coal and more than 400 barrels for oil. He and his men vandalized the remaining supplies, spilling the oil and dumping the coal into the sea." [3105]

December 14th, in Spain, following the death of Carlos III, Carlos (Charles) IV ascends the throne.

In London, an account provided to the British Government by James Enderby reveals that 45 ships returned from the Southern Whale Fishery during the year bringing 668 tons of Sperm Whale oil, 2,424 tons of miscellaneous whale oil, 1,817 hundredweight of whale bone and 64,857 seal skins. Total value of the cargoes is given as £90,599. [3106]

1789 – in **January**, arriving in the Falkland Islands to take on water and refresh their crews, *Fishburn* and *Golden Grove* find *Audacious* at anchor off Saunders Island. [3107]

"The Golden Eagle (sic) left Jackson's Bay the 20th of November last, touched at Port Egmont, Falkland's Islands, for water. The houses there are going to ruin, but the ground that the English left cultivated, was in the highest perfection. A fishing sloop there, called the Audacious, with 15 men, who suffered great hardship for want of bread or other provisions, having lived upon seal fish for a long time, until an American ship put in there and gave them some bread in exchange for seal-skins." [3108]

January 17th, in London, Samuel Enderby writes to George Chalmers, Chief Clerk to the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations), referring to Lord Hawkesbury and the Government's bounty.

> *"I think it must give his Lordship pleasure to see the Fishery he has patronised succeed so well under his Direction. His Lordship first took the Fishery under his Protection in 1785, the year prior to which sixteen Sail of Vessels had been employed in the South Whale Fishery, the value of the oil, etc. they brought have amounted to between 27 and £28,000 for which Govt. paid 18% although the premiums were but £1500 per annum.*

3104 *Memorandum* of Fernando Zambrano dated November 25, 1788 in *AGN IX 16-9-7*. Worthy of note that the 2nd Lt. did not warn off the English sealers at Saunders Island, but returned to destroy supplies and equipment only when they were absent; in accordance with the April 28th, 1788, instruction from the Royal Court to "*foment the fisheries*". Not the first time that the Spanish opted for vandalism. However, no complaint from either side appears to have reached the UK.

3105 Bernhardson 1989 pp.132 & 133. The old jetty would have been on Saunders Island.

3106 Chatham Papers

3107 *Fishburn* was a store-ship of the First Fleet carrying convicts to Australia. *Fishburn*, accompanied by *Golden Grove* had left Port Jackson on the east coast of Australia in November, 1788, to return to England. See September, 1790,

3108 *Saunders's News-Letter* May 29, 1789

The number of vessels which returned from that fishery last year were 45 sail; the value of the oil, etc., amounted to £90,599 for which Govt. have and will pay £6,300 which is not 7% on the whole amount of the cargoes of oil, etc." [3109]

January 27th, at a meeting of the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations), an account is read of the; *"... vessels now out on the Southern Whale Fishery, made up to the 31st December, 1788."* [3110] Included are *Astrea, Liberty, Lucy, Mary Anne, Sapho, Olive Branch, Barbara, Queen Charlotte, Swift, Gen. Elliot, Spencer, Jackall, Ulysses, Prince of Wales, Fox, Emilia, Kent, Greenwich, Friendship, Adventure, Experiment, Mediator, Chasen, Good Intent, Ranger, Active, Stormont, Lucas, Lively, Friendship, Benjamin, Nimble, Queen, Harpy, Spy, Sandwich, Swift, Mercury, Elizabeth & Margaret, Lord Hawkesbury, Nancy, New Hope, Aurora, Minerva, Edward, Hero, Elizabeth, Southampton* and *Argus.* [3111]

From the Falklands, *Liberty* (Clarke) sails for England; "*... with 230 tons of oil, and 5000 seal-skins.*" [3112]

March 19th, from Montevideo, *Santa Elena,* commanded by D. Ramón de Clairac, sails in the company of brigantines *Nuestra Señora de Belén* and *Nuestra Señora del Carmen y Ánimas*. Ramón de Clairac is to take supplies to the Spanish garrison at Soledad, and take over, once again, as *comandante-gobernador* on his arrival. [3113] He also has an instruction from the Viceroy to reconnoitre the coasts on his route and seek out foreign whaling and sealing ships fishing on the Patagonian coasts.

April 4th, at Puerto Deseado (Port Desire), on the Patagonia coast, *Santa Elena* anchors.

"The Governor of Malvinas of the Puerto de la Soledad, in mid-April (sic) 1789 arrived at Puerto Deseado, where a Portuguese sailor informed him that, less than two leagues north of that point, the English had built a wooden house, near a salt mine, to which they go to tan leather;..." [3114]

That same day, after a search, English sealers *Sappho* and *Elizabeth & Margaret* are challenged by Captain Ramón de Clairac. [3115]

"It appears... that a British vessel called the Sappho, Thomas Middleton Master, had, in the beginning of the present year, been employed in taking Whales and Seals in the usual manner in and about port Desire on the Coast of Patagonia, and that the Master of the said vessel, finding that she was very foul, was refitting her in the said port Desire, while he sent his Boat to Penguin Island being about four leagues from the said port, for the purpose of killing Seals. That on or about the 3rd Day of April last a Spanish Frigate named the St. Helena, and two other Spanish Armed vessels arrived at the said port and that the Captain of the said Frigate wrote three several (sic) Letters to the Master of the Sappho, expressed in very imperfect English, ...

3109 *Enderby to Chalmers January 17, 1789* quoted in *Whalemen Adventurers: The Story of Whaling in Australian Waters and Other Southern Seas Related Thereto, from the Days of Sails to Modern Times* W. J. Dakin 1938

3110 *TNA BT 5/5* at *181*

3111 *Ibid.* The account also notes – *"19 sail out 7 at home 56 Total" Sappho* appears to have more than one spelling.

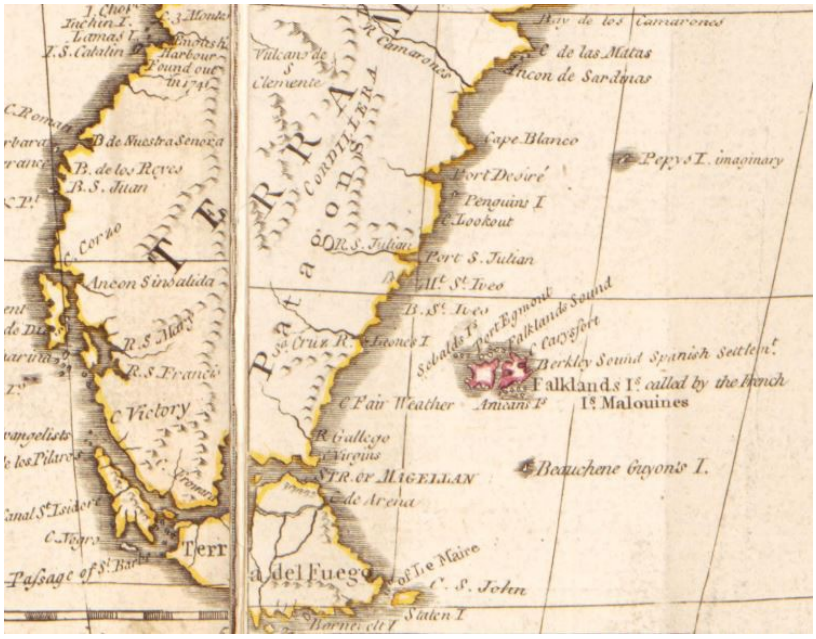
3112 *Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette* Thursday May 21 1789. This vessel arrived back in London on June 5, 1789

3113 The Viceroy informed Madrid of the fleet's departure that same day (Parodi 1891)

3114 Angelis 1852 p.36. Puerto Deseado (Port Desire) lies to the north-west of the Falklands. It is indicated on the chart below. Named in 1586 by English captain, Thomas Cavendish.

3115 *Oficio del capitan de fragata de la Real Armarda y comandante de la corbeta Santa Elena D. Ramón de Clairac dirigido al Eximo. Sr. Virrey de Buenos Ayres desde Puerto Deseado* Archivo Museo Don Alvaro de Bazan. Expediciones a Indias. Legajo no. 9. Doc 66 pp. 1-14. Also *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150135629*

In the first of these Letters the Captain of the Spanish Frigate put several Questions to the master of the Sappho for the purpose of being informed, from what port he first sailed, at what ports he had touched during his voyage, what was the nature and object of his voyage, of what his cargo consisted, and what ships had been, or were now, in company with him; to all which Questions the Master of the Sappho appears to have returned fair and direct Answers.



That in a second letter the Captain of the said Frigate forbade the Master of the Sappho to go on with the works in which part of his Crew was employed on the Island of Penguin, or hereafter to frequent the said island or any other place for the purpose of carrying on the said Fishery. To which second Letter the Master of the Sappho returned for answer, that he had sent Orders to his Officer to quit the Island, but that it would take some time to bring away the Sails and other necessaries he had there. That after the Receipt of this Answer, the Captain of the said Frigate, in a third Letter, sent more explicit and positive Orders to the Master of the Sappho; … In this third Letter the Captain of the Spanish Frigate writes as follows – "That it was requisite and necessary for the Dominion of His Catholic Majesty of Spain, that all Foreign nations should abstain from frequenting the Sea coasts and ports of these provinces and their Districts, as the pretext of fishing Whales is invalid, the said pretext being irregular, because it is upon the King of Spain's Seas, who Orders that as under this motive several vessels have come and are coming on the Smuggling Trade and others prejudicial to the Estate or parliament, that the greatest care be used to hinder these Excesses and with all rigour, against any Colours without exception of Friendly Kingdoms, as well in Peace as in War Time to employ Force to defend the State from the Damages in its Commerce, tho' in the publick Seas and to maintain in force the exact Orders of his Sovereign, there are for that purpose in the Harbour of Montevideo in the River of plate, sundry vessels of war belonging to the Royal Marine of Spain with the strictest Orders to cruise on these Coasts and Habours of the Coast of Patagonia and the Malouine Islands, and to persecute any persons that shall be found employed in the Whale fishery, or killing of Seals or other Animals that these seas produce, and thereby hinder their introducing the various Effects which they smuggle into these Stations. In consequence of this Order he seriously acquainted the Master of the Sappho, that he must begin to repair his vessel and sail within the term of six Days without fail, to the Harbour that he is bound to."

The Captain of the Spanish Frigate then proceeds – "If you stand in need of any assistance in this matter I will give it you and inform you that if you want any thing I will serve you conformable to the Treaties existing between the Courts of Madrid and London and agreeable to the correspondence that should be between the Subjects of those two great Monarchs and you may therefore let me know what you want in this behalf that you may within the said Days be accordingly ready, and I await your Answer for my Information".. "[3116]

3116 Record of the *Board of Trade Committee meeting December 4, 1789* in *TNA BT 5/5* at *408. cf.* 1789

Similar letters are sent to the captain of *Elizabeth & Margaret*. [3117]

"In April 1789 two London ships had been detained sealing on Penguin Island, off Puerto Deseado, some 200 miles north of Santa Cruz, in Patagonia. Despite their claim that they had had to put in for repairs and water, the vessels were ordered to depart and their seal skins were seized. The issue was serious as the British claimed that Spanish sovereignty did not extend over the uninhabited coastline, a proposition denied by the Spaniards. Prior to the news of the Nootka incident reaching London, the Spanish position on the Southern Fishery had thus already caused concern" [3118]

"Clairac's instructions were not to arrest anyone but rather to encourage the foreign ships to withdraw by spreading the news that warships were being prepared in Montevideo to dislodge them. In Puerto Deseado he found two English ships, the brig Sappho and the frigate Isabel Margarita (sic), dedicated to fishing for whales, wolves (seals) and other animals. Clairac ordered them to withdraw but before setting sail, the respective captains requested permission to have time to collect their effects and merchandise and prepare to leave. The following days there were various exchanges between the captain and the whalers that, between visits and trades, extended the deadline for their withdrawal. An inspection on board revealed that the holds of both ships were full of whale and wolf oil as well as two-hair hides. A reconnaissance by land also allowed us to see where the English had their tools (and) effects such as barracks assembled (built) with the canvas of their ships, pots filled with oil, wolf hides in salt, a stone wharehouse, pipe staves, quarters and jars of oil. The Spanish identified a fisherman's headquarters, where there was a large hut and two iron cauldrons with their stoves." [3119]

April 20th, Clairac prepares a report of his action for the naval commander at Montevideo. [3120]

"Clairac waited for the whalers to set sail before ordering a scorched earth operation, destroying all the effects and belongings that the whalers had left ashore, which involved disabling some cannons that the British had left buried and hidden."[3121]

May 16th, in the Falkland Islands, Captain Don Ramón de Clairac y Villalonga arrives at Puerto Soledad for his third posting as Commander of Spain's garrison. Clairac orders 2nd Pilot Diego Villegas to prepare a chart of Soledad Island for his use (right).[3122]

3117 Both vessels sailed shortly after this exchange; *Sappho* leaving behind 7,000 seal skins. *cf.* May 1790

3118 *British Foreign Policy in an Age of Revolutions, 1783-1793* Jeremy Black 1994 p.247. *cf.* July, 1788, October, 1789 & April 1790.

3119 Haller 2023.

3120 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150135506 & BMDB2015135582*

3121 Haller 2023 citing Maeso Buenas Mañanas 1999. It was subsequently reported that another ship, *Astrea*, retrieved a number of seal skins left at Puerto Deseado; suggesting that Clairac's destruction was not complete. See Haller 2023 citing Historical Manuscripts Commission 1894.

3122 *Plano de la Ysla de la Soledad reconocido y levantado de orden del Capitan de Fragata de la Rl. Armada y Governador de ella dn. Ramon de Clairac, por el 2o. Piloto de la Armada dn. Diego Villegas el año de 1789*. Held at Spain's Naval Museum (*MN 49-A-2*) the original has a South-up orientation. I have been unable to locate a particularly good published copy and have spun this one around for comparison purposes.

"Clairac inaugurated his second government (sic), one of the most progressive for the distant Colony. He expanded the berthing pier, built a stone building intended for barracks and prison of the exiles, founded a new estancia south of the stream of stones, building in it a post of tents, carried out important repairs in the batteries, improved the most important buildings." [3123]

British whaler *Lucas*, out of London, is reported to be at Trinidad; *"She took 160 tons of sperm whale oil on the voyage, but also brought back 100 tons of spermaceti transshipped from the United States. As Francis Rotch, then with the Hayley firm in London was one of the owners of the United States, he claimed the oil."* [3124]

May 31st, from Montevideo, after receiving Clairac's report of his reconnaissance of the Patagonian coast, José Orozco, naval commander at the La Plata, reports the Puerto Deseado encounter to the Viceroy. [3125]

June 4th, at the port of Dover, England, *Liberty* (Clarke) arrives; *"... from Falkland's Island, with thirty-seven fish..."* [3126]

June 17th, At Puerto Soledad, *Audacious* anchors off the Spanish garrison.

"... the English sloop La Audaz, his captain Juan Loveday, who, having left London with the Admiralty's passport, on June 17 last year returned to our [Isla de la Soledad de Malvinas]..., because of lack of food..." [3127]

"Audacious was employed in loading oil and seal skins to sell to the other ships of its nation [Britain] which sail amongst these islands [Falkland]." [3128]

June 24th, on the north-west coast of north America at Nootka Sound, Spanish commander Esteban Martinez claims the whole of the north-west coast of America for Spain. [3129]

July 3rd, Martinez seizes a British ship – *Argonaut* (James Colnett), who is there to negotiate the purchase of sea otter fur pelts from the indigenous tribes. Colnett is taken prisoner. [3130]

July 9th, from New York, *Peregrine* (Palmer) sails for the Falkland Islands.

3123 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.171

3124 Stackpole 1972 p.95. *United States* had returned to England on April 4, 1788, before moving to Dunkirk in France. Transshipments were normally made before a vessel returned to the UK, but the transshipment to *Lucas* had to have taken place more than a year before this report. Quite what *Lucas* was doing at Trinidad was not stated.

3125 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150135506*

3126 *Norfolk Chronicle Saturday June 6, 1789.* Fish being whales.

3127 *Nicolás de Arredondo a Señor Conde del Campo de Alange 23 de Septiembre de 1790* in *Archivo General de Indias, Estado, 80, N.1* (Spanish archives). Interesting reference to the Admiralty's '*passport*'. See December, 1787, above.

3128 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards citing Boyson 1924 p.79.

3129 Martinez had arrived on May 5, 1789, with orders to expel any other vessels that he discovered there, and to establish a fort. Some British ships were ordered away, while others were seized. As on previous occasions since 1748, Spain's claim was based upon its interpretation of old treaties, including Utrecht (1713), rather than upon actual occupation. Rights disputed by the British.

3130 Colnett, in *Prince of Wales*, had passed through the Falklands in January, 1787. The actual events leading up to this seizure remain unclear, as both Martinez and Colnett gave very different accounts. Something of a repeat of the events which occurred at Fort George in the Falklands in 1770. The result would not be dissimilar. See 1790.

July 12th, at Nootka Sound, Martinez seizes another British ship - *Princess Royal* (Hudson). [3131]

July 16th, in the Port of London, *Sappho* arrives with one ton of spermaceti oil, eight tons of whale oil, four quintals of whale bone and 19,000 seal skins; *"But her officers reported that due to the exchange with the Spanish ships they had to leave behind 7,000 skins in Puerto Deseado."* [3132]

July 29th, at Soledad, John Loveday (*Audacious*), is interviewed by Don Ramón de Clairac and Francisco Franco, the interpreter aboard the Spanish Bergantin, *Senora de la Rosario*. Clairac begins by reminding Loveday of their previous encounter in 1787. [3133]

> *"Q. Was he not notified by me, on May 20, 87, (Audacious) was anchored in the western bay of this island, that these seas and coasts were proper to Spanish rule, and that all nations abstained from to frequent them, except for some discovery?*
>
> *Reply. It was true that he had been notified, but that he had continued his fishing, by virtue of the license which he brought from his Parliament and contracted with the owner of the vessels, whose documents he presented...*
>
> *Q. How long were you in these seas?*
>
> *Reply. These two years, little more or less.*
>
> *Q. Where did you come from when you went to these seas?*
>
> *R. The port of London.*
>
> *Q. What time has elapsed since your departure so far?*
>
> *R. Left the said port, on November 23, 1786. ...*
>
> *Q. What number of barrels or barrels are filled, as well as the number of leathers?*
>
> *R. Only 600 barrels are full and 2200 hides.*
>
> *Q. In what area of these islands (have you) been anchored?*
>
> *R. In Port Egmont, in the Strait of San Carlos, and in the port of San Josef. ...*
>
> *Q. During time of your residence on these islands, have you seen some boats, and from which nation?*
>
> *R. That there have been seven of his nation, which are the frigate Diana, her captain Moro; that named Hope, his captain Egder; the Prince of Wales, his captain Mr. Cofn; that named Espensa, his captain Bonker; that named Charlotte, his captain Dalen; the brig Waterfor Paquet, his captain James Varet; and the sloop Nimerod, who was shipwrecked, whose captain he did not know; and in addition to the said, he says that they had arrived at Port Egmont, to water,* ***two others*** *of his nation who came from the island New Ireland, to lead families to that establishment with troops and officers."* [3134]

3131 On the map, the red dot indicates Puerto Deseado and the white dot at the top left, Nootka Sound. 7,600 miles separated the two locations, where British ships were being challenged. They would come together for a negotiation in 1790.

3132 Haller 2023. A quintal is one hundred kilograms. *Sappho* had departed London in March, 1788. Challenged by Clairac at Puerto Deseado in April, 1789.

3133 See May, 1790.

3134 Attachment to *Nicolás de Arredondo a Señor Conde del Campo de Alange 23 de Septiembre de 1790* in *Archivo General de Indias, Estado, 80, N.1*. As recorded, including spelling mistakes. My emphasis. The "*two others*" had been *Fishburn* and *Golden Grove* – see January 1789, above.

"... he was again told that on no pretext were they allowed to anchor in any of the ports of these islands, they were (not) allowed to travel through these seas, because they (were for) the King of Spain,.." [3135]

After receiving assistance, Loveday assures the Spanish interpreter that he'll sail for England immediately. [3136]

July 30th, from Cadiz in Spain, the Malaspina scientific expedition in *Atrevida* and *Descubierta*, sets sail. [3137]

"... departure for their voyage around the world of corvettes the Descubierta and the Atrevida, under the command of the Knight of Malespina, to go to Buenos Aires, Montevideo, the islands Falklands, Cape Horn and the South Sea "where they will extend their navigation by visiting islands newly discovered there"..." [3138]

July 31st, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Loreto writes to the Minister of the Navy, Antonio Valdéz, in Madrid, to present him with a map of the anchorage at Puerto Deseado, and inform the Minister of the ejection of two British sealing ships discovered there. [3139]

In **August**, news of the incident at Puerto Deseado reaches the UK.

> *"It is with much concern we hear, that the valuable Southern Whale Fishery has been greatly interrupted, and is likely to be wholly overset, by the King of Spain having ordered the Commander of his Squadron in those seas, to remove all ships fishing on those coasts, and not to permit them either to catch whales or kill seals. These orders were given to the Fishermen, with the greatest civility, but at the same time in the most positive and decided manner, and with orders to quit the coast in a very short but limited time; offering his assistance to expedite their departure, and with positive instructions for them not to return again into those seas, claiming them as the sole right of the King his master. One, if not more, of the ships this forced away, is arrived in England, and the others are gone to different ports to complete their cargoes; but as the Courts of London and Madrid are said to be on such friendly terms, it is to be hoped such a negociation (sic) will be opened upon it, as will bring a speedy and peaceable issue. ... Government are acquainted."* [3140]
>
> *"Two ships of the line, and a frigate, are to be dispatched to protect our vessels in the South Seas from the Spaniards. There is reason to believe, that the conduct of the King of Spain in interrupting our Fishery, is in consequence of a concerted plan with Russia to divert the attention of Great Britain from the present contest in the Baltic."* [3141]
>
> *"The difference which existed between this country and Spain, relative to the Southern Fishery, is now likely to be amicably adjusted. The Spanish Ambassador has had another consultation with the Minister, and communicated not only his own opinion, but his instructions, in a mode exciting much less apprehension than before."* [3142]

3135 *Ibid.* Whilst the interview seems to have taken place on July 29, 1789, it was not signed off until August 3, 1789, probably to allow time for transcriptions and copies to be made. Loveday had been ignoring Spanish instructions to leave for nearly two years. Unusually, 1789 was a time of peace between Britain and Spain and no protests were made by Spain. The Spanish government seemingly had no desire to reopen the debate set aside in 1771.

3136 He didn't. There are no reports from Loveday, or any British record of the encounter.

3137 A plan to emulate the expeditions of James Cook, presented by Alejandro Malaspina and José de Bustamente de Guerra had been approved by Carlos III in 1788.

3138 French Consul note dated July 31, 1789 in *Correspondence of the French consuls in Cadiz (3rd part): Directory (AE / B / I / 271-AE / B / I / 300) by* Anne Mézin with the contribution of Anne Pérotin-Dumon and Didier Ozanam: First electronic edition National Archives (France) Pierrefitte-sur-Seine *2014* p.816

3139 *Archivo General de Simancas.* Madrid would probably have received this message in early September.

3140 *Norfolk Chronicle* Saturday August 15, 1789. Widely reported in the British Press.

3141 *Dublin Evening Post* Tuesday August 25, 1789 p.2

3142 *Derby Mercury* Thursday August 27, 1789

September 8th, in the Falklands, 2nd Lieutenant Pedro de Prado reconnoitres. [3143]

"Island of Borbon: Nothing found. [3144]

Port Egmon (sic): it was noticed at dusk that quite a bit of smoke came from the island, it was traced, and (we) picked up a sailor from the English sloop the Audacious, David Moreno, who had deserted after words with his captain and with another, about theft, and (his idea was) to (go to) the Port of San Josef to join with three of the Wateford Packet brig. His hut was destroyed, which had been (for) the whole crew of the whaler, noting (an) abundance of goats and pigs, or swine, and some holes of rabbits. There was not found in Puerto Egmon (any) sign of permanent inhabitants, ...

Bay of Biron (sic): Nothing found, nor on the burnt island. ...

Bahia de la Isla de San Josef[3145]*: Two houses were found, one with a lot of wolf's hides, three barrels, one with charred bustards, and the other with two boxes of some dirty clothes, a powder paper and many other trifles and two cots with their mattresses, there were many huts on the island, and in one of them a credible number of Carranclui eggs, which according to a paper, which was on the door (there) were 7200, formed an inventory of the effects, they were moved to the brig, destroying the many cabins of that islands, and other small immediate ones, and successively (we) burned the two houses,...*

... three English sailors of the Bergantin Wateford Packet, named Guillermo Firmat, Josef Bormat, and Jeremias Barracos, who were making leathers, and said their captain had allowed them to stay because they were short of food, and they stayed there only 19 months, waiting for another ship of their nation ... Leathers they had, a rifle, and a useless canoe. ..."

September 19th, in Spain, a Royal Proclamation founds the *Real Compañía Marítima* with the purpose of reinvigorating the Spanish fishing industry; *"In the seas of my domains in Europe, Africa and America."* Included are plans for a whale fishery off the coasts of Patagonia and the development of Puerto Deseado.

"This state-owned company enjoyed a monopoly of fishing in all non-peninsula seas under Spanish sovereignty and maintained this enclave on the Patagonian coast from 1789 to 1804 without ever becoming profitable..." [3146]

"*Another relevant fact of the link between Montevideo and the Southwest Atlantic, including the Falkland Islands, is the creation of the Royal Maritime Company in 1789, for the fishing and processing of whales and seals. It had an important establishment in Puerto Deseado, ... and there is documentary evidence of the presence of operators of the Company in Malvinas, as well as remittances of by-products such as wolf oil to the port of Montevideo."* [3147]

3143 From September 8, until October 28, 1789. *Extracto del Diario de la Expedicion hecha por el Alferez de Fragata don Pedro de Prado desde 8 de Septiembre hasta 28 de Octubre del año proximo pasado para el reconocimiento de las Islas Malvinas* in *General Archive de Simancas SGU, LEG, 7306,1.* Information provided by Juan Celli of Buenos Aires. This report was dated September 23, 1790 at Buenos Aires.

3144 Pebble Island.

3145 Weddell Island? This lies to the south-west of West Falkland Island, near New Island.

3146 *La Expedición de Juan José de Elizalde y Uztáriz a la Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego E Isla de los Estados (Diciembre 1791-Febrero 1792)* Juan Alfonso Maeso Buenasmananas 2009 in *Espana en el Comercio Maritimo Internacional (siglos Xvii-xix). Quince Estudios* Carlos Martinez Shaw & Marina Alfonso Mola (eds) 2009

3147 Podetti 2013. What 'documentary evidence' is not identified.

"... the abandoned port of Deseado and that of Maldonado in the Rio de la Plata (now Uruguay) were chosen to found the main establishments. Four boats and 250 people including settlers, families, fishermen and hunters were taken to Puerto Deseado. English and American harpooners were hired to teach them how to hunt and process the products. But despite the foreign staff and the shared experience of individuals like Medina, there was still no clear knowledge about the fishing sites, their techniques, or the processing of the product." [3148]

The instructions include a requirement to found permanent establishments and colonies along the coasts. [3149]

"The reasons for this interest by Valdes, Secretary of Marine, and Floridablanca, Secretary of State, came from the growing threat posed by a persistent English presence, which required a policy of occupation to defend unpopulated areas." [3150]

September 23rd, from Buenos Aires, the Viceroy sends the details of reconnaissance missions around the Falklands archipelago to Madrid. [3151]

October 12th, in London, the owners of the whalers *Sappho* and *Elizabeth & Margaret,* submit complaints regarding their treatment at the hands of the Spanish frigate in April at Puerto Deseado. [3152]

> *"... a memorial of several Merchants, Ship Owners and other persons concerned in the British Southern Whale Fishery, complaining of the Interruption given to the said Fishery by the Spaniards on the Coast of Patagonia."* [3153]

The Duke of Leeds, forwards these complaints to the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) with the King's command that they consider the issues. [3154]

October 16th, the Privy Council Committee summons the complainants to a formal hearing. [3155]

October 20th, in Whitehall, London, representatives of London's whaling merchants give evidence to the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) at the Council Chamber. [3156]

> *"Their Lordships resumed the consideration of the memorial of several merchants, ship owners and, other persons concerned in the British Southern Whale Fisheries, with the several papers referred to therein, complaining of the Interruption of their Fisheries by the Spaniards on the coast of Patagonia. Messrs. Enderby, Lucas and Champion attending on behalf of the Merchants concerned in the Southern Whale Fishery were examined as follows.*
>
> *Q. Are you acquainted with what passed last Spring and Summer on the Coasts of Patagonia when an officer commanding a Frigate belonging to the King of Spain, ordered some of our Fishing vessels to depart those seas?*
>
> *A. We are.*
>
> *Q. Do you apprehend that the Claim then made in the name of the King of Spain and the proceedings had thereon, will be detrimental to the Southern Whale Fishery? Favour us with your Opinion and assign Your Reasons.*

3148 Haller 2023
3149 *Cedula de S. M. para el Establecimiento de la Real Compañia Maritima de 19 de Setiembre de 1789.*
3150 Shaw 2008. Without occupation, sovereignty could be questioned.
3151 Parodi 1891 p.349
3152 Clayton 2014
3153 *TNA BT 5/5* at *386*
3154 *Ibid* at *407*
3155 *Ibid* at *386*
3156 *Ibid* at *388*

A. A general prohibition on the part of the King of Spain to fish in those Seas would not only be detrimental but destructive to our Fisheries, but if We were confined to Fish not nearer the Shore than Five Leagues, it would answer all the purposes of the Fishery. We catch the Spermaceti Whale at the edge of the Soundings on those Shores which is generally about ten Leagues from the Land. The Black Whale we frequently catch upon the Soundings and within five Leagues of the Shore.

Q. How long are your Ships generally out on those Fisheries?

A. If we go to the Coast of South America, about Twelve months. In doubling Cape Horn about Twenty months.

In **November**, at Buenos Aires, Nicolás Antonio de Arredondo arrives as the new and fourth Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata. He finds a: *"... a chronological account of the operations of the officer (frigate captain Don Ramon Clairak) ... and of the eviction that (ejected) two English vessels engaged in fishing, ..."* [3157]

At Montevideo, the two ships of the Malaspina expedition anchor. Viceroy de Arradondo tasks Malaspina to check the coast of Patagonia and the harbour of Port Egmont.

"... on the occasion of the arrival of two corvettes under the command of ..., Don Alejandro Malaspina, I entrusted them with the reconnaissances which Clairak (sic) could not conclude, and more extensive ones..." [3158]

December 2nd, Malaspina anchors at the harbour of Puerto Deseado. [3159]

December 4th, in London, the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) submits its response to the Duke of Leeds concerning the Southern Whale Fishery and Spain's pretensions.

"The Lords of the Committee are of Opinion, that the Orders thus given by the Captain of the Spanish Frigate, in his Letters, if they shall be avowed by the Court of Madrid, in effect assert and maintain the three following positions, or Claims, on the part of the Government of Spain.

First – That it is necessary for preserving the Dominion of His Catholick Majesty and for preventing illicit Commerce, that all Foreign Nations should abstain from frequenting the Seas Coasts and Ports of the Spanish Provinces and Districts in South America.

Secondly – That the pretence (as they term it) of fishing for Whales, is invalid and irregular, because it is upon the King of Spain's Seas, and therefore not to be permitted.

Thirdly – That His Catholick Majesty has a right to forbid the vessels of Foreign Nations, to frequent any of the Islands that lye off the Coast of Patagonia, - including the Malouine or Falkland Islands, tho' it be for the purpose only of catching Seals.

It appears also from the before mentioned Letters, that in support of these Claims, the King of Spain had sent several vessels of war to cruise in those parts, and ordered the Officers Commanding them to use the greatest care to hinder these Excesses, as they term them, and to proceed with all rigour against vessels carrying the Colours of any Nation, tho' Friendly and at peace, and to employ force to defend the State from all Damages in its Commerce tho' on the publick Seas.

3157 Quoted in *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. Taken from the *Memoria del Marques de Loreto* which can be found in full in Trelles 1872 pp.351-520 (Falklands from pp.427-435)

3158 *Ibid.*

3159 *Inspección territorial e instrucciones de viaje: la expedición Malaspina, el piloto José de la Peña y la costa oriental patagónica (1789-1790)* Marcelo Fabián Figueroa 2016

The Committee having materially considered all that is before stated, beg leave, in the first place, to offer the following Observations.

First – That the claim thus set up by the Government of Spain, of any Dominion in these Seas, and of any Right to exclude other Nations from them, is wholly unfounded in the Law of Nations, and has, at no time, been admitted by the Government of this Country.

Secondly – That it is true that by the practice of all European Nations, from the time of their first planting Colonies in America, a Right has been understood to belong to each of them to exclude, even in time of peace the ships of other Nations from entering the Ports of their Colonies or Settlements in America and from carrying on any Trade therein." [3160]

As for the - *"... Treaty made between Great Britain and Spain for settling Peace in America in 1670..."*

"It is true that by the 15th Article of the same Treaty, it is stipulated -

"That this Treaty shall in nothing derogate from any pre-eminence, Right or Dominion of either Confederate in the American Seas, Channels or Waters, but that they have and retain the same in as full and ample manner as may of Right belong unto them. But it is always to be understood that the Liberty of Navigation ought in no manner to be disturbed where nothing is committed against the genuine sense and meaning of these Articles."

From the Terms of this last Article the Spanish Ministers have heretofore pretended to infer, that there are Seas which are the Objects of Sovereignty or Dominion and they have on former occasions endeavoured under this pretence to confine the Freedom of Navigation in the American Seas… they even went so far as to assert that the only navigation which British Subjects can claim in the west Indies, is that to their own Colonies while they steer a <u>due course</u> and that their Ships are liable to Seizure and confiscation if it can be proved that they have changed their Route, without necessity. [3161]

The best and latest writers on the Law of Nations are of Opinion that if there are any Seas which can be considered in any respect as the objects of Dominion or exclusive Rights, they can be either such parts only as are near the Land… or they are such as are in part surrounded by the Land…

Nothing can be more extravagant than to found a Right of this extent and importance, a Right of Dominion in the Spanish Monarchy over the Seas of South America, to the exclusion of all other Nations, on what is stipulated in the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670, which contains nothing more than a general reservation of supposed existing Rights in favour of Great Britain as well as of Spain."

The Committee also considers the 1713 treaty of Utrecht, the events of 1749 and the Convention of 1771 before concluding with the Falkland Islands.

*"From these transactions it appears to the Committee that it may justly be concluded that the Government of this country has **never** acknowledged any Right in the Crown of Spain to the Sovereignty of these Islands or relinquished any Claim we may have to them. That it has indeed manifested its Intention of not making any Settlement thereon; but that it can not from thence be inferred, that the Crews of British Ships employed in these Fisheries may not occasionally land thereon, either for the purpose of killing Seals or for making necessary Repairs to their vessels, or for supplying themselves with water."* [3162]

3160 *TNA BT 5/5* at *412-413.* The committee appear to have considered that the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1667 granted rights to England equal to those recognised in the *Treaty of Munster* 1648, between Spain and the United States of the Low Countries.

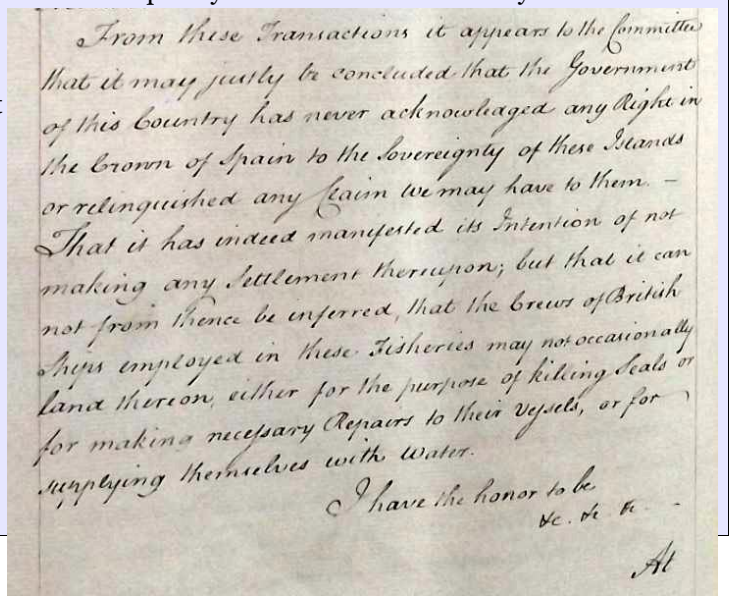
3161 Original emphasis.

3162 *TNA BT 5/5* at *424.* My emphasis. *cf.* 1713, 1749, 1771, 1774, 1783 & 1786

Researcher's Comment: The Puerto Deseado incident would quickly become overshadowed by the events at Nootka Sound. However, both concerned access and the rights of nations to invest unoccupied territory; and to sail open seas. The very rights that Spain had spent 200 years attempting to deny other nations in the Americas.

Britain's Privy Council Committee was a big deal. Sitting right at the heart of Government, its meetings were regularly attended by the Prime Minister.

That the Committee considered English rights to the Falkland Islands had remained intact 15 years after the withdrawal of the British garrison from Fort George, was also a big deal.


From these Transactions it appears to the Committee that it may justly be concluded that the Government of this Country has never acknowledged any Right in the Crown of Spain to the Sovereignty of these Islands or relinquished any Claim we may have to them — That it has indeed manifested its Intention of not making any Settlement thereupon; but that it can not from thence be inferred, that the Crews of British Ships employed in these Fisheries may not occasionally land thereon, either for the purpose of killing Seals or for making necessary Repairs to their Vessels, or for supplying themselves with Water.

I have the honor to be
&c. &c. &c.

"The dominion and sovereignty of Spain on the coasts of the south and adjacent islands is based on the discovery, occupation of part of the discovered territories and on the constant acts of jurisdiction exercised by its warships, without protest of any of the great maritime powers. Fishing on the coasts and amphibious hunting in these areas was an attack on territorial sovereignty, whose authorities always encouraged the vessels that were engaged in such a trade, to prohibit them from doing so. No maritime nation ever protested over the legitimate exercise of that jurisdiction." [3163]

"... Lord Hawkesbury sent a memorandum to the Foreign Secretary suggesting that British vessels should not be excluded from fishing "in any part of the seas of South America."..." [3164]

December 13th, from Puerto Deseado, Malaspina sails for the Falkland Islands.

December 18th, in the archipelago, responding to the instructions of the Viceroy, Malaspina anchors in the harbour of Port Egmont. [3165] On shore, a small astronomical observatory is erected.

> *" ... we found Captain Macbrides chart very accurate, while the chart we acquired in Montevideo, even though recommended as the best one of this area, was most inaccurate, at least for this part of the coast. .. At length, at twelve o'clock, coming in sight of the mouth of a brook and the remains of an old establishment, we dropped anchor ... to the south was a sumaca in the King's service six days out of Puerto de la Soledad. Her Captain, a pilot in the navy, had already left with a English harbour pilot and six horses to examine some coves and the coast where foreign ships could be sheltering ..."* [3166]

3163 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278

3164 Clayton 2014 p.8

3165 Trelles 1872 p.433. *Las Corbetas del Rey: El viaje alrededor del mundo de Alejandro Malaspina (1789-1794)* Andres Galera Gomez 2010 dates the arrival of Malaspina at Saunders Island to December 14th, 1789.

3166 Quoted in *The Malaspina Expedition 1789-1794 The Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina* Andrew David, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams (eds) 2011 & 2003 vol.1 (Cadiz to Panama). For McBride's chart, see 1767. Intriguing. I have found no record that McBride's chart was ever published. More likely, therefore, to have been a copy of the 1770 Carrington-Bowles chart which was undoubtedly based upon McBride's survey work of 1766; and those that continued that work after he had returned to England. The Carrington-Bowles map was widely circulated; forming part of the Royal Collection. *cf.* 1770

"There they intensified their hydrographic investigations and compared their results with those of the English captain MacBride, Lord Anson, Cook, and Frezier. They also compared their work with that of Ferdinand Magellan." [3167]

"At noon on 18 December the two corvettes anchored at Port Egmont, which Malaspina invariably called "Puerto Egmont" ... In the harbour, which Malaspina called "one of the most beautiful harbours in the world", they found a sumaca of the Spanish navy, the San Juan Battista, six days out of Puerto Soledad. Her captain was away with a British harbour pilot and six horses exploring the bays of the islands where foreign ships might be sheltering – such knowledge would be useful ... Relations between the Spaniards and the British in the islands were friendly; the San Juan Battista's captain was not pursuing British ships for "trespassing" on Spanish territory but rather trying to learn about the islands from them." [3168]

December 21st, from the Falklands, the Malaspina expedition sails for Puerto San Carlos de Chiloe to rendevous with *Carmen* (Juan de la Peña). *Carmen* is to take Malaspina's reports back to the Viceroy. [3169]

"Malaspina's diagnosis stated: abandon settlements on the Patagonian coast and the Falkland Islands; Adopt fishing as the only viable economic activity, excluding all permanent or temporary settlements; cultivate good relations with the Patagonians to retain them as allies and informants for the interior of the country; accept the presence of foreign vessels in the waters and on the coasts of the South Atlantic; and not fear "enemy invasions ...," given the poverty of the territory and the adverse climate." [3170]

December 23rd, near Saunders Island, American sealer *Peregrine* (Palmer) anchors. [3171]

1790 – January 21st, rumours of an encounter at Nootka Sound, finally reach the UK. [3172]

From the port of London, *Sydenham*, a whaler under Capt. J. Eckstein, sails for the Falklands. [3173]

From Connecticut, Americans Roswell Woodward and Daniel F. Greene set out on a sealing voyage to the Falkland Islands. [3174]

February 7th, at Soledad Island, *Peregrine* (Palmer) anchors. [3175]

February 9th, Spain's Soledad garrison commander has Capt. Palmer brought to him. [3176]

> *"On that day, month and year, I had the said captain led from his ship to the house of this commander, and placed in my presence by means of the interpreter, who instructed him to show his oath, and that according to him he would answer the following questions:*
>
> *Q. With which Vessel did you come to this island, anchoring in the Bay of Lo(uis), and coming on land?*

3167 *La expedición científica de Malaspina en Nueva España* Virginia González Claverán 1988 p.44

3168 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.325 citing Andrew David *et al* (eds) 2001 vol.1 p.99

3169 Trelles 1872 p.434. Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.325) gives departure as the evening of December 23, 1789, but makes no note of the arrival of *Peregrine*, that same day.

3170 Figueroa 2016

3171 *Archivo General de las Indias ES.41091.AGI/21//State, 80, N.1.* Sailed from New York on July 9, 1789. Not Palmer's first visit, see also February, 1787, above.

3172 *The Nootka Sound Controversy* William Ray Manning 1905 p.365. It would still be some months before a clear, British, account got through to London.

3173 Clayton 2014 p.230

3174 *Notes on the Southern Fur Seal* W. N. Bonner 1958. No names of ships.

3175 Date in Vernet 1832; who used the name Western Bay for the ship's location. During the interview the Bay of Louis was named, however its location remains unclear. Wherever *Peregine* was, the crew could see a house.

3176 *Archivo General de las Indias ES.41091.AGI/21//State, 80, N.1*

R. That with the schooner of his command, named the Pilgrim (sic), who came on land for having seen a house to which they went thinking that this was the Port of the population of this island, and that having found on the way a man, they begged him to take him to the house of the Commander, and he had done it.

Q. What port did they come from to come to this?

R. That of Port Egmont.

Q. Was there was any ship left in that port?

R. None.

Q. With what object did you come to this island?

R. To see if in this port they could be provided with an anchor, ...

Q. Who were the two individuals that accompanied him to this establishment?

R. That one is Jorge Bright, captain of Brig Betsy, and that the other was a sailor of his crew named Thomas Woman.

Q. Where did Jorge have his vessel, and how he had abandoned it coming (here)?

R. He left her anchored in the island of San Jose,[3177] *and that with the motive of being partners to practice the diligence they came to accompany him leaving the Brig without any individual.*

Q. Of what number were the crews of this and the other ship?

R. 23 people, including himself and those of 3 pages (servants?), and that all came on the schooner of his command.

Q. What was the load of your schooner?

R. None, in the Brig had left 500 seawolf skins. [3178]

Q. How had they abandoned the Brig?

R. They believed (they would) return shortly, and because they were persuaded that no other boat would come to that destination that could offend them.

Q. What port did they leave when they came to these seas and with what object did they go to them?

R. They had left New York, loaded with flour for the island of Madera, from whose port they took permission from Joan Pincer, ambassador of the (United) States, to move to these islands, as evidenced by the passports they bring.

Q. But what day and year did they leave New York, and lately from the island of Madera to come to these islands?

R. That from the first destination came on July 9, 1789, and the second on September 17 of the same year, having arrived in Puerto Egmont on December 23 of that year (1789), where he had remained until his arrival in this (island).

3177 Weddell Island? This lies to the south-west of West Falkland Island, near New Island. The latter being a favoured anchorage of American sealers and whalers.

3178 Leaving a ship without a crew but with seal skins on board, sounds improbable. Many sealers seem to have favoured the name *Betsy* or *Betesy*. I can find no reference to one in the islands at this time.

Q. What boats did you find in your navigation and what news did you get from them?

R. Having found a French packet-boat to which he could not speak, a Spanish frigate and a Brig of the Line, to whom the Pilot spoke of his ship, for being he at the time the one who declares on board the Brig, but the commander of the frigate said they were going to the Rio de La Plata.

Q. On what day was the frigate seen?

R. That from October 8 to 10 of 1789.

Q. If you know of some news from Europe?

R. That in France there had been a great uprising, for which reason more than 5000 people had died, and among them some of the first quality, that the King of England had been crazy, and that the Prince of Wales ruled his functions. That in Puerto Egmont they had found some papers that claimed to have been there the American frigate Colomba with the sloop named Washington, and they were going to go around the globe.[3179]

Q. Are you aware of the establishment of New Ireland, and what state is it in?[3180]

R. That when he was found in Puerto Prieiro, in the Cape Verde Islands, between 23 boats there were between English and American, there was one loaded with 200 women taking them to the Island of the State or New Ireland, whose inhabitants gave news to another ship that came from Cape Buena Esperanza, that they were dying because of lack of food.

Q. Is it true that on January 1 of this year ... he expressed before the captain of the Spanish Brig, that two English frigates were coming in search of the commander of the Maluinas to take him prisoner, finding him out of (the) bounds of his island, because a frigate and a Brig from the same nation were expelled from Puerto Deseado?[3181]

R. That yes, the declarant was found at the entrance of the same port, he found the two frigates and, on the occasion of having eaten aboard one of them, they told him, whose names are South(a)mton, their captain Wodhell, and the other the Jackal, its captain Ravem, ... [3182]

Q. Do you know that these seas and coasts (are under) the Spanish domain?

*R. He has it in **writing** from the Parliament of London when he was under that domain, and that now he does not ignore it either, but that his purpose is no other than that of taking (seal) skins, and believing that there was no offense against the king of Spain, he had done so under the **licenses** he presents."* [3183]

John Palmer is ordered away by the garrison commander; as is George Bright.

"In consequence of the ignorance which the captain (Bright) suffered over the dominion of these seas and coasts, he was notified in accordance with the orders that exist in this command, they belonged

3179 *Columbia Redivia* and *Lady Washington* had been anchored near Saunders Island in February, 1788. See above.

3180 For a consideration of New Ireland see September, 1790.

3181 Not easy to understand, but seems to be referring to Palmer passing on information about the Puerto Deseado incident of the previous year. The suggestion that there was a plot to seize the Soledad commander in revenge is ludicrous, although the reference to him being out of his bounds is intriguing. See 1789.

3182 None of this answer makes any sense.

3183 *Archivo General de las Indias ES.41091.AGI/21//State, 80, N.1 – No.4.* My emphasis. This does not translate well, and Palmer's response is ambiguous. What did he have in writing? What licences?

exclusively to the King of Spain, for whose sake no other nation could frequent them, unless it was not for the purpose of some discoveries,.." [3184]

"... the Captain, on being reprimanded for touching there, replied that he had no other objective than to procure an anchor. He was ordered to leave the islands, and immediately obeyed." [3185]

"The Spaniards, it is true, had, of late, admitted ships into their ports for the purpose of refitting; but, from the latest accounts.., this permission was so restricted as to amount almost to a prohibition, in which it was continually expected to end." [3186]

February 11th, in London, the British Government are formally notified of the seizure of Colnett's ship, by Spain's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Vicente Sánchez Bellmunt y Cebrián, the Marquis del Compo.

February 13th, recognising that the cost of Spanish belligerence will have to be assessed, Britain's Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) orders; *"An account of all Fish oil, Whale fins and Seal Skins which were imported during the year 1789 into England and into Scotland, distinguishing each, from Greenland, the South Fishery, the British Colonies and from Foreign Countries,.."* [3187]

February 26th, Lord Leeds replies to Ambassador del Campo's note, demanding "*a just and adequate satisfaction*" before Spain's "*pretensions*" are discussed.

March 2nd, on the Island of Soledad, with cattle now numbering in the thousands, consideration is given by the Spanish garrison commander to organising a separate cattle ranch; *"... the number of cattle raised continued to increase, to the point that, at the end of the 1780s, the founding of a ranch was proposed in the West Bay, close to the isthmus of Isla Soledad."* [3188]

Near the coast of Patagonia, a British sealer, *Astrea*, is challenged by a Spanish vessel whilst fishing and forced to sail into Puerto Deseado.

"During 1790 the issues raised by the Sappho and Elizabeth and Margaret came to the fore again when similar treatment was meted out to the vessel Astrea... Both the Astrea and Elizabeth and Margaret were owned by the firm of Lucas and Spencer, which estimated a total loss of £5,000 on the two ventures." [3189]

March 22nd, Spain attempts to drum up support among the European nations, blaming the crisis at Nootka Sound on Britain's "*aggressive attitude*". [3190]

March 27th, in Madrid, First Secretary of State, José Moñino, Count of Floridablanca, tells Britain's *charge d'affairs*, Anthony Merry, that he believes that London will use the Nootka incident as grounds for a quarrel.

3184 Bright's interview in *Archivo General de Indias, Estado, 80, N.1 No.5* (*Nicolás de Arredondo a Señor Conde del Campo de Alange 23 de Septiembre de 1790).* When questioned about Spain's dominion over those seas, Bright had answered that the seas were open to all the nations of Europe.

3185 Vernet 1832. *cf. Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias ...* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.3 p.24.

3186 *A Voyage to the South Atlantic and round Cape Horn in the Pacific Ocean for the purpose of extending the Spermaceti Whale Fishery...* Captain James Colnett 1798

3187 *TNA BT 5/6.* The sudden need for an evaluation appears to be linked to the threat offered by Spain. The list of those at this Committee includes 'Mr. Pitt'. William Pitt (the Younger) was Prime Minister between 1783 and 1801. See May, 1790.

3188 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.115 citing *Presupuesto del Caudal que se necesita invertir en hacer una Nueva Estancia en el Fondo de la Bahía del Oeste. Malvinas, 2 marzo 1790* in *AGN XIII, 3268*

3189 Mackay 1985 p.46. See also a letter of complaint read out to the Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) on July 30, 1790 in *TNA BT 5/6* at *266*

3190 *The Nootka Sound Controversy in Anglo-French Diplomacy - 1790* H. Evans 1974 in *The Journal of Modern History* vol.46 no.4 Dec., 1974 pp. 609-640 citing *Floridablanca to Baron de Sandoz-Rollin* (Berlin) March 22, 1790

March 28th, Spain prepares for war.

"Vessels were to be armed at once in Ferrol, Carthagena, and Cadiz, and, the real purpose being kept as secret as possible, a sufficient number were to be collected at the last-named port to form a respectable squadron for use in case later occurrences should make it necessary. The vessels that needed it were to be cleaned and repaired as rapidly as possible. Those out of port were to be detained under arms at Cadiz when they returned. Provisions were being collected. The officials of Havana, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, and Trinidad were ordered to strengthen their positions... externally every possible effort was made to maintain a peaceable demeanour. Floridablanca made especial efforts to keep the British charge in the dark and quiet any alarm which the warlike rumors might arouse." [3191]

April 18th, at Puerto Deseado, *Elizabeth & Margaret* (James Hopper) return. Joined shortly after by *Lively* (William Banner).

April 20th, in London, Ambassador del Campo presents a note from the Spanish Court.

> *"I have received an order to inform the Ministry of His Britannic Majesty as follows: In spite of the incontestable rights of Spain to exclusive sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, founded on the most solemn treaties, on the discovery of the Indies and the islands and the continent of the South Sea, on ancient laws, and on immemorial possession, which rights this Crown has continually exercised over the territories, coasts, and seas above mentioned, including the right always exercised of capturing transgressors... the Viceroy of Mexico, as appears from the latest information, has already liberated the above-mentioned English* ***vessel*** *and crew. ...* [3192]
>
> *The Viceroy also had at hand positive orders which had been given to him instructing him to have all possible regard for the British nation and to avoid even the least act that could disturb the good harmony and friendship which happily subsists between the two Courts, for these reasons, and in order to give a further proof of the King's desire to preserve and strengthen this friendship, His Majesty understands and considers this affair as closed, without entering into disputes or discussions over the indubitable rights of his Crown. His Catholic Majesty flatters himself that the British King will order all of his subjects to respect these rights..."*

"This letter, which, being sent to the Duke of Leeds's Office at Night, was not seen by his Grace till the 21st,.. It appeared evidently from it, the Court of Spain was not disposed to afford His Majesty any satisfaction for the Insult offered to Him,.. or in any Degree to relax from those exclusive and unjustifiable Claims of Dominion over the Whole of the Western Coast of America, ..." [3193]

"The gravest misstatement is that the English prisoners had been liberated. ... As a matter of fact, they were not liberated for more than three months after..." [3194]

May 3rd, following a Privy Council meeting, England prepares for war.

" ... a Notification of the Business in Agitation was transmitted to His Majesty's Consuls in the different ports of Spain, and a general Press took Place, which proved the First Public Notice of the Dispute between the Two Crowns;.." [3195]

3191 Manning 1905 p.373
3192 My emphasis. Two British ships had been seized, not one.
3193 Burges 1791. Evans (1974) notes that Burges "*... prepared most of the official correspondence on the Nootka business*."
3194 Manning 1905 p.368
3195 Burges 1791 pp.44-45.

May 4th, from London, a message is sent to Madrid to say that Spain's note; *"... is considered by His Britannic Majesty as Unsatisfactory..."* [3196]

"The same Messenger, who was charged with this Representation, carried also a Letter from the Duke of Leeds to Mr. Merry, informing him that Mr. Fitz-Herbert was directed to repair Immediately to Spain, in order to carry on such Negotiations as may be necessary." [3197]

At the Port of London, on the same day, the sealer *Audacious* returns after being away for 1,258 days; mostly spent acting as a depot ship at the harbour of Port Egmont, transshipping oil. [3198]

May 5th, a *Message from his Majesty* is presented to both Houses of Parliament, outlining that information has been received regarding the vessels captured by Spain at Nootka Sound.

> *"... No satisfaction is made or offered, and a direct claim is asserted by the Court of Spain to the* ***exclusive*** *rights of sovereignty, navigation and commerce, in the territories, coasts and seas, in that part of the world. His Majesty has now directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on this subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently requires;..."* [3199]

Lord Leeds writes to Ambassador del Campo to inform him that King George III; *"... can never in any shape accede to those claims of exclusive sovereignty, commerce, and navigation to which your excellency's representations appear principally to refer;.."*

"The misunderstanding arose over the fact that neither the Briton nor the Spaniard could understand the mental attitude of the other regarding the matter in dispute. The Spanish mind had for centuries been accustomed to think of the American continent as the exclusive possession of Spain.... Little was known in Spain of the colonial development of England and the new principles on which it was based, namely, that unoccupied land anywhere on the globe was the legitimate possession of any nation that would occupy and develop it, and that no other nation could resist such occupation by the mere assertion of an ancient shadowy claim that had never been made good by actual settlement. The Briton was too accustomed to this view to believe that anyone would still advance in good faith the antiquated notion that any real right could be conferred by the gift of a Pope, who, he believed, had no more authority to make such gifts than any other individual, or that a claim not made good by occupying and developing would be seriously urged. It was impossible to reach a harmonious agreement. One party would have to yield." [3200]

Press gangs appear in English ports and along the Thames[3201], at the same time as orders go out for a general mobilisation. [3202] Also, messages are sent to Britain's European allies[3203], colonies, forts and outposts as far away as Canada, India and the Caribbean. Efforts are made to persuade the USA not to support any Spanish action.

3196 *Ibid.* p.41

3197 *Ibid.* pp.44-45. Previously appointed, Fitzherbert had been tardy in actually setting off. Not unusual, as during the previous seven years a British Ambassador had only been resident in Madrid for a total of 13 months, despite four people having been given the job. Anthony Merry was Britain's *charge d'affaires*.

3198 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

3199 *Parliamentary Papers: Consisting Of A Complete Collection Of Kings Speeches, Messages To Parliament, Addresses And Representations Of Both Houses To ... Dissolution Of The Last Parliament In May, 1796* J. Debrett 1797. My emphasis.

3200 Manning 1905 p.378. For the "*gift of a Pope*" see 1493.

3201 Authorised by the King at the May 3rd Privy Council meeting. Impressment was an early form of conscription, often involving violence.

3202 Burges 1791 p.56. No small rearmament, and similar to that of 1770 when some £4 million was expended.

3203 Principally Holland and Prussia, who both responded positively; the Dutch promising a fleet to join that of Britain.

"Lord Dorchester was directed to adopt every Means in his Power to influence the Americans in Favor of the British Nation; and to prevent them from being induced, by any Representations of the Court of Spain, or by any Offers which might be held out to them by that Power, to join with Her in the Event of Her Contest with England. For this Purpose, .., he was instructed to explain to them the real Nature of the Spanish Pretensions; by which an Exclusive Claim, as against all the World, was advanced by them to the Possession and Dominion of the Whole Western Coast of America and the adjoining Seas; a Claim, which, if admitted, must of course operate as strongly, and as disadvantageously against the Americans as against the English, and must put an End to the Prosecution of their Fur Trade, which was become so material for the carrying on of their Commerce to China." [3204]

Meanwhile Spain, as in 1770, informs its ally France. [3205]

May 6th, in London, the King's *Message* is discussed in the House of Commons.

"Having gone over the leading Points of the Message, he (Pitt) then came to examine the Claims of the Court of Spain, to the exclusive Rights of Sovereignty in Nootka Sound and the Parts adjoining; and without entering into any metaphysical Definition of Right; if it was founded on Occupation, the British had a Right in those Parts... Having thus far established the Insult, which in itself was sufficient to rouse the Spirit of the nation, he adverted to the Advantages that would accrue to this Country, from the Establishment of a Settlement in those Parts – Nootka Sound was not the Boundary of the Spanish Claims – They extended to the Interruption of the Southern Whale Fishery;.." [3206]

Britain's Parliament approves funding for the armed forces. [3207]

"Parliament unanimously voted a credit of a million pounds for armaments." [3208]

May 9th, from London, Britain's Ambassador Fitzherbert leaves for Madrid.

May 10th, information is received that Spain is preparing for war. [3209]

> *"By a letter received by a gentleman in the city, it would appear that Spain is resolved on a war with this country. The letter is from Barcelona, and states "that official orders had been received by all English vessels to quit that port in a certain number of days unloading."* [3210]

May 11th, Ambassador Fitzherbert arrives in Paris.

"Fitzherbert reached Paris en route for Madrid on 11 May 1790 and had an important discussion with Montmorin the following afternoon... Montmorin assured Fitzherbert that France would offer her good offices to settle the dispute, but in a way that was satisfactory to Britain. He added that the French decision to arm fourteen ships of the line was a reluctant response to Spain... " [3211]

May 14th, the French National Assembly is informed that the King has ordered the preparation of 14 ships of the line as a precautionary measure.

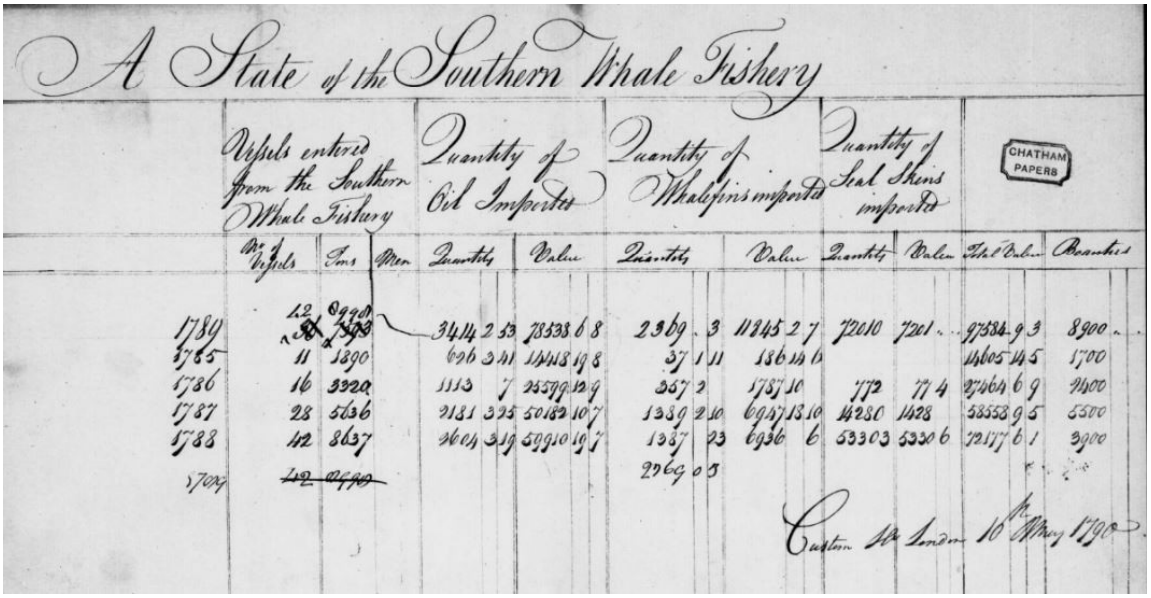
3204 Burges 1791 pp.57-58
3205 With much the same result.
3206 Reported in the *Oxford Journal Saturday May 8, 1790*
3207 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.154
3208 Evans 1974
3209 Burges 1791 p.69
3210 *Kentish Gazette* Friday June 11, 1790
3211 Black 1994 p.239

"When writing to the President of the Assembly on 14 May, in order to inform him of Louis XVI's decision... Montmorin noted that the British government had informed him that their preparations were aimed only against Spain..." [3212]

"Throughout May the governments in London and Madrid carefully watched the events in Paris to see whether the new government of France would uphold the Family Compact. Almost all of France was sympathetic to Spain and hostile to Britain, ... Anglophobia became increasingly strong in eighteenth-century France. And Anglophobia crossed class lines. ... the vast majority of the assembly distrusted Britain and supported Spain, but their Anglophobia was offset by the dislike of a "dynastic" compact with Spain and by their conviction that the responsibility for starting and ending wars should reside with the national legislature of France and not with the king." [3213]

May 15th, in the UK, the *Caledonian Mercury* reports; *"The General Inspector of the Customs delivered an Account of the State of the Southern Whale Fishery. Ordered to be laid on the table for the perusal of their Lordships."*

'In 1789-90 the value of the southern fishery's catch surpassed that of the northern fishery for the first time,.."[3214]



A week after his departure from England, new instructions follow Fitzherbert.

"In the First of these Dispatches, Mr. Fitz-Herbert (sic) was directed to maintain, on the strongest Grounds, ... the Justice of His Majesty's Demands; and, at the same Time, to endeavour, by a frank and open Communication, to make the Court of Spain sensible of the Real Motives which actuated His Majesty's Conduct on this Occasion; which were only to obtain and adequate and necessary Reparation, in consequence of an Insult clearly indefensible, and to establish such an Arrangement, respecting the Points in Question, as might do Justice to the fair Rights and Interests of Both Countries, and remove Occasions of Misunderstanding or Uneasiness in future." [3215]

3212 *Ibid* .The French National Assembly discussed the issue, and after some hesitation, approved the funding.
3213 Evans 1974
3214 Chatwin 2016
3215 Burges 1791 pp.72-73

"The Second Dispatch to Mr. Fitz-Herbert contained the Outline of such Ideas, as should form the Groundwork of his Conversations with the Spanish Ministers, if, by giving the Reparation demanded, the Court of Madrid should open the Way for further Discussion, respecting the Rights and Interests of the Two Nations, as connected with the Points in Question between them. For this Purpose he was informed, that His Majesty's only Object was to obtain such Security, as should protect His Subjects in future in the Exercise of their just Rights, and should remove all Grounds of Misunderstanding between the Two Courts. ... It was further stated, that it was not His Majesty's Wish to go beyond these Points into Questions of Abstract Right, unless the Court of Spain should render it unavoidable; it being more advisable to endeavour to form prospectively such a Settlement, as might secure the just Interests of Both Parties, and distinctly ascertain their relative Situation for the future: That, however, it would be proper for Mr. Fitz-Herbert to state, that, if the Court of Spain should make it unavoidable to rest the Discussion on this Question of Right, His Majesty can never admit the Territorial Claim of That Court, extending as it does to Places, which can in no Sense be alledged (sic) to be either possessed or occupied by the Subjects of that Crown; such a Claim being contrary both to the established Principles of the Law of Nations, and to the plain Sense of the Treaties subsisting between the Two Courts, especially that of 1670. The Claim of Exclusive Navigation or Commerce in the American or Pacific Seas was stated to be equally inadmissible; as, according to the Principles of the Law of Nations, and the fair Construction of Subsisting Treaties, the Rights of Spain can extend only to exclude British Ships from the Ports of Countries Actually in the Possession of Spain, and to carry into Effect the necessary Regulations for preventing a contraband Trade with their Colonies or Settlements; and that, consequently, the Court of Spain can have no Ground for asserting a Right to obstruct the General Freedom of Navigation and Fisheries in the American or Pacific Seas; or to prevent any other Nations from frequenting any of the unsettled Parts of the American Continent. Should the Court of Spain adopt the Mode of proceeding to an Arrangement, which should only look forward, and remove Occasions of Misunderstanding in future, Mr. Fitz-Herbert was instructed, that the First Point would be, to secure His Majesty's Subjects in carrying on the Fishery for Whales and Seals, in any Part of the American Seas or of the Pacific Ocean. For this Purpose it should be stipulated, that they should meet with no Molestation from the Officers or Subjects of His Catholic Majesty when so employed, or in coming on Shore for the Purpose of their Fishery, or for that of getting Wood, Water, or other Refreshments in any of the Unsettled Parts of the American Continent, or in any Unsettled Islands in those Seas. In framing such an Article no Words should be used, which might make this Agreement appear a Concession on the Part of Spain, and might thereby imply an Admission on our Part of their Sovereignty. ... An Exclusive Right in the Court of Spain to any Territorial Claim was declared to be Inadmissible, unless founded on Actual Occupation and Established Possession, prior to any other European Nation. ... Mr. Fitz-Herbert was further instructed, not to conclude any Thing Definitively, with out fresh Instructions, and to take, ad referendum, any Modifications, or any Different Proposals, which might be suggested by the Court of Spain; and was informed, that, to prevent any Jealousy which Spain might feel as to our Intention of making Settlements in South America for the Purpose of facilitating a Contraband Trade, His Majesty might possibly be induced to enter into an Agreement with His Catholic Majesty, by which the Two Crowns should bind themselves not to make in future any Settlement on the Continent or Islands of South America, to the Southward of the Parts now occupied by Spain, except in the Event of a Settlement being made by any other Nation." [3216]

In England, the *Oxford Journal* reports:

> *"London May 11. ... Yesterday an Express was received from Admiral Roddam, stating that he has been informed that the Captain of his Majesty's Sloop the Audacious, while at Port Louis, Falkland Island,*

3216 *Ibid.* pp.76-82

had been grossly insulted by the Commander of a Spanish Frigate: Another Proof of the hostile Intentions of Spain to this Country being of many Months standing." [3217]

On the same day, and now in receipt of the letters of May 4th, Britain's *charge d'affairs* in Madrid, Anthony Merry, presents a '*Memorial*' to Minister Floridablanca.

"(His Majesty) has every reason to expect from the justice and wisdom of His Catholic Majesty not only the full and entire restitution of all the said vessels, with their property and crews (or of as many of them as shall, on fair examination of what can be alleged on both sides, be found to have been British vessels, entitled as such to His Majesty's protection), but also an indemnification to the individuals concerned in the said vessels for the losses which they have sustained by their unjust detention and capture, and, above all, an adequate reparation to His Majesty for an injury done by an officer commanding His Catholic Majesty's vessels of war to British subjects trading under the protection of the British flag in those parts of the world where the subjects of His Majesty have an unquestionable right to a free and undisturbed enjoyment of the benefits of commerce, navigation, and fishery, and also to the possession of such establishments as they may form, with the consent of the natives, in places unoccupied by other European nations..." [3218]

"When Mr. Merry began to read the Memorial, which the Duke of Leeds had instructed him to deliver, the Count interrupted him by saying, That the whole Matter was reduced to One Point, namely, Whether we had, or had not, an Intention to Quarrel; that, if we were resolved to make Use of the Affair in Question as a Pretext to break with Spain, nothing which he could in Reason do would prevent it; but that, if we had no other View than That which appeared, he trusted the Business might, on a fair Discussion, be brought to an amicable Adjustment. ... He said, it might be possible in This, as had happened in Other Cases, for the Two Courts to establish Limits by a Convention, which would prevent such Misunderstandings in future." [3219]

May 19th, Merry receives a formal reply from Minister Floridablanca; *"... by which the Count informed Mr. Merry, that His Catholic Majesty desired Nothing so much, as to settle amicably the Differences subsisting with England; that, for this Purpose, he hoped the new Ambassador would come sufficiently authorized and disposed. That His Catholic Majesty also wished a Reciprocal Disarmament might be regulated as soon as possible, proportioned to the present State of Both Powers, and to their Internal and External Situation; that He also flattered Himself, that, by His Britannick Majesty Knowing the Disposition of His Heart, the Disagreements between the Two Crowns might not only terminate well and be avoided in future, but that They might mutually agree on the Means of employing Their influence with good Success towards the general pacification of Europe. ... His Catholic Majesty would never pretend to more than what might belong to Him by Treaties, by Right, and by Immemorial Possession; ..."* [3220]

May 24th, from Spain, instructions are sent to Buenos Aires requiring the Viceroy to look to his defences. [3221]

Britain's *charge d'affaires*, Anthony Merry reports; *"... that Floridablanca considered George III's message to Parliament "almost equivalent to a Declaration of War".* [3222]

3217 See June, 1789
3218 Quoted in Manning 1905 p.396
3219 Burges 1791 pp.105-106
3220 *Ibid.* pp.109-110
3221 Noted in *Arredonda to de Campo Alange August 26, 1790* in *Archivo General de Simancas ES.47161.AGS//SGU, LEG, 6804,17. cf.* August 1790
3222 Evans 1974 citing *Merry to Leeds May 24, 1790* in *PRO FO27/34*

June 1st, in London, Spain's initial response to the British '*Memorial*' arrives; declaring that the Spanish King only claimed what he could base on treaty rights, on the *"consent of nations"* and "*immemorial possession*." [3223] Lord Leeds demands an aggressive response.

"The leader of the hawks, the duke of Leeds, insisted on nothing less than "unqualified satisfaction for the insult", and one this had been achieved, he advised Pitt not to give Floridablanca "time to breath"; rather, he should "cram down his throat either a formal cession of Nootka Sound or the admission of British fishery vessels to the southward". War, he concluded, was inevitable." [3224]

June 4th, from England, the whaler *Audacious* sails again for the Falklands. [3225]

June 8th, the *Kentish Gazette* reports:

> *"The Aurora, Clarke, is arrived at Bristol from the Southern fishery; the Captain says, he met two armed ships laden with transports, ... the frigates, &c. were to drive the English from Falkland islands and all the fisheries, &c. ... This happened in Lat.38, between the River Plate and Cape Horn."*

June 9th, at Madrid, Britain's Ambassador Fitzherbert finally arrives, to find that the Spanish Court has moved to Aranjuez. Fitzherbert follows.

June 11th, Fitzherbert has an interview with Spain's Minister Floridablanca, who tells him; *"... that, as the Circumstances of the present Case were such, that a Compliance on the Part of Spain with the Preliminary Demand in Question would necessarily invalidate Her Claims of Territorial Right, She could not but continue to insist, ... That such a Concession (considering the Language which had been held on both Sides) would be no less injurious to His Catholic Majesty's Honor than detrimental to His Interests,.."* [3226]

In England, the *Kentish Gazette* reports:

> *"The Aurora, ... is a further evidence of the insulting conduct of Spain. One of the Spanish frigates sent a boat on board the Aurora, with notice that she must desist from fishing in those parts, as it would not be permitted; and, if that notice was disregarded, force would be used to drive her from those seas, where no colours but those of Spain, and the nations she protected, had a right to exercise a commerce."*

June 13th, in an *Audience of Introduction*, Ambassador Fitzherbert is presented to Spain's King Carlos IV.

"Fitz-Herbert drew this Conclusion, that he had the strongest Reason to be persuaded, that the Catholic King and His Ministers were entirely bent upon a War with Great Britain,.." [3227]

Near Soledad, nine seamen are '*arrested*' for taking the *"oil of seals;"* this occurring *"adjacent"* to the *presidio*.[3228]

June 15th, in London, information from *charge d'affairs* Merry is considered.

"... the King of Spain repeated His Assurance, that He never had pretended nor would pretend in this Affair, nor in the Seas and Territories in Question, to more than what might belong to His Crown by Solemn Treaties

3223 Burges 1791 p.111
3224 Evans 1974 citing *Leeds to Pitt June 2, 1790* in *PRO 30/8/151 fols 51-52*
3225 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3226 Burges 1791 pp.122-123
3227 *Ibid.*
3228 A note to this effect in the archives of Buenos Aries is vague; providing no date other than the year, and no detail of any vessel(s) these seamen were from. I am unable to discover any other source or further information. See August 12, 1790.

with all Nations, and particularly with Great Britain, by Right grounded on the same Treaties, and on the Consent of Nations, and by a well proved Immemorial Possession: … The Catholic King, however, denied, that the Circumstance of Spain not having fixed Establishments on a Coast, Port, or Bay, is a Proof that it does not belong to her. That, were this admitted, any Nation might establish Herself on the Coasts of the Dominions of another Nation in America, Asia, Africa, or even Europe, where there should be no fixed Establishment; a Thing which, His Catholic Majesty remarks, it would be absurd to think of." [3229]

June 16th, Spain formally requests French support in its dispute with Britain, only to be told that the question would first have to be put to the National Assembly in Paris. [3230]

"Fitzherbert … wrote that Spain was "entirely bent upon a war with Great Britain", but that the government wanted Britain to initiate the war so that France would be committed to the Family Compact." [3231]

A Dutch fleet is ordered to sail to Portsmouth in support of the English, in anticipation that negotiations with Spain will break down.

June 18th, from Paris, Britain's Ambassador reports that the French people are divided about supporting Spain.

In England, the *Kentish Gazette* reports:

> *"… we feel ourselves authorised in stating, that the answer of the Court of Madrid is far from satisfactory. They disclaim any hostile intention towards Great Britain; but at the same time contend for an exclusive right to the Southern Whale Fishery… They urge the expediency of discussing the various commercial points with temper and deliberation."*

June 19th, in Spain, Minister Floridablanca writes to Ambassador Fitzherbert, disputing; *"… the Principles laid down by Mr. Fitz-Herbert (sic), and insisted that the Detention of the Vessels in Question took Place in a Port – on a Coast – or in a Bay of Spanish America, the Commerce and Navigation of which belonged Exclusively to That Crown by Treaties made with All Nations particularly with England. Notwithstanding this however, the Count added, that,- in order to avoid a Dispute about Words, which might involve Two friendly Nations in an unfortunate War, he was ordered by the King to say, that His Catholic Majesty would make the Declaration proposed by Mr. Fitz-Herbert, and would offer His Britannic Majesty a just and suitable Satisfaction for the Injury offered to the Honor of His Flag;.."* [3232]

Floridablanca adds a proviso, to be appended to any declaration, that either the satisfaction demanded is subject to arbitration by one of the crowned heads of Europe; or that the satisfaction cannot be taken as a renunciation of Spanish rights.

June 30th, in the Falklands, Lt. Don Juan José de Elizlade y Ustariz, commanding the corvette *San Pio*, takes over as *comandante gobernador* at Soledad from Captain Ramón Clairac.

"Ramón Clairac, governor of Puerto de la Soledad, recorded that 7 English and one American craft took 40,000 skins and 200 barrels of oil during 1788-1790… Aware of the potential profits, Clairac unsuccessfully urged the Spanish government to build a seal processing plant at Puerto de la Soledad." [3233]

3229 Burges 1791 pp.115-119. Spain claimed far more territory than it could actually occupy.
3230 Which it was – six weeks later. The French were in no hurry to go to war.
3231 Evand 1974 citing *Fitzherbert (Madrid) to Leeds June 16, 1790*.
3232 Burges 1791 p.127
3233 Dickinson 2007 p.33 citing *Elementos para la historia de nuestras Islas Malvinas* Antonio G. Langenheim 1939

Puerto Soledad's catholic priest, Father Pius de Aguiar, writes to the Bishop of Buenos Aires complaining that the chapel erected in 1767 is now too small to hold the 200 strong congregation. [3234]

In early **July**, draft declarations for both Spain and Britain are considered by Foreign Secretary, Lord Leeds. [3235]

July 5th, a messenger is despatched from London to Madrid with a proposal for a declaration, whereby Spain agrees to give satisfaction for the seizure of British ships at Nootka Sound without there being any reference to sovereignty claims. These to be brought forward during a later negotiation. [3236]

"When His Majesty's just Expectations in this Respect shall be satisfied, the Undersigned is prepared, as he has already informed Count Florida Blanca, to enter into such an Amicable Negotiation on the Subject of the Respective Rights and Interests of Great Britain and Spain, with respect to Territory, Navigation, Commerce and Fisheries in that Part of the World, as may tend to prevent all Disputes between the Subjects of the Two Crowns, in the same Manner as His Majesty would have done, if Spain had proceeded, in the first Instance, in the Way of Amicable Representation, instead of having Recourse to Unjustifiable Acts of Violence." [3237]

Suggestions of arbitration, however, are rejected.

From London, an envoy, William August Miles, is sent to Paris.

"Miles was confident that he could persuade the French leaders that Britain had no quarrel with France, that she sought a just peace with Spain, and that she wanted to remain on friendly terms with both nations. ... He was something more than a lobbyist and something less than than a clandestine agent, although from this period on the French government considered him to be Pitt's secret agent." [3238]

July 10th, in Madrid, Floridablanca presents Fitzherbert with a proposal.

The four parts of the plan call for: 1) Spain retaining the exclusive possession of the whole coast of North-West America from California up to, and including, Nootka Sound; 2) between Nootka and 61 degrees north latitude the rights of trading and forming establishments should be shared between Spain and Britain but with limits on any extension inland; 3) *"That the Subjects of Great Britain shall enjoy the Right of Fishing in the South Sea and Magellanic Region, together with that of Landing, and Erecting Occasional Buildings, in such Unsettled Islands or Parts of the Coast, as should be agreed upon: but that they should not land, or even approach, within a certain Distance of any Spanish Settlement"* and 4) *"That as by Means of such an Arrangement, the Two Crowns would avoid all Discussion of the Respective Rights, they should also agree to waive their Mutual Demand of Satisfaction; in which Case, Spain would consent to pay to the Proprietors of the Ships taken at Nootka the full Amount of their Loss."* [3239]

"That the Use of the Fishery to the Southward might also be granted, on Condition that it be not carried on from the Straits of Magellan Northward, except at a great Distance, not less than Two degrees, from the Coast. That, from the Straits of Magellan to Cape Horn, the Fishery, and the Use of the Beaches and Bays for the Purposes of the Fishery, might be permitted, provided no Permanent Establishments were formed, and that Power be given to destroy those which may be made, as is practised in the ***Malouine*** *Islands."* [3240]

3234 Agreiter 2002
3235 Discussed in a note to PM Pitt. *cf. Leeds to Pitt July 5, 1790* in *ADD MSS 28066* at the British Library. Francis Osborne was the 5th Duke of Leeds.
3236 Burges 1791 pp.133-136. Also Evans 1974 citing *Leeds to Fitzherbert July 5, 1790* in *PRO FO72/18 fols.16-25*
3237 Quoted in Burges 1791 p.141
3238 Evans 1974
3239 Burges 1791 p.153
3240 *Ibid.* My emphasis

Fitzherbert responds that the proposals are unacceptable in their present form, but have some potential.

"... his Excellency thought it his Duty to return (it) to the Spanish Minister, on the same Ground he had returned his former Proposal, namely, it's Inadmissibility. ... Count Florida Blanca took the Rejection of this Paper in good Part, and promised to reconsider the Subject, and to communicate his Ideas upon it in a Shape which he hoped would appear less objectionable." [3241]

Fitzherbert is informed that Carlos III has no intention of being coerced into a war over an academic dispute. [3242]

July 24th, in Madrid, Minister Floridablanca agrees to a statement, to deal with the immediate matter of the Nootka seizures, whilst leaving general questions of rights for another negotiation.

After some rewording Floridablanca signs a '*Declaration*.' [3243]

> *"His Britannic Majesty having complained of the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the port of Nootka, situated on the Northwest Coast of America, by an officer in the service of His Catholic Majesty, the undersigned counsellor and principal secretary of state to His Majesty, being thereto duly authorized, declares in the name and by the order of His Majesty, that he is willing to give satisfaction to His Britannic Majesty for the injury of which he has complained, fully persuaded that His said Britannic Majesty would act in the same manner toward His Catholic Majesty under similar circumstances; and His Majesty further engages to make full restitution of all the British vessels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses which they may have sustained, as soon as the amount thereof shall have been ascertained. It being understood that this declaration is not to prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which His Catholic Majesty claims to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka."*

Ambassador Fitzherbert, in turn, signs a *'Counter Declaration*.' [3244]

> *"His Catholic Majesty having declared that he was willing to give satisfaction for the injury done to the King by the capture of certain vessels belonging to his subjects in the Bay of Nootka; and Count Floridablanca having signed, in the name and by the order of His Catholic Majesty, a declaration to this effect, and by which His said Majesty likewise engages to make full restitution of the vessels so captured and to indemnify the parties interested in those vessels for the losses which they shall have sustained, the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of His Majesty to the Catholic King, being thereto duly and expressly authorized, accepts the said declaration in the name of the King; and declares that His Majesty will consider this declaration, with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction for the injury of which His Majesty has complained. The undersigned declares at the same time that it is to be understood that neither the said declaration signed by Count Floridablanca nor the acceptance thereof by the undersigned, in the name of the King, is to preclude or prejudice, in any respect, the rights which His Majesty may claim to any establishment which his subjects may have formed, or may desire to form in the future, at the said Bay of Nootka."*

3241 *Ibid.* pp.161-163

3242 Evans 1974 citing *Fitzherbert to Leeds July 23, 1790* in *PRO FO72/18 fols 99-101*

3243 Despite some minor changes (see Burges 1791 pp.159-161), this was still substantially the British proposal as sent by Lord Leeds. It is clear from the correspondence that Floridablanca was not confident of French support and sought to delay consideration of sovereignty questions while awaiting news from Paris.

3244 The similarity to the 1771 accord was noted by Lord Leeds in a letter to Prime Minister Pitt regarding the draft declarations. Leeds used the term *"Falklands Convention". cf. Leeds to Pitt July 5, 1790* in *ADD MSS 28066* at the British Library.

"These declarations settled merely the question of satisfaction which England had demanded as the indispensable preliminary to a discussion of the respective rights of the two Crowns on the Northwest Coast, and particularly at Nootka. This simply repaired the insult which England felt that she had suffered at the hands of Spain. They were now ready to begin negotiations on a friendly basis for ... the arrangement of a modus vivendi for the future." [3245]

"Spain had no alternative but to sign Pitt's ultimatum. Skilfully isolated by Pitt's tactics, she had no ally, whereas Britain could count on Holland and Prussia. Spain's circular of June 4 may have found sympathetic audiences in the courts of Europe, but it failed to produce military support. ... when news reached Paris that the Spanish government had signed a declaration for peace, the National Assembly applauded." [3246]

July 25th, from Madrid, Fitzherbert sends to Lord Leeds a; *"... journal of a voyage to the Streights of Magellan which has lately been published here. The maps contained in it, ... will probably be found of use in the course of your discussions upon the Southern Whale Fishery."* [3247]

July 30th, in London, Britain's Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) notify Lord Leeds of the incident with the sealer *Astrea* in March, when the vessel was challenged by a Spanish ship-of-war and forced to sail into Puerto Deseado. [3248]

Unaware of the agreement reached in Madrid, Lord Leeds writes to Fitzherbert to confirm that any negotiation is dependent upon satisfaction for the seized ships. [3249]

August 5th, in London, the British Cabinet receives news of the signing of the *Declaration*.

> *"It is now exactly twenty years since the affair of Falkland Islands made so great a noise in this country: when the best politicians looking for war as a thing certain, found themselves in the wrong box: some of them to the ruin of themselves and posterity; - it is not improbable that the present affair of Nootka Sound may turn out another such bubble."* [3250]

"All of London celebrated the news on August 5. The people danced, the stocks soared, and George III thanked "the Almighty for having prevented a catastrophe. War, however honourable it might have been, must when fresh taxes had been layed, have shewn how little the country is in a state to carry it on"." [3251]

August 12th, from Buenos Aires, an order is issued for the transfer of the nine seamen arrested near Puerto Soledad in June, to the Royal Citadel (Ciudadela Real). [3252]

August 17th, from London, Lord Leeds sends a messenger to Madrid with instructions for Ambassador Fitzherbert regarding the negotiation as to rights in the Americas. [3253]

3245 Manning 1905 p.407
3246 Evans 1974
3247 *Fitzherbert to Leeds July 25, 1790* in *ADD MSS 28066* at the British Library. No indication as to whose journal.
3248 *TNA BT 5/6* at *266*
3249 *Leeds to Fitzherbert July 30, 1790*
3250 *Chester Chronicle* Friday August 6 1790 p.3
3251 Evans 1974
3252 See June above. Unverified, although the photograph of the document passed to me appears to have originated in Argentina's National General Archive – *Sala IX Coleccion Colonia.* Kohen & Rodriguez (2016 p.82) refer to expenses for the transport of seamen *"found fishing illegally"* on the ship *St. Elena*, being approved on August 17, 1790 (*AGN Sala IX 16-9-8*).
3253 *Leeds to Fitzherbert August 16, 1790* in *British Museum Add. MSS 28,066 fols 217-18* and *Leeds to Fitzherbert August 17, 1790* in *PRO FO72/18 fols 172-96*

"Mr. Slater was on Wednesday dispatched to the Court of Spain, with the ultimatum of the British cabinet. … It will be at least twelve days before he can arrive at Madrid, and lay the dispatched before Mr. Fitzherbert. … In the mean time, hostilities will certainly be suspended; and at that period, the season will be so far advanced as to render any important expedition impracticable.

The present claims of the King of Spain are of two kinds:-

1st. To all the Magellanic regions. –

2d. To all parts of the N.W. side of America. –

It is an incontrovertible fact, however, that the Spaniards have not even the pretext of first discovery to the Magellanic regions; and that the only discovery which the Spaniards can claim there is the discovery of the Strait of Magellan; the Portuguese having discovered the East Coast of Patagonia long before Magellan's voyage, and the English having completed the story; consequently, as much exclusive right to that navigation must belong to the English, as the Spaniards can pretend to, from their having gone beyond the Portuguese; but a pretension of the English to an exclusive right of navigation to the South of Cape Horn, could they be so absurd as to make it, would be laughed at by all the world, as too ridiculous to merit serious attention. – The Spanish pretensions on the North are equally groundless; for the first public and authentic description of Nootka, or King George's Sound, … was given to the world in Capt. Cooks last voyage." [3254]

Leeds' attaches a draft-proposal. Articles 1 and 5 are concerned only with the north-west cost of America while article 2 considers fisheries in the South Seas (South Pacific). Articles 3 and 4 relate to the east coast of Patagonia; reflecting British concerns over the Southern Whale Fishery and the 1789 Puerto Deseado clash.

"Art. III: But from a Desire to remove All Ground of Apprehension, which His Catholic Majesty might entertain, of any Interference with the Antient (sic) and Established Possessions of the Crown of Spain, or of any Occasion being given to the carrying on a Contraband Trade with the said Possessions, His Britannic Majesty engages, that His Subjects shall not form any Settlements, in any Part of the Western Coast of America, between ------ Degree North Latitude, and ------ Degree South Latitude, or in any Part of the Eastern Coast of South America, North of a Line drawn from ------ to ------ or carry on any Commerce within the said Limits. And His Majesty also engages to take the most effectual Measure to prevent the Navigation, Fishery, or Commerce of His Subjects, in the Pacific Ocean or South Seas, from being made a Pretext for Illicit Trade with the Spanish Settlements; and, particularly that, for that Purpose, the Fishery or Navigation of His Subjects shall not be carried on with ------ Leagues of any Part of the Coast comprehended within the above Limits. …

Art. V: And it is further agreed between the Two Contracting Parties, that No Settlements shall be formed Hereafter by the Subjects of Either of the Two Crowns, in any Part of South America, South of ------ on the Eastern Coat, and of ------ on the Western Coast, so long as No Settlements shall be formed thereon by the Subjects of any other Power." [3255]

This draft-agreement is accompanied by copious notes from Lord Leeds as to how the articles are to be interpreted, but based upon one *"fundamental Principle."*

"The whole Question about the Eastern Coast of South America, his Grace observed, would be at once decided, if a Fact which was started on this Subject could be sufficiently ascertained. To an Account of Patagonia,

3254 *Leeds Intelligencer* Tuesday August 24, 1790
3255 Burges 1791 pp.168-171

published in England in 1774 a Map is prefixed, in which a Line is marked near the River Salladillo, a little to the Southward of the Rio de la Plata, and stated to have been fixed by ***Treaty with the Indians in 1740****, as the Limit beyond which the Spaniards were not to settle to the Southward. In the Book itself a Reference is made to this Treaty, but no Account is given of the Authority on which its Existence is asserted, nor are the Particulars of the Treaty itself stated.* [3256] *Supposing this Treaty to be authentic, and to have continued to be the Boundary between those Nations, there could be no Pretence on the Part of Spain to claim any Thing to the Southward of that Line. And it was the more reasonable to suppose that this was really the Case, as, in the Spanish Map above referred to, there did not appear any Trace of a Settlement in those Parts. This latter Circumstance alone afforded sufficient Ground for fixing the Boundary, in this Instance, in the same Manner as those before spoken of. On these Grounds, His Majesty's Servants were induced to believe, that the just Application of the General Principles before mentioned would fix the Line before referred to as the proper Limit for the Eastern Coast; and, if Mr. Fitz-Herbert should not be apprized by the Spanish Government of any Material Facts to vary what was now slated, he was directed to propose to fix it according to that Line, which he would see traced in the above-mentioned Map of Patagonia, a Copy of which was sent by the Messenger to his Excellency. Any Difficulty, which the Court of Spain might make, with respect to these Limits, the Duke hoped would be considerably diminished by the Proposal suggested in the Fifth Article,.. The Fifth Article, already referred to, his Grace stated to be consonant to what he had stated in the concluding Part of his former Dispatch, and would furnish a strong additional Proof of the Sincerity and Fairness of His Majesty's Intentions, and of its not being His Wish that His Subjects should form any Settlements, which could give just Cause either of Political or Commercial Jealousy to the Established Possessions of Spain in South America. On this Point, His Majesty's Ministers insisted, that His Majesty unquestionably could not be called upon to relinquish the Rights of His Subjects by a Contract not Reciprocal; but, at the same Time, as the chief Importance of the Right of making Settlements to the Southward would arise only from the Possibility of Settlements being made there by other Nations (which might gradually obstruct the Right of Landing for the Purposes of the Fishery, or at least give Occasion to future Disputes). His Majesty was willing to agree, that the Subjects of the Two Crowns should be restrained from making any Settlement on any Part of the Coast of South America, South of the Limits agreed on, so long as no Settlements should be made there by the Subjects of any other Powers. This Restriction would leave this Part of the Coast open to both Nations for the Purpose of carrying on their Fisheries. Of course it would be understood; that the Stipulation not to make Settlements would not prevent landing for Wood and Water, and building temporary Huts, if necessary."* [3257]

"Leeds spelled out the conditions which Spain would unconditionally have to accept to avoid war. In essence, Spain's agreement to the declaration of satisfaction was tantamount to a declaration of guilt without judicial inquiry, and now the "memorial" of August 17 prescribed the terms of the punishment without means of appeal. Spain's only other recourse was to war. The terms of the settlement were contained in five articles. Spain was to make restitution for the buildings and tracts of land of British subjects at Nootka; England would recognize Spain's exclusive area of colonization between the limits of ***31 north latitude and 43 south latitude****; England was authorised to make settlements and trade north of this limit; neither Spain nor England would make settlements south of this limit unless a* ***third country*** *first initiated settlements of its own; both countries were to have equal fishing rights in the Pacific Ocean beyond ten leagues off the shore. Only the northern and southern limits of Spain's exclusive area of colonization were negotiable."* [3258]

3256 My emphasis. The book referred to is Falkner 1774. The map in the book was engraved by Thomas Kitchin, hydrographer to His Majesty. https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/1774-map-by-thomas-falkner.jpg. See 1740

3257 Burges 1791 pp.187-193.

3258 Evans 1974. My emphasis.

August 26th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Nicolas de Arradonda, responds to the May, 1790, instructions from Madrid. He informs the Spanish Court that he has told the Navy Commander at Montevideo to; *"...prepare two boats, which will sail for the Maluinas Islands and the Patagonian coast with the necessary warnings,..."* [3259]

September 1st, from London, full powers to negotiate, under the Great Seal, are sent to Fitzherbert in Madrid.

September 8th, in Madrid, Fitzherbert presents the British draft treaty for Floridablanca's consideration.

"It had been formulated in London three weeks earlier and had been sent with instructions to the British ambassador. These instructions declared it to be the purpose of the British Government to avoid requiring Spain to make any mortifying renunciation of rights, but at the same time the stipulations were to be so worded that they would not imply an admission of the Spanish claims by the British Government. It was impossible for His Majesty to recognize them, either directly or indirectly." [3260]

Ambassador Fitzherbert adds a long list of observations, including suggestions as to demarcation on the west coasts of both North and South America; *"He proposed as the northern limit of Spanish exclusive dominion the thirty-first degree. This would have left to Spain not quite all of Lower California... Spain should have exclusive dominion of the coast from the above-mentioned parallel southward to within about 10° of Cape Horn. ... He thought that the distance within which British ships should not approach ought to be 5 leagues. On this point his private instructions allowed him to yield to 8 or even 10 leagues."* [3261]

September 13th, Floridablanca tells Fitzherbert that Spain's Council of State are opposed to an accommodation.

"... in particular, previously to the returning any positive Reply from Spain on the Subject of the proposed Lines of Demarcation, it would be indispensably necessary to send to America, for an exact Account of the Extent and Circumstances of the Spanish Settlements and Missions in the Interior of that Continent, as well to the North as the South, and to enquire, at the same Time, into a Number of other Circumstances, intimately connected with the present Business. That, before sufficient Answers to these Inquiries could be collected and transmitted to Europe, a great Length of Time must necessarily elapse, during which it was next to impossible, considering the powerful Armaments now on Foot both here and in Great Britain, and the Jealousy naturally entertained by both Courts of each other's Designs, that some disagreeable Incident should not intervene, that might bring on a decided Rupture." [3262]

Floridablanca proposes that, instead of a definitive agreement, the two countries enter into a preliminary accord to; *"... furnish the Two Crowns with sufficient Leisure for the Completion of a definitive Arrangement,..."* [3263]

September 14th, Floridablanca presents a counter proposal, calling for "*mutual restitution*" despite the fact that the British have not seized any Spanish vessels. An article also prohibits British fishing vessels approaching the "*Ports and Coasts of Spain*" without these being specifically identified.

Fitzherbert's attempts to make changes are rejected. [3264]

"Count Florida Blanca said, that, as in framing the Paper in Question he had gone to the utmost Length warranted by the Resolutions of His Catholic Majesty and his Colleagues in Office, he was obliged to make it his earnest Request to Mr. Fitz-Herbert, to transmit it to the Duke of Leeds in it's present shape." [3265]

3259 *Arredonda to de Campo Alange August 26, 1790* in *Archivo General de Simancas ES.47161.AGS//SGU, LEG, 6804,17*
3260 Manning 1905 p.431
3261 *Ibid.*
3262 Burges 1791 p.245
3263 *Ibid.* p.246
3264 *Ibid.* pp.247-252
3265 *Ibid.* p.255

September 16th, Ambassador Fitzherbert sends a messenger to London with the Spanish proposal; also reporting on the preparations of the Spanish fleet for war.

"In forwarding Floridabanca's counterproposals to Leeds, Fitzherbert offered two compelling reasons for their acceptance. First, if Spain had offered these terms at the beginning of the controversy, the British cabinet would have eagerly accepted them. Second, if it rejected the proposals and the Spanish government disclosed them to the courts of Europe, foreign sympathies would rest clearly with Spain." [3266]

September 23rd, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Nicolás Antonio de Arredondo informs Madrid that he hopes soon to discover the location of the rumoured colony of New Ireland. [3267]

October 2nd, from London, unwilling to accept further prevarication, or to disarm, Leeds and Pitt respond to Fitzherbert letter of the 16th.

"His Majesty's Ministers observed, that the Effect of these Instructions must be decisive on the Alternative of Peace or War; as neither the Circumstances of the Negotiation, nor the relative Situation of the Two Countries and of other Powers, could allow of any further Delay. That the Project of a Declaration, which Mr. Fitz-Herbert received from Count Florida Blanca, was in many Respects unsatisfactory, particularly as it would leave open to subsequent Explanation and Discussion Points which it was essential now to bring to a precise and final Decision. On this Ground, the Duke of Leeds informed Mr. Fitz-Herbert, that he had it in Command from His Majesty to state to him, that that Declaration was utterly inadmissible;... the Security for the Navigation, Commerce and Fisheries of His Majesty's Subjects (liable to such Provisions as may be made for preventing illicit Trade to those Parts actually in the Possession of Spain) depended solely upon the fundamental Question, whether that Crown did or did not insist upon, and maintain, an exclusive Sovereignty over the Continent in Question, and the Seas adjacent. If therefore Spain should persist in refusing a distinct and final Settlement on these Points, under Pretense of making further Inquiries, such a Conduct could only be considered as a Proof of wishing to gain Time, in order ultimately to contest the Principles themselves on which these Articles are founded." [3268]

Lord Leeds includes a final set of proposals;

"... which his Grace was now to state to (Floridablanca), were Final and Unalterable: And if he should not be able to bring the Discussion to a very speedy Conclusion, it would be His Majesty's Pleasure (as should be more particularly stated to him in a separate Dispatch), that he should entirely break off all Negotiation." [3269]

Two drafts are included for presentation to Floridablanca. One provides for a definite demarcation of the limits of Spanish exclusive sovereignty; while the second is vaguer. Spain is to be given only 10 days to decide.

"The only matter that could afford an excuse for delay was the determination of limits. Such an article would seem to be desirable to both sides, but His Britannic Majesty would not object seriously to the omission of such

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3266 Evans 1974 citing *Fitzherbert to Leeds September 16, 1790* in *BM (British Museum) Add. MSS 28,066 fols 265-66*

3267 *Nicolás de Arredondo a Señor Conde del Campo de Alange 23 de Septiembre de 1790* in *Archivo General de Indias, Estado, 80, N.1.* Rumours had circulated for years of an establishment/settlement called New Ireland. These rumours had included the transport of 200 women to this place. It seems likely that New Ireland was a name for the penal colony at Botany Bay in Australia; a place that *Fishburn* and *Golden Grove* were returning from when encountered by *Audacious* at Port Egmont in January, 1789 (see above). A prison transport ship, *Lady Juliana*, had sailed from England in July, 1789 with 226 female convicts bound for Botany Bay. There is no evidence that Arredondo ever found New Ireland. *cf. Buenos Aires State Papers Legajo 3* in *Catalog book 3.* For a transcription see - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/loberos-extranjeros-en-las-islas-malvinas-1790-arredondo-a-campo-sept-23-1790.pdf

3268 Burges 1791 pp.257-266. Also Evans 1974 citing *Leeds to Fitzherbert October 2, 1790* in *PRO FO72/19 fols 93-108*

3269 *Ibid*. pp.260-261

demarkation (sic). The great expense of maintaining the armament ready for service and the just expectations of the public could not admit of further delay in coming to a decision on the question of peace or war." [3270]

"Leeds and Pitt ... despatched four important letters to Fitzherbert on October 2. In the first, Leeds explained why the counterproposals were unsatisfactory and why the British proposals were "final and unalterable". In the strongest language he declared that the present situation in Europe could allow no further delay on the "alternative of peace or war". In the second, he stated that Britain would agree to disarm mutually with Spain after the settlement was reached and as soon as the international scene permitted. ... In the third, he proposed a defensive alliance with Spain as a substitute for the Family Compact. The fourth was an ultimatum: if Spain did not accept the proposals within ten days, the alternative was war." [3271]

October 8th, from Soledad, Lt. Elizlade y Ustariz informs the Viceroy, Nicolas de Arredondo, that the men of his garrison are looking out for any foreign vessels attempting to land in the islands. [3272]

"In October 1790, faced with the possibility of a war with England, Elizalde prepared a combat plan, had cannon and rifle exercises carried out by the troops, established some flying detachments and set four watchtowers at Arbolé. He also proceeded to mount in the battery of San Carlos two guns of four, two stones and six emeralds, because he considered this point as the most exposed in case of an enemy attack." [3273]

October 12th, in Madrid, Ambassador Fitzherbert receives the instructions from Lord Leeds, which must; *"... be considered as constituting the Ultimatum of this Court;.."* [3274]

October 13th, Fitzherbert presents the first British draft (definitive demarcation of territory) to Floridablanca; *"The Count's reception of these was so unfavorable that Fitzherbert thought best to warn all of the British consuls in Spain of the prospect of an immediate rupture. He wrote to his home Government that it seemed impossible to obtain a convention with a demarcation of limits."* [3275]

October 15th, Fitzherbert has a further meeting with Floridablanca during which he puts forward the vaguer draft treaty. Floridablanca complains about a suggestions in this that England had ever owned or possessed Nootka Sound; saying it is impossible for Spain to accept that foreign subjects could land in unoccupied places as such places could be found almost anywhere along the coasts of the Americas.

"Fitzherbert had proposed that British vessels should not approach within 10 leagues of places occupied by Spain. The Count insisted that the distance was too short. Instead of the expression," occupied by Spain," he would substitute the expression," belonging to Spain."... Fitzherbert did not accept the Count's terms..." [3276]

October 19th, in Madrid, eight principal ministers, not including Floridablanca, form a special committee.

"Sessions were held on the 21st, 22d, 24th, and 25th. The English projet was examined article by article. ... It was declared that Martinez's conduct at Nootka had not been contrary to international law nor an insult to the English flag. What he had done was to prevent the forming of an establishment in a place belonging to the Spanish dominions, in which, by virtue of treaties made before all Europe and guaranteed by England herself, no foreign disembarkation was permitted without a just motive, and much less the forming of military or commercial establishments. Even granting that the proceedings of Martinez had been culpable, and, by a

3270 Manning 1905 p.442
3271 Evans 1974
3272 Andrew David & Carlos Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.209
3273 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) pp.171-172. No source provided.
3274 Burges 1791 p.284
3275 Manning 1905 p.443
3276 *Ibid*. pp.444-445

distortion of ideas, that the resistance to a usurpation could be considered an insult, Spain had already given England such satisfaction as was compatible with her dignity. The increasing of the British pretensions while the Spanish were being moderated showed that the Nootka affair was only a mask to cover England's hostile designs of taking advantage of the revolution in France to attack the divided House of Bourbon. ... The English pretension was the more irritating since it extended also to all the coasts of South America. If Spain should grant their demands she might expect in the end to surrender to them all of the commerce of Peru and New Spain. The English offer of not allowing their subjects to approach within 10 leagues of any place occupied by Spain was useless, the junta declared, since they demanded the privilege of disembarking in all unoccupied places. By this means they could approach insensibly to those that were occupied. If the Spanish governors should attempt to prevent them, it would lead to disputes and to new negotiations which would afford new opportunities for aggression. They would finally take all of these countries from Spain." [3277]

Ambassador Fitzherbert and Count Floridablanca meet.

"*Floridablanca ... made strenuous efforts to induce the British ambassador to modify the English demands. ... The last clause of the third article, making the privilege of landing anywhere on the coast subject to the restrictions contained in the following articles, was not in the draft without a demarkation of limits which was made the basis of the treaty, but it was in the draft with a demarkation of limits. Fitzherbert compromised on this point and combined the two drafts. He admitted a limitation of the privilege without obtaining a definite demarcation of the boundaries of Spanish exclusive sovereignty. If Floridablanca had not secured this concession, it would have meant that the English could have landed and established colonies in any unoccupied spot on the coast of California, Mexico, Central or South America. ... In the* ***fourth article****, regarding the limit of 10 leagues within which English vessels should not approach Spanish establishments, Floridablanca pressed very earnestly for extending the distance to 15 leagues. As a precedent for his contention, he cited the treaty of 1763 between England and France, which fixed 15 leagues as the distance within which French fishermen might not approach the coasts of Cape Breton. He suggested the insertion of the words "****in the said seas****," which would confine this restriction to the Pacific. Fitzherbert embodied the last mentioned suggestion, since he conceived that it might be of advantage to the English fisheries on the Atlantic coasts of Spanish America, but he would not admit the extension to 15 leagues...* [3278] *The fifth and sixth articles contained the stipulations upon which there was the most difficulty in agreeing. In the course of their discussion the negotiation was frequently on the point of being broken off. Floridablanca would not consent to a convention that failed to secure to Spain her exclusive intercourse with her establishments. Neither would he consent to fix any precise line as the boundary of the Spanish possessions, either on the north or the south. He pleaded insufficient information. ... the English ambassador admitted the restriction at the end of the third article, mentioned above. For the same purpose he consented to insert in the fifth article the clause, "situated to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain." This preserved the Spanish exclusive dominion as far northward as her most northern establishment. The provision in article 6 was materially changed. The draft of the ultimatum had provided that the subjects of neither nation should make any establishment south of a definite line to be fixed so long as no settlement should be formed thereon by the subjects of any other power. Instead of fixing a definite line the negotiators agreed to insert the clause, "in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts and of the islands adjacent already occupied by Spain." They added the provision that in such places the respective subjects should have the right of landing and*

3277 *Ibid.*

3278 My emphasis. The "*said seas*" being the *Pacific Ocean* and the *South Seas* (*Mers du Sud*). Clearly Fitzherbert did not view *South Seas* as including the south Atlantic; with a corresponding implication for *Art.3* which used the same terms. The failure to accurately define terms used subjected conventions such as this to almost any interpretation that the parties wished to apply. Floridablanca certainly saw the opportunity for this (see below). For *Art.4* see October 28.

constructing temporary buildings for purposes connected with their fisheries. The clause, "so long as no establishments shall be formed thereon by the subjects of any other power," was omitted from the article. This had been objected to on the ground that it would be virtually a public invitation to all nations to make settlements there and so join England in despoiling Spain of her dominions. In order to remove the Spanish objection to publicity and still assure England that she would not be compelled to keep her hands off while other nations should do the thing that she had bound herself not to do, the stipulation was embodied in a ***secret article****."* [3279]

October 23rd, the points of agreements are drawn up for presentation to King Carlos IV.

"... the State of Indecision was such that, on the Evening of the 23d, when, after a Conference ... that Minister professed to be, and most probably was, uncertain whether the Determination, that he was to communicate to Mr. Fitz-Herbert next Morning, would be for Peace or War." [3280]

October 24th, in the morning, Floridablanca informs Fitzherbert that his King has agreed to Britain's terms.

"*... in the end it had to give way to the evils of an inevitable war, which Spain could not enter with all the forces that could give it a chance of victory. This transaction was therefore seen as necessary, even though it was harmful to Spanish interests and the rights of the crown were believed to be diminished by tolerating English trade in North America and allowing fishing in the seas of the South."* [3281]

October 25th, in Spain, unaware that an agreement has been reached, the committee of Ministers draw up their conclusions. [3282]

> *"Strange, astonishing, unheard-of it is, Señor, that England should dare to pretend that Your Majesty should authorize and adopt a stipulation which prohibits mutually the forming of establishments there as long as the subjects of other powers shall not attempt to do so; adding that the respective subjects shall have the right of disembarking in those places and building huts and other temporary structures for objects connected with their fisheries. ... The English pretend that all South America is open to all nations, and that its territories shall belong to the first that desires to occupy them."* [3283]

October 28th, the *Nootka Sound Convention No.1/Treaty of San Lorenzo del Escorial* between Britain and Spain, is signed. [3284]

> *"Their Britannic and Catholic Majesties being desirous of terminating, by a speedy and solid agreement, the differences which have lately arisen between the two Crowns, have considered that the best way of attaining this salutary object would be that of an amicable arrangement which, setting aside all retrospective discussions of the rights and pretensions of the two parties, should regulate their respective positions for the future on bases which would be conformable to their true interests as well as to the mutual desires with which Their said Majesties are animated, of establishing with each other, in everything and in all places, the most perfect friendship, harmony, and good correspondence.* [3285]

3279 Manning 1905 p.451. My emphasis.

3280 *Ibid.* p.304

3281 Cantillo 1843

3282 The junta's (board or committee) opinion, opposed to any agreement and recognising the inevitability of war, was not laid before Spain's King Carlos until the 26th. See Manning 1905 p.446.

3283 *MSS. Arch. Hist. Nacional, Madrid Sec. Estado 4291.* Special junta to the King quoted in Manning 1905 p.448

3284 Drawn up in the diplomatic language of the time – French. My emphasis throughout. Further conventions would be signed in 1793, and 1794.

3285 It is clear from the correspondence that questions of both sovereignty and demarcation of territory were to be excluded from this agreement; deferred to another, unstated, time. As in 1771. A *'sovereignty umbrella*' for the American question?

Article 1 … Article 2 … [3286]

Article 3: … it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the ***Pacific Ocean*** *or in the* ***South Seas***[3287]*, or in landing on the coasts of* ***those seas*** *in places* ***not already occupied***[3288]*, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country or of making* ***establishments*** *there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions and provisions which shall be specified in the three following articles.* [3289]

Article 4: His Britannic Majesty engages to employ the most effective measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the ***Pacific Ocean*** *or in the* ***South Seas*** *from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and with this in view it is moreover expressly stipulated that British subjects shall not navigate nor carry on their fishery in the said seas within the distance of 10 maritime leagues from any part of the coast already* ***occupied*** *by Spain.* [3290]

Article 5:… [3291]

Article 6: It is further agreed with respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America and the islands ***adjacent****,* [3292] *that the respective subjects shall not form in the* ***future*** *any establishment on the*

3286 *Art.1* restored the property taken from British subjects at Nootka Sound in 1789. *Art.2* dealt with reparations.

3287 *South Sea(s)* has a particular meaning for mariners, ie. the southern Pacific (named by a Spaniard, Vasco de Balboa, in 1513). However, while the English language translation of this accord written in French used '*South Seas*' the Spanish version stated "*los mares del Sur"* - the seas of the South – capable of a wider interpretation. Reference to the original French finds the term - "*Mer**s** de Sud*" - employing capital letters and indicative of a place name. Fitzherbert saw this as limiting these articles to the western side of South America (see October 19, 1790 above). Burnley (1817 vol.5 p.175) gives directions; *".. for making the passage into the South Sea by the South of America."* Nonetheless, it must be recognised that there was some inconsistency in the term's common usage during the 18th century and quite how this affects interpretation of *Arts.3 & 4* remains moot. Hardly surprising that the London whalers were at something of a loss to understand the treaty. For a Spanish translation see Cantillo 1843 p.624

3288 Not defined. See Floridablanca's letter to the Special Junta of November 21, 1790.

3289 Outside of '*occupied*' areas there were no restrictions. What constituted '*occupied*' was left (deliberately?) undefined and open to differing interpretations as can be seen by Floridablanca's letter to the Spanish junta (see below). *Art.3* was to be the general position in the Americas, subject only to *Arts. 4, 5 & 6.* As a result, Manning's observation that Spain had withdrawn from its long maintained claims of exclusive control over **all** the Americas, appears correct.

3290 South Seas were the Southern Pacific Ocean. See footnote above. That this was about trade is important, as is the fact that the article only prohibits navigation and fishery; not the formation of new settlements.*'Part of'* was therefore left undefined but would likely have been seen, by the British at least, to mean the area of a settlement or garrison fort. A league was about 3 miles; and a '*maritime*' league was that distance by sea. It is still regularly, and erroneously, claimed that this article prohibited the British from the south Atlantic. For Spain's attitude to the issue of *occupation*, see Floridablanca's letter of November 21, 1790.

3291 *Art.5* confined itself to the north-west coast of America.

3292 In October, 1767, Spain's Ambassador had claimed that; *"... all islands within a hundred leagues of the Americas could be considered such."* He had also argued that the America's were so large that a league should have a different meaning. However, both Britain and France (see August 1765) rejected the notion that a hundred leagues could be '*adjacent*' and so it would seem unlikely that *Art.6* could be applied to the Falklands due to the inclusion of this word. Eighteenth century dictionaries define the term as meaning, *'lying near'*, '*near or bordering upon'*, *'contiguous or touching'*, *'meeting so as to touch'*, etc. See *Egmont to Grafton July 20th, 1765 in PRO SP 94/253 State Papers, Spain Supp 253* where it was stated that the islands could not be considered '*appurtenant*' to South America. With both sides so apart on the meaning of the term, and with Spain refusing to consider issues of demarcation, it would seem likely that the issue was deliberately fudged by both sides. West's Encyclopedia of American Law (2nd ed.) 2008 defines '*adjacent*' as meaning *".. not widely separated,.."* Proximity was also considered by the International Court of Justice in 1969, concluding - *"To take what is perhaps the most frequently employed of these terms, namely 'adjacent to', it is evident that by no stretch of the imagination can a point on the continental shelf situated say a hundred miles, or even much less, from a given coast be regarded as 'adjacent' to it." - North Sea Continental Shelf Case (Federal Republic of Germany/Denmark; Federal Republic of Germany/Netherlands Judgment of 20 February 1969* para.41 p.30. See also

*parts of the coast situated to the **south** of the parts of the same coast and of the islands adjacent already **occupied** by Spain;*[3293] *it being understood that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated for objects connected with their fishery and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary structures serving only those objects.* [3294]

Article 7: In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective Courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner. [3295]

Article 8 …" [3296]

The agreement also contains a *'Secret Article'*. [3297]

"Since by article 6 of the present convention it has been stipulated, respecting the eastern and western coasts of South America, that the respective subjects shall not in the future form any establishment on the parts of these coasts situated to the south of the parts of the said coasts actually occupied by Spain, it is agreed and declared by the present article that this stipulation shall remain in force only so long as no establishment shall have been formed by the subjects of any other power on the coasts in question. This secret article shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the convention." [3298]

"... It was evident, that no claim had been conceded..." [3299]

"... article (6) is a contract for the Coast of Patagonia and all the extent from our last presidio in Chiloe to Cape Horn, so that the harbours between Cape Horn and the last population of ours south of Buenos Aires and those that they are between Chiloe and said Cape, they must remain perpetually deserted..." [3300]

"Both nations were equally restricted from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn than the most southerly plantations already established by Spain." [3301]

Case Concerning Territorial and Maritime Dispute between Nicaragua and Honduras in the Caribbean Sea (Nicaragua v. Honduras) Judgment of 8 October, 2007 para.162 p.54 where islands some 40 miles from the mainland coast were described as *".. not obviously adjacent."* As the Falklands are situated some 200 miles from the coast of South America, and, in 1790, some 400 miles from Spain's southernmost settlement on that coastline (Puerto Deseado), it would appear that this article cannot be applied to the archipelago.

3293 Existing establishments were therefore unaffected. For the issue of occupation, see Floridablanca's letter below.

3294 The use of *"respective subjects"* clearly made this article applicable to both Spain and Britain.

3295 There was only a power to report; not to take action. This would appear to revert to the preamble: a means by which incidents could be avoided and a degree of harmony restored. Letter writing was permitted. Seizing vessels was not.

3296 *Art.8* dealt with ratification.

3297 Unpublished, may be a more accurate term.

3298 One Argentine historian (Molinari) has suggested that Britain's 1833 action at Soledad was approved by this article.

3299 William Pitt (the Younger) quoted in *Parliamentary History of England from the earliest period to the year 1803* vol. XXVIII printed by Thomas C. Hansard 1816

3300 *ES.45168.AHNOB//BAENA, C.31, D.42-43* in *Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES).* This document is recorded as having been written by the Duke of Baena at the Royal Palace of San Lorenzo on November 30, 1792 and appears to have been a consideration of the effect of the 1790 convention. Why, or for who, it was written is not known. His description seems to confirm the view that the convention only referred to the coasts of South America and not to the Falkland Islands.

3301 *The History of the Reign of George III: To which is Prefixed a View of the Progressive Improvements of England in Property and Strength to the Accession of His Majesty* Robert Bisset 1822 vol.2.

"... the most remarkable treaty on this subject, is that entered into between Great Britain and Spain in 1790, by which the latter power (Spain) stipulates not to make any settlements on either the Pacific or the Atlantic shores of America further south than those which were then made. ..." [3302]

"Can it be supposed that Spain, a nation jealous of her rights and sovereignty, and peculiarly sensitive on the subject of her South American dominions, would have virtually abandoned her sovereign rights over these wide regions, if she supposed her title to be well founded, and free from doubt? There could be no dispute as to the real object of the treaty, which was to leave an open fishery in these regions." [3303]

"... there was sufficient proof in the efforts made by the Government of Spain to prevent other nations from planting colonies in the Falkland Islands; from which islands, it may be remarked, both parties to the convention appear to have been excluded by the terms of the sixth article." [3304]

"... the 4th article ... settled the question of Sovereignty in favor of Spain; those islands being then occupied by Spain. ..." [3305]

"... in the end (Spain) had to yield to the ills of an inevitable war, in which Spain could not enter with all those forces that could give it the probability of triumph. This transaction was therefore viewed as a necessity, even if it were harmful to Spanish interests and the rights of the crown were considered to be diminished,.." [3306]

"It was the first express renunciation of Spain's ancient claim to exclusive sovereignty over the American shores of the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas. It marks the beginning of the collapse of the Spanish colonial system." [3307]

"The terms of the sixth article forbade any landing at the Falklands as they were a place already occupied by Spain." [3308]

"... it is clear that Britain was excluded from taking any part of the Falkland islands..." [3309]

"The count of Floridablanca deliberately left a certain vagueness in the wording of the convention, the effectiveness of which might depend on the interpretation of the moment. For the British, what was important was to put an end to Spain's claim to retain an exclusive right of navigation in the Pacific Ocean. In addition, by granting the right to fish on the East and West coasts of America, Spain renounced the "closed sea" (policy) that it had maintained in those regions. ... (France) also got the freedom of the seas. That is a very important fact." [3310]

3302 *US Secretary of State Livingston to Frances Baylies, January 26, 1832* in Manning 1932. My emphasis.

3303 Reynolds 1835 p.502

3304 *Memoir, historical and political, on the northwest coast of North America, and the adjacent territories, illustrated by a map and a geographical view of those countries* Robert Greenhow 1840. The Falkland Islands being further south than the most southerly Spanish coastal settlement at that time – Puerto Deseado.

3305 *Letters from Mon, Louis Vernet to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Concerning his Claims on the British Government, and the Neglect of the Colony of the Falkland Islands* L. Vernet 1858. Inaccurate. Art. 4 only concerned the southern Pacific Ocean.

3306 Cantillo 1843 p.632

3307 Manning 1905 p.461

3308 Goebel 1927 p.431. Some 200 miles away, the Falkland Islands were not *adjacent* to the coast of South America, and therefore Art.6 did not apply to the archipelago.

3309 Foreign Office *memorandum* written by John W. Reid dated February 19, 1928; quoted in Kohen & Rodriguez 2016. Whoever John W. Reid was, his opinion appears to have been based upon the interpretation by Goebel in his book published the previous year. Despite its age, and nobody knowing who the author was, this mistaken opinion is still regularly quoted by Argentine commentators desirous of straw clutching.

3310 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1512. Moot, at best.

"For Spain, the Nootka settlement represents the beginning of the end of her great American Empire... For England, Nootka was her greatest victory between the Peace of Paris (1763) and the Treaty of Vienna (1815)."[3311]

"Both powers tacitly recognized each other's possessions, including Malvinas. England did not make in this treaty any reservation of its unfounded rights to Malvinas." [3312]

"In short: Spain, from now on, could not close the Pacific to fishing... But the English right to colonize freely was recognized only on the northern coast of Northern America and, on it, from the area already occupied by Spain. In the rest they were allowed to sail the waters near the coast, but only to carry out fishing." [3313]

*"The Convention of 1790 contained several provisions of a more general interest, which modified the system created in 1667 and 1713. In the third article navigation and fishery were declared to be free for both partites in the Pacific Ocean and in the South Seas. ... Thus the prohibition of the navigation of the South Sea which the British had had to accept in 1713 was abolished, and they even received the freedom to settle and, consequently, to acquire territory outside the places actually occupied by Spain. ... **Article 4** contained some specifications and restrictions ... it was taken for granted that some parts of the coasts were not occupied by Spain. ... Goebel concludes that the freedom to trade and settle extended to the north-west coast of America only, because he takes it for granted that all of the central and south American coasts were considered as occupied by Spain at that time. But there is no evidence for this assertion. Spain was unable to secure such recognition from Britain. Thus the British could not be said to be debarred from landing, trading and settling in places where there were no Spanish settlements nearby. If **Article 4** was interpreted to its letter, they could claim this right at any point which was at a distance of more than ten nautical miles from the nearest Spanish place. **Both provisions applied to the west coast of America only**. By **inference**, however, they could be extended to the east coast.* [3314] *Britain had never renounced its right to navigation and fishery in the Atlantic, not even in its south-western part. The only prohibition mutually recognised in the treaties was that of trade with and navigation to the respective settlements in the area. Neither the exact extent of the possessions nor the distance from the settlements within which navigation and fishery were prohibited had ever been defined. Thus it seems likely that the provisions introduced for the west coast also applied to other parts of America. At least no other principles could be claimed as mutually recognized. ... The meaning of a final clause (**Art.6**) was more difficult to grasp ... (Art.6 quoted) ... The article contained a **reciprocal** prohibition to form settlements on the South American coasts and on the adjacent islands to the south of the existing Spanish settlements. This could only apply to Southern Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, to the south of the southernmost Spanish establishments. **If** settlements on islands were taken into account, the area was restricted to the stretches south of 51° 40' south, the latitude of the Spanish settlement on the Falklands. On the mainland, the southernmost Spanish place was at that time Puerto Deseado, at 47° 44' on the Atlantic coast. Thus the extent of the provision was extremely limited, although at first sight it seemed to contain a general prohibition to settle. It came down to a mutual abandonment of attempts to gain control over the Strait of Magellan and Cape Horn. ... **Article 6** sheds light on another controversial point. It speaks of "those parts of the same Coasts" (i.e. Of the "Eastern and Western Coasts of South America") "and of the Islands **adjacent**, which are already occupied by Spain." Nothing in these words allows the conclusion that there was a continuous Spanish occupation of all the South American coasts right down to Patagonia. ... In any case it is difficult to see in the clause a British recognition of a Spanish claim to all the South American coasts and*

3311 Evans 1974
3312 Destefani 1982 (2). Nor did Spain.
3313 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.157
3314 Fisch 1983 pp.120-123. Quite how prohibitions could be transferred "*by inference*" is not clear.

*islands... The situation was kept open – and this was in all probability done on purpose. ... Contrary to what is usually asserted, article 6 of the Nootka Sound Convention,.. **did not apply** to the Falkland Islands."* [3315]

"The political situation as it developed after the fall of the Spanish colonial Empire in Latin America was entirely different from the one that existed in 1790. Therefore it will have to be concluded that the Nootka Sound Convention influenced neither the legal situation in the year 1790 nor subsequent development of the territorial status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas)." [3316]

"... the upshot of the Nootka Sound incident – a Spanish capitulation to Pitt's ministry on most relevant points by October 1790 – signified a larger humiliation of France, just as surely as had Madrid's retreat over the Falkland Islands less than two decades before. Once more the Spanish had looked to their Bourbon confederate for support in the face of British naval and commercial expansionism – and once again, the French had failed to assert themselves." [3317]

*"By leaving the Falklands/Malvinas archipelago deliberately out of the Treaty, it may be said that Great Britain ratified its right to return to islands which, **not being adjacent** to the shores of Spanish South America, were under the reservation of dominion left by Lieutenant Clayton on May 20, 1774."* [3318]

"... (the Nootka Sound Convention) ... abolished Spain's claim to 100% sovereignty over the whole of Spanish-held America, and imposed measured limitations on Spanish sovereignty as against Britain (only Britain's rights were extended; other countries were unaffected). The treaty divided the coasts of all Spanish America into three zones, including the Falklands of course:[3319] *a zone up to 10 leagues (30 miles or 50 kilometres) from actual Spanish settlements, where Spain held exclusive rights; a second zone more than 30 miles from Spanish settlements (i.e. most of the American coastline), where Britain had the right of economic exploitation (mainly sealing), and a third zone where Britain had the right of exploitation and also settlement, within the second zone and north of the southernmost Spanish settlement. Thus in the north-eastern fifth of the Falklands around Puerto Soledad (Port Louis) Spain had exclusive rights; in the north-western fifth (including Port Egmont and West Point Island) Britain had the right of exploitation and permanent settlement, and in the remaining three-fifths Britain had the right of exploitation. Spain had been forced to accept those limitations of its sovereignty by the threat of war with Britain."* [3320]

Researcher's Comment: Opinions vary, however on balance it seems pretty clear that the Nootka Sound Convention **did not** apply to the Falkland Islands. The archipelago was not in the South Sea (Art.3 & 4) nor 'adjacent' to the eastern coast of South America (Art.6). It should also be remembered that just the year before, the Privy Council Committee had concluded that Britain's rights to the Falklands were intact and it seems unlikely that Lord Leeds would have permitted the Islands' status to become part of the negotiation with Spain. There was no advantage for either side in a reopening of the 1770/71 talks; which had not been forgotten. At no point during the 1790 negotiations were the Falkland Islands mentioned by name.

Despite the differing interpretations, however, there is general acknowledgement that the convention was a defeat for Spain. Perhaps Spain's greatest diplomatic defeat. To avoid a war, Spain had abandoned its pretensions to exclusive rights in the America's. Within 20 years, Spain's Empire would begin to crumble.

3315 *Ibid.* My emphasis throughout.
3316 *The Territorial Status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas): Past and Present* Rudolf Dolzer 1993 p.58
3317 *Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective* Bailey Stone 2002 p.116
3318 Peña & Peña 2018. My emphasis
3319 Moot
3320 *Falklands Facts & Fallacies: Setting the Record Straight* Graham Pascoe 2021 in the *Falkland Islands Journal* Dec 2021

November 7th, London receives word from Fitzherbert that a convention has been signed.[3321]

"... at no time did English diplomats mention the Malvinas Islands, which had been evacuated by them in 1774. Not even to safeguard their purported rights ..." [3322]

November 9th, Britain's ratification of the convention is forwarded to Madrid.

"The British victory in the Nootka Sound Convention was greater than is usually acknowledged." [3323]

"The Nootka Sound Convention cemented the diplomatic victory of a powerful Britain over a weak and friendless Spain, and for the first time opened large parts of the Spanish colonial empire to British trade and even settlement, which Spain had hitherto prohibited. Accordingly, the Convention was enthusiastically welcomed in Britain but fiercely condemned in Spain;.." [3324]

In London, Prime Minister William Pitt (the Younger) raises the issue of the Falkland Islands.[3325]

"As it turned out, the most important concessions gained from the convention seemed to be related, not so much to the seizure of the Princess Royal and Argonaut at Nootka, but to the threats made to the Sappho and Elizabeth and Margaret on the coast of Patagonia, for the 'southern whalers' were guaranteed unrestricted fishing in the South Seas and Pacific, so long as they did not go within ten leagues of occupied Spanish territories. Pitt had even wondered if the negotiations might be the appropriate time to raise the question of the opening of the South American trade, and mooted the renewal of the discussions over the Falkland Island." [3326]

November 21st, in London, Lord Leeds writes to Prime Minister Pitt, regarding further talks with Spain.

> *"In looking over the Draughts you were so good as to send me, I own some doubts have arisen in my mind, as to the propriety of opening a new Discussion, on the subject of Demarcation, with the Court of Spain, at least so short a time after their signature of the Convention. M. Florida Blanca ... will probably be induced by the same motives to object to any Specific Boundary to the Spanish dominions in America being now established. Should the case arise (a very probable one) of some British Subject, inadvertently perhaps navigating within the stipulated distance of Spanish Settlement, they of course will complain of such infraction of the Convention; the onus Probandi will lay upon them, and the Discussion will come forward in a regular manner. We may then lament their not having adopted the Plan of Demarcation, in the first instance, which certainly would have prevented any doubt or misinterpretation on the Subject, and the question may then be entered upon with a much better grace as to this Country, than if brought forward at present by us, with an appearance of thinking the present arrangement not completely adequate to its professed purpose. ... I fancy there can be little occasion for mentioning Falklands Island at all, ..."* [3327]

3321 The need to be vague was reflected in the final document, leaving many in the British government, and Pitt in particular, frustrated with the final Convention; despite obtaining nearly all that had been demanded.

3322 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.157. Not mentioned for the simple reasons that the Falklands archipelago did not fall into the geographical area considered by the treaty.

3323 Fisch 1983 p.123

3324 Pascoe 2020 p.27

3325 A little conjecture based upon the response from Lord Leeds of November 21, 1790.

3326 *British Interests in the Southern Oceans, 1782-1794* David Mackay 1969

3327 *Leeds to Pitt November 21, 1790, Add. MSS.28066, fo.348.* Pitt had clearly expressed his dissatisfaction with the outcome and may have been seeking clarification on behalf of the whaling industry (Pitt regularly attended the meetings of the Privy Council Committee). Sadly, the communication from Pitt currently eludes me. Leeds was widely considered ineffective and insufficiently assertive. Retired from office some five months after this response to Pitt. A collection of Leed's correspondence from his time in office, compiled in 1834 by Oscar Browning, fails to mention 1790 at all.

In Madrid, on the same day, Floridablanca thanks the members of the special committee for their work.

> *"His Majesty assured them that he would not have hesitated a moment to carry out their recommendations if motives absolutely secret to himself had not compelled him to order the convention signed. ... the purpose of the Convention was to avoid a war in the present unhappy circumstances, reserving it for a more favorable time, if it should become necessary. It did not involve an absolute renunciation in case Spain chose not to observe it. It was shown that by a strict interpretation of some of its terms the Convention could be made of little value to England and little loss to Spain. In the stipulations that granted to English subjects privileges of commerce and settlement north or south of places already occupied, attention was called to the expression "already occupied."*
>
> *The word "occupied" did not mean nearly so much as "inhabited" or "peopled" would have meant, and "already" did not mean "actually" or "now." **If a place had been once occupied and then abandoned this expression could be made to apply to i**t. The implication was that formal acts of taking possession where there had been no thought of making an actual settlement could be made to come under this head. Such acts had been performed practically all along the coast. Such a construction would have almost nullified the privileges granted to England. ... it was proposed to observe the Convention only so long as it should be to the advantage of Spain to do so. Whenever she felt strong enough to assert her ancient rights she could still do it."* [3328]

November 22nd, ratifications of the accord are exchanged.

"... after 1790 Spain no longer claimed exclusive sovereignty in the Falklands, while Britain's rights continued, tacitly accepted by Spain under the Anglo-Spanish agreement of 1771 .., in which both countries had reserved their positions, and now strengthened by the Nootka Sound Convention." [3329]

November 25th, in London, Samuel Enderby writes to Pitt expressing pleasure with the Nootka Convention. [3330]

November 30th, the Convention is debated in Parliament. Mr. R.P. Carew notes that the Southern Whale Fishery remains open to British ships.

"By the friends of the ministry it was extolled and defended in general terms, as vindicating the honor of the nation, ... The opposition, ... observed that, ... they were by this treaty prohibited from going nearer than thirty miles to a Spanish territory, ..." [3331]

December 13th, in Britain's House of Lords, the government's representative addresses the House. [3332]

> *"... the great question of the southern fishery is finally established, on such grounds as must prevent all future dispute. The line of limitation is marked, advantageous permission is given us to erect temporary buildings; but by a stipulation of the utmost importance, all violence, in cases of infraction, are prohibited; no officer must venture to seize a vessel which he may deem to have infringed the treaty, but he must content himself with writing home to his court. ... the seeds of future war are prevented..."*

3328 *Floridablanca to Iriarte, November 21, 1790* in Manning 1905 p.458. My emphasis. See November 22, 1791.

3329 Pascoe 2020 p.30. The 1771 accord certainly remained relevant to the Falklands. The effects, if any, of the 1790 agreement remain disputed.

3330 *Outlooks for England's South Whale Fishery, and 'the Great Botony Bay Debate'.* Dan Byrnes 1988 in *The Great Circle* 1988 vol.10. No.2 pp.79-102. Despite, apparently, not understanding it.

3331 Greenhow 1840

3332 Hansard 1816 p.934

Similarities to the Falklands crisis of 1770 are alluded to; in particular the secrecy maintained by the government during the negotiations with Spain.

> *"Mr. Pitt asked, if any man would state, that the precedent of Falkland's island was at all analogous to the case of Nootka and the convention? In that case, an island, known to have been in the possession of this country, and belonging to his majesty, had been taken possession of, though afterwards restored, but without a convention like the present one; neither was the convention in 1738 at all resembling it; on the face of both there was an apparent ground for blame; but in the present there was no such appearance. It was evident, that no claim had been conceded, that our right to the fisheries had been acknowledged, and that satisfaction had been obtained for the insult offered to the Crown."* [3333]

"A general discussion of the merits of the convention was made the order of the day for December 13 in the House of Lords. The debate was extended, and the criticism of the ministry by the opposition was very severe. The friends of the Government seemed confident of the results and did not exert themselves greatly to refute the arguments. The convention was approved." [3334]

December 14th, in the Commons, following a call for Papers, Mr. Fox speaks.

> *"It was, perhaps, of little value to us, but it was of great value to Spain. To remove all possibility of our ever forming a settlement to the south of her American colonies, was an object for which she would have been willing to pay a liberal price. ... In renouncing all right to make settlements in South America, we had given to Spain what she considered as inestimable, and had in return been contented with dross ..."* [3335]

Mr. Ryder adds that the agreement; "... fell infinitely short of that which had been obtained on the dispute about Falkland's island, notwithstanding the affectation of contempt with which the satisfaction demanded on that occasion had been treated. Reparation was then the only object in view, and it was obtained in its fullest extent; for Spain agreed to put every thing in the same situation as before the insult complained of was committed, and actually did so. In that case, there was a full and complete restoration; in this, there was only a declaration of a disposition to restore,..." [3336]

"... in the end the convention was approved by a large majority." [3337]

December 29th, at Yarmouth in England, the whaling ship *Trelawney,* after a voyage of 14 months to the Southern Whale Fishery, arrives back with; *"... 200 tons of whale oil and ten tons of bone."* [3338]

> *"... arrived at Liverpool, from the Southern Whale fishery, the Argus, Capt. Meador, with 89 leagers, 52 butts, 141 puncheons, 82 hogsheads, 17 tierces and 101 barrels of train oil; 9 puncheons of spermaceti oil, and 10 tons of whale fins, the produce of 41 whales."* [3339]

3333 *Ibid.* p.969

3334 Manning 1905 p.461

3335 Hansard 1816 p.993. MP Fox did not suggest any application to the Falkland Islands. He did not mention them.

3336 *Ibid*. p.987

3337 Manning 1905 p.461. If the accord had been seen as applicable to the Falklands, there is no doubt that Parliament's reaction would have been far more negative. 1770 had not been forgotten. At no time during the debates in Parliament was there a single suggestion that the status of Falklands sovereignty had changed.

3338 *Norfolk Chronicle* Saturday January 1, 1791 p.2

3339 *Leeds Intelligencer* Tuesday January 11, 1791 p.3

"The English vessels employed in the Southern Whale Fishery, during the late season, have been more numerous and more successful than those of any other nation – London sent ten – and Hull, Yarmouth, Bristol, and Liverpool, one each. The whole quantity of oil taken by these vessels amounts to 16320 barrels.- The American vessels, 13 in number, have taken 11162 barrels.- Three French vessels have taken 3570 barrels. Gross duties received on goods exported from hence in the year 1790 – 37,902l. … imported 36,658l." [3340]

1791 – January 1st, in London, a chart of South America based on the work of Jean-Baptists D'Anville, Royal Geographer and Cartographer to the King of France, is published. [3341]

January 3rd, from Buenos Aires, *San Pio* and *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* arrive at Puerto Deseado where they find four British whalers operating in breach of the 1790 convention. [3342]

South Georgia is visited by *London* (Cook)*; Sparrow* (William Clark)*; Ann* (Pitman) and *Astrea* (Horner).

January 8th, from Bristol, England, Sydenham Teast, owner of four ships employed in the Southern Whale Fishery, writes to Lord Hawkesbury asking for clarification regarding the Anglo-Spanish agreement.[3343]

"Teast enquired if his ships were allowed to engage in sealing between the River Plate and Cape Horn, and in the Falkland Islands, and whether the political situation allowed for refreshing at ports of call and similar activities around the Horn in the Pacific Ocean." [3344]

At Puerto Soledad, on the same day, American sealer *Hope* (Ingraham), en-route to the Pacific Ocean, anchors.

"Here Ingraham found a small Spanish settlement, and, after considerable delay, obtained permission to enter the harbor to careen his vessels and obtain necessaries. All his actions were very jealously watched by the Spaniards; a corporal and two soldiers were placed on board to see that the harsh port regulations were strictly observed; and every care was taken to insure that no unauthorized communication with the shore took place. Five days were occupied in this work, and then with a strong but favorable wind the Hope sailed…" [3345]

January 11th, from Montevideo, *St. Eulalia* (Sanguineto) and *Rosario* sail for Soledad via the Patagonia coast.

"On the 11th of this month ships of the Maluinas expedition, the packet-ship St. Eulalia and Brig Rosario departed from Montevideo to make a reconnaissance of Staten Island and New Ireland according to the news in which there is supposed to be an English establishment." [3346]

January 20th, Britain's Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) hears from a number of London's whalers; *"… having expressed a wish to have some points explained respecting the Convention…"* [3347]

3340 *Newcastle Courant* Saturday January 15 1791 p.4

3341 Giving a French perception of the archipelago's discovery by French mariners around 1700. In fact the Islands had been discovered in 1592. See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/1791-danville.jpg

3342 *Malvinas: Soberania, Memoria y Justicia 10 de Junio 1829* S. E. Caviglia 2012 p.148. These unidentified whalers had probably sailed from their home ports long before the accord had been reached. There is no indication that anything other than a warning was given, if that.

3343 Clayton & Clayton 2016

3344 Clayton 2014

3345 *The Voyage of the Hope: 1790-1792* F. W. Howay in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* Jan, 1920 vol.11 no.1 p.3

3346 Noted in a report by Nicolas Mezadondo dated January 21, 1791 (*General Archivo de Semanicas Ref: ES.47161.AGS//SGU, LEG, 6805,35*). Also Parodi (1891 p.376). See December, 1791. See below.

3347 *TNA BT 5/7*

"1. What are the extreme Settlements of Spain on the Eastern and Western side of South America and the Islands adjacent thereto? …

3. To what parts of the Spanish Settlements on the Continent of America, either on the East or the West, does the Rule of not approaching within ten Leagues apply?

4. Do the ten Sea Leagues from the Coast, mean from Islands as well as from the Continent; and are we not allowed to land within ten Leagues distance, by land or water, from any Spanish Settlement?

5. Have we a Right in case of Distress to go into any of the Spanish ports for Relief?…" [3348]

These questions, together with the letter from Sydenham Teast, are passed on to Lord Leeds. [3349]

A *New Map of South America from the latest Discoveries 1791* is published in *Brookes Gazeteer*, London. [3350]

At West Falkland Island, *Colombia Rediviva,* out of Boston, returns - commanded by Robert Gray. [3351]

March 1st, at Puerto Soledad, Lt.Don Pedro Pablo Sanguineto takes command of the garrison. He reports that the port has 38 buildings of which 14 are made from stone, and that the batteries have a total of 12 cannon; adding that the bread oven is now useless; *"According to the inventory received by the Ship Lieutenant Pedro Pablo Sanguineto in 1791, the cattle then amounted to 3,460 heads."* [3352]

March 4th, Sanguineto, who had commanded the *St. Eulalia,* reports to Buenos Aires regarding his voyage.

"During the forty two days of my sailing I have found nine ships, most of them from 30 degrees to 46 degrees and from 90 to 60 leagues from the coast. A frigate with French flag, two schooners and three bergantines, with English and American flags, and the other three Royalist. I was able to talk to two and to them I made the observations which I had to in a friendly way as requested by Your Excellency when you instructed me. Both concur that there are more than sixty ships that are on these shores hunting whales, most of them English American, some from Spain and one or two French, they aren't aware of any establishment, …" [3353]

Sanguineto notes that there has been no reconnaisance of the Falklands archipelago.

April 11th, from the Port of London, whaler *Olive Branch*, sails for Patagonia. [3354]

In **May**, from Madrid, Britain's Ambassador Fitzherbert, 1st Baron St. Helens, writes to London.

"… (Floridablanca is) very anxious to have England take effectual measures for preventing British vessels from touching at Spanish ports, that his enemies might not find new reasons for attacking him." [3355]

3348 *Ibid.*

3349 *Ibid.* There is no indication of any answer in the minutes of the Privy Council Committee.

3350 See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1791-brookes-gazeteer-london.jpg

3351 The vessel stayed for about 10 days, rounding Cape Horn on February 16, 1791.

3352 Podetti 2013

3353 *AGN IX-1482.* Also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.172 citing *Pedro Pablo Sanguineto to D. Nicolás de Arredondo, Soledad de Malvinas, March 4, 1791.* Sanguineto would seem not have reached as far south as Staten Land or Tierra del Fuego. See May, 1791.

3354 Lost at Puerto Deseado in August, 1791. A boat from the sealer arrived at Montevideo on December 28, 1791 with the report. *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150140074*

3355 Manning 1905 p.459 citing *St. Helens to Grenviile, May 10, 1791.* Floridablanca would be much criticised within Spain for the 1790 Convention; eventually being replaced as Spain's First Secretary (Prime Minister) in February, 1792.

In London, more questions from whalers and sealers are directed towards the Privy Council Committee. [3356]

May 29th, from Buenos Aires, the Viceroy informs Madrid that Pedro Pablo Sanguineto had found no opportunity for a reconnaissance of the places where the British were believed to have establishments. [3357]

September 17th, at Puerto Soledad, an American ship, *Patty* (John Bryan), arrives in a distressed condition. Relief is given and the ship stocked with foodstuff, to be paid by the ship's owners in New York through agents in Madrid. [3358]

October 15th, at Puerto Deseado a British sealer, *Three Brothers* (Jodrig), anchors near the site of Spain's *Real Compañía Marítima*. The ship's captain claims to be in need of repair. [3359]

November 20th, near the Spanish garrison, a British whaler anchors. [3360]

November 22nd, at Buenos Aires, Viceroy Nicolás de Arredondo gives instructions to Juan José Elizalde.

> *"Due to various occurrences and considerations, the expedition ... under the command of Lieutenant D. Pedro Sanguineti for the reconnoiter of the immediate (coast) to Cape Horn and Tierra del Fuego, where they (the English) may have been established, was stopped... it became fruitless, ...*
>
> *I have felt it necessary to repeat (the) expedition to the same effect, and at the appropriate time in the present year, composed, as in the previous one, of the same number and class of vessels ..., and with the same instruction that I issued at the beginning, in order that the surveys be made with the extent and possible accuracy, as it is conducive to the achievement of the discovery of those populations. As a result of this resolution, I have chosen you to proceed with your corvette, and the brig San Julian, who for this purpose has placed itself under the command of the pilot of the Royal Navy, D. Jose de La Peña, ... To this effect I direct to you a copy of the instruction that I wrote for the said Sanguineti, so that you may observe it in all that pertains to reconnoitering and manner of proceeding. But as far as requirements and intimations to the Englishmen that you find (settled) or navigating, as circumstances have varied, by the recent Convention made between our Court and that of London, you must limit the (instructions) to the cases in which you notice an infraction of the rules stipulated in (the Convention), and keeping the greatest moderation, not to give reason to alter the friendship we seek to engage with that nation.*
>
> *These cases will be manifested by the attached printed text of the same Convention: it being understood that, according to the literal sense of Article 6, the English should not encourage fishing, nor make barracks on coasts that, although deserted, are located north of the territories already occupied by Spain, such as the coasts of Puerto Deseado, those of San José, and even the Babia de San Julián, and other places in which we* ***have had****, or have population or occupation, or are accessories of occupied districts. And under this concept you must reprimand them for any infraction, and persuade them to withdraw, protesting the damages, and that you (make) in complaint to your Court;...*

3356 Forwarded to Lord Grenville; to be answered when the government's "*sentiments*" were known. *TNA BT 5/7* at *138*

3357 Parodi 1891 p.374

3358 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150140128.* Also Silva and Tejerina 1996 citing a report of October 9, 1791 in *A.G.I. Audiencia de Buenos Aires, 553.*

3359 See January, 1792.

3360 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150140128.* Not easy to translate and the only thing that is clear is that the ship sailed from England on August 10, 1791. This report states that the vessel was en-route to the Pacific and gives the master's name as Manuel Ylelly. This accords with *Redbridge*, out of Southampton on that date under Samuel or John Kelly, bound for the Pacific Ocean.

If you consider that, without prejudice to this commission, you may (need) enter Puerto Deseado to reconnoiter .., it will be well done, informing (me of) the results from the Maluinas, ...” [3361]

“... in case of abuse to raise this complaint to his Court...” [3362]

On the same day, Juan Muñoz of the *Compañía Marítima* reports to Buenos Aires that the attempt to colonize Puerto Deseado had failed due to lack of food and bad weather. [3363]

December 7th, from Buenos Aires, the Viceroy writes to Madrid to inform the Royal Court that no reconnaissance of the Falklands had been made by the expedition that had sailed from Montevideo in January.[3364]

Viceroy Nicolás de Arredondo orders Don Juan Latre to reconnoiter the Falklands. [3365]

At the the Falklands, the whaler *Sydenham,* is reported “*well*”. [3366]

“The 1790 – 1791 period was one of the most productive in the history of the Southern Whale Fishery. Out of the fleet then numbering fifty-nine vessels, London found thirty-three returning in 1791 with cargoes of oil and bone totalling in value £91,699, and with seal skins numbering 45,400, mostly from the Falklands and South Georgia...” [3367]

December 20th, from the Rio de la Plata, Juan José de Elizalde y Uztáriz commanding *San Pío* and *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* sails for; *“... the Patagonian coast.., the island of Tierra del Fuego and the Isla de los Estados, to take possession of these places and to make plans to verify the existence of foreign campaigns in those territories... and, once the voyage had been completed, to set sail to the Falkland Islands to relieve the staff stationed in the archipelago and for Elizalde to assume the government of that place for eleven months.”*[3368]

December 21st, at the Falkland Islands, *Daedalus*, a merchant ship under charter to the British Royal Navy, approaches Port Stevens.

“We have very pleasant weather and a fair Breeze which will show us Falklands Islands, by tomorrow noon if it continues. At these Islands, Mr. Hergest intends to touch for Water, instead of touching at Tierra del Fuego. They are uninhabited but there is a plentiful supply of Fish and Wild Fowl...” [3369]

3361 *Nicolás de Arredondo al Teniente de Navio D. Juan José Elizalde Buenos Aires, Noviembre 22 de 1791* in Angelis 1852 pp.40-41. My emphasis. Past tense. See November, 1790, above. Elizalde was due to take command at Puerto Soledad in March, 1792. See below.

3362 Quoted in Areco 1885 p.47. There are no records of any complaints made by Spain to the British government.

3363 Shaw 2008. In February, 1792 Madrid ordered the Viceroy to assist in the maintenance of some establishment at Puerto Deseado, even if only as a prison colony, in order to 'maintain possession.' See Angelis 1852 p.41

3364 Parodi 1891 p.376. See December 20, 1790, above.

3365 *Memorias de Juan Latre* Felix G. Gil 2013. Also Shaw 2008.

3366 Clayton 2014. This vessel returned to England in 1792, having stopped at Rio de Janeiro in April, 1792.

3367 Stackpole 1972 p.153

3368 Buenasmañanas 2009

3369 *Letters, memoranda and journal containing the history of Mr. William Gooch (M.6.48)* Cambridge University Library. *Daedalus* remained till January 30, 1792. Gooch was an astronomer sent to join the Vancouver Expedition at Nootka Sound. Remembered primarily because of his letters home.

1792 – in Paris, a chart of North and South America is published by Didier Robert de Vaugondy and Charles Francois Delamarch - *Amerique ou Indes Occidentales avec les Nouvelles Decouvertes du Capite. Cook, depusi le Detroit de Behrings ou du Nord dans l'Ocean Pacifique du Nord et Sud... .*

The northern border of Patagonia is marked at the Rio Salladillo (right). [3370]

January 3rd, at Puerto Soledad, a British merchant ship arrives. [3371]

At Puerto Deseado (Port Desire), on the east coast of South America, Juan José de Elizalde y Uztáriz arrives; anchoring close to the factory of the *Real Compañía Marítima*. [3372] Nearby is an English frigate at anchor – *Three Brothers* (Francis Todrig). [3373]

"Manuel Marien de Arrospide informed Elizalds of the circumstances that explained the presence of the Thren Brothers (sic), anchored before the Spanish establishment since October 15 (more than two and a half months), and although he had claimed repairs as the cause of its stay his crew fished and hunted wolves and sea lions with total impunity. Elizalda asked Marien de Arrospide, who replied in the affirmative, whether he had warned the English captain of the illegality of his stay according to the latest British-maritime agreements... Once both captains face each other, a kind of debate was established on the articulation of the Nootka Convention both arguing by citing specific articles to assist their reasoning. In the end, when the Spanish commander read articles 4 and 6, Jodrig had no choice but to admit that his situation in Puerto Deseado violated this convention..." [3374]

Presented with a claim that the *Three Brothers* is unseaworthy, Elizalde offers caulk and boards for the repairs.

January 10th, another British sealer, *Eliza* (Thomas Middleton), arrives at Deseado; also in need of repairs.

"... the frigate La Eliza, commanded by British Royal Navy Lieutenant Thomas Middleton, who was previously intercepted, and expelled along with James Hopper by Ramon de Clairac, from the same place when he commanded the brig Sappho... Elizalde demanded that he retire to more than 10 leagues..." [3375]

January 12th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Nicolás de Arredondo advises his government in Madrid that *San Pío* and *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* have sailed; to police the coasts and search for rumoured British settlements.[3376]

3370 In accordance with the agreement between the tribes of Patagonia and Spain. See 1740.

3371 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150140128.* Hard to translate. Name noted as *Catalina* (*Katherine*); departure date from London given as October 2, 1791. Captain's name appears to be Parners.

3372 Silva & Tejerina (1996) note that in January, 1792, the Viceroy had sent a detachment of troops to Puerto Deseado to deter English ships from breaching the 1790 agreement. It seems likely that Elizalde delivered those soldiers.

3373 *Three Brothers* (*Jordan & C°* of London) had sailed from Deal on May 11, 1791. See October, 1792, above.

3374 Buenasmananas 2009. Art.4 only applied to the west (Pacific) coast of South America. See 1790, above.

3375 *Ibid.*

3376 Parodi 1891 p.376

January 18th, at Puerto Deseado, with the captains of both British sealers ignoring Juan José de Elizalde y Uztáriz's instructions to leave, and both continuing to take seals from nearby islands, the Spanish commander hands responsibility over to the officer in charge of the *Real Compañía Marítima*. Elizalde then sails away. [3377]

"Especially serious was the case of the frigates Thren Brothers (sic) (commanded by Francis Jodrig) and Eliza (commanded by Thomas Middleton), who did not obey repeated orders to leave Puerto Deseado despite the help they received from Elizalde." [3378]

At South Georgia, *Ann* (Thomas Pitman), takes 3,000 barrels of Elephant Seal oil and 50,000 Fur Seal pelts. From the Falkland Islands, *Hope* (Benjamin Page), sails for China with a cargo of Fur Seal skins.

February 1st, from Puerto Soledad, Lt. Sanguineto reports the arrival of three ships in the period since September 17, 1791. Having assisted the first, and seen the others on their way, he excuses his lack of further action on the 1790 Convention's requirement that infringements are resolved amicably. [3379] Coming to the end of his term as *comandante-gobernador*, Sanguineto considers appeals from the prisoners.

"The (work) burden, aggravated by the passage of time, prompted requests for clemency. In 1792, four prisoners held for life, all with more than a decade in prison – one of them sent to the islands 25 years before, at the time of the Bougainville withdrawal[3380] – requested it, alleging ailments typical of age, and hopeful to be reunited with their families. Sanguineto, who was concluding his first government administration, recommended the granting of the benefit... The beneficiaries by the king's grace would be Felipe Lara, Mariano Toledo, Ventura Ramallo and Manuel Lorenzo, in the case of the former, after consulting Buenos Aires about the cause of his exile, no one could remember it exactly. Sergeant Major Manuel de Pinazo, his possible captor, assumed that "perhaps" he would have been a spy imprisoned with other Indians in 1776." [3381]

February 20th, having completed his reconnaissance of the Patagonian coastline, Lt. Juan José de Elizalde y Uztáriz (*San Pío*) arrives at the Soledad garrison.

"As regards the control of ships and foreign establishments, the results are more debatable. ... no concrete action was taken to sanction the six English ships that were found in violation of the Anglo-Spanish agreements. ... It is debatable that the responsibility was entirely attributable to him, for the instructions he received placed special emphasis on the necessity of dealing with all foreigners who were found, and it was quite sensible to have a degree of permissiveness so as not to provoke an escalation of bellicose tension with the greatest naval power in the world, as it did in the Falklands in June 1770 or in the bay of Nootka in the summer of 1790." [3382]

February 22nd, *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* anchors near the Soledad garrison.

March 1st, Lt. Juan José de Elizalde y Ustariz formally takes over as *comandante-gobernador* at Soledad.

3377 *Ibid.* Silva & Tejerina (1996) confirm that the Viceroy had issued orders compatible with *Art.7* of the Convention. *Article 7: In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective Courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.* The 1790 Convention provided for no powers of enforcement; the only available remedy being a report of any infraction to the appropriate government. There is no archival evidence that Spain ever complained about this, or any other specific breach of the accord to Britain.

3378 Shaw & Mola (eds) 2009

3379 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150140128.* See 1790

3380 Bougainville's transfer to the Spanish had taken place on April 2, 1767; the Spanish having arrived with some 40 prisoners from Spain and Buenos Aires. *cf.* 1767

3381 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.155. Mariano Toledo had been sentenced to life imprisonment for sodomy in 1774.

3382 Parodi 1891. *cf.* 1770, 1789, 1790 & 1791

March 7th, Elizalde sends a report of his voyage to Buenos Aires. No British establishments had been found. [3383]

April 17th, whaler *Venus*, owned by the London company of *A & B Champion*, is reported to be at the Falkland Islands; as is *Sydenham* out of Bristol, England. [3384]

April 20th, in London, Britain's Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) suggest that an experienced naval officer should be sent to conduct a survey. To include all ports and places which whalers and sealers may use for refreshment on the western coasts of South America, and the adjacent islands; *"... as were not occupied by Spain previous to the signing the Convention of 28th October, 1790..."* [3385]

May 15th, from New Haven, American sealer *Nancy* (Daniel Greene) sails for the Falklands. [3386]

May 29th, from England, British sealer *Lively* sails for South Georgia. [3387]

"The value of Britain's whaling industry was reckoned at £189,000 in 1792 and she easily led the world both as a producer and a consumer in this industry." [3388]

June 2nd, Madrid grants the *Real Compañía Marítima* further concessions, in a bid to make it profitable.

"This document included among its provisions, the work of colonization (which, despite the disappointments, remained in the statutory provisions), the practice of fishing (the first function and legal foundation of the Company) and other branches of economic life, such as salting meat in the region of Buenos Aires... (and) traffic between Buenos Aires, Rio Negro, San José, Puerto Deseado and the Falklands... Puerto Deseado ceased to be a colony to become a military prison operated by the Crown and a fishing factory operated by the Compañía." [3389]

June 20th, from New Haven, American sealer *Polly* (Roswell Woodward) sails for the Falkland Islands.

"... definite information is available about two vessels fitted out for sealing in the Falkland Islands by Elijah Austin, a merchant of New Haven, Connecticut. The brig, Nancy, commanded by Daniel Greene, sailed on 15 May, 1792, and the brigantine Polly commanded by Roswell Woodward sailed on 20 June 1792. Their voyages were very successful and obtained parts of their cargoes from South Georgia." [3390]

From London, Francis Rotch's ship *Ann* (Pitman) sails for South Georgia. [3391]

August 2nd, from Madrid, a Royal Order confirms the June 2nd changes to the operating requirements of the *Real Compañía Marítima*.

> *"That the Company be charged with the handling of its vessels of everything that is necessary to be sent from these places to the Presidios of Malvinas, Rio Negro, San José, Puerto Deseado, and others that are established on the Patagonian Coast: Your Excellency preferring the Company's ships to the others of the Trade for these transports."* [3392]

September 7th, at the Soledad garrison, Juan José de Elizalde considers the running of two estancias.

3383 Angelis 1852 p.41
3384 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.
3385 *TNA BT 5/8* at *12*.
3386 Dickinson 2007 p.35
3387 Reported as "*nearly full*" in 1794. Clayton 2014 p.160
3388 Stackpole 1972 p.174
3389 Shaw 2008
3390 Headland 1992 p.33
3391 Dickinson 2007 p.35 & p.61
3392 *Valdez a Virrey de Buenos Aires agusto 2, 1792* in *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* 1916 vol.7 pp.17-18

> *"At least twelve Field Men are needed for the two Estancias, and care of the Cattle, of which it would be very convenient to have eight or ten of those permanent as at present for the awareness of this countryside, being able to compliment the rest of those who have been sentenced for one year."* [3393]

"... the care of the cattle and the management of the ranches demanded permanent attention given the crucial importance of the meat supply..." [3394]

At the Falkland Islands, American brig, *Betsey* (Steele), out of New York, arrives to hunt for seals. [3395]

September 22nd, in France, a Republic is declared. [3396]

At the Falkland Islands, *Josephus* (Youte) hunts seals.

October 5th, in London, Britain's Privy Council Committee (Trade and Plantations) consider a commercial treaty with Spain; *"... delivered by the Spanish Minister Count Florida Blanca, to His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid, and referred to the consideration of this Committee by His Majesty's command..."* [3397]

> *"... the Spanish Ministers appear determined,.. not to adopt any part of what was proposed in the British Projet, they endeavour to embarrass the Commercial Intercourse between the two Kingdoms by useless and unprecedented Regulations. The Lords of the Committee therefore are humbly of opinion that its is not advisable for Your Majesty to conclude a Treaty of Commerce with Spain ..."* [3398]

In the Falklands, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Mercury* anchors.

Around the archipelago, American sealers *Nancy* (Daniel Greene), *Polly* (Roswell Woodward)[3399] and *Hero* (Enoch Basnard), hunt seals.

"Elizalde was also alarmed by the presence of numerous American ships. He learned that in Puerto Celebroña[3400] *there were anchored two frigates of that flag. On that occasion, he appointed two men on horseback so that, arriving at that point, they could investigate the case. The two ships in question, judging by what their crew said, were going around the world. One of them had ... discontented sailors ... and among them were some Spaniards. Elizalde then changed procedures. He sent an ensign with a party with orders to use force if necessary, if the American captain did not leave the Spanish crew ashore. The commander of the ship, who confessed that he was going to the Californian coast "to look for fine fur for China, and on the way to make Ballena grease and then sell it in India", was forced to release five Spanish sailors."* [3401]

3393 *Relación de los Presidiarios Existentes en el día de la fecha; años de destierro y tiempo en que cumplen, con la esencial circunstancia de las especificación de los que son hombres de Campo como igualmente de los inútiles, Soledad de Malvinas, 7 septiembre 1792* in *AGN IX 19.09.09.* Quoted in Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.141

3394 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.142

3395 *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas 1792-1832* Captain Edmund Fanning 1924. There appear to have been up to seven sealing vessels with the name *Betsey* or *Betsy;* the majority out of London. *cf.* Clayton 2014

3396 King Louis XVI had been detained on August 10, 1792.

3397 *TNA BT 5/8* at *70.* Negotiations for a treaty of commerce with Spain were a requirement of the 1783 peace agreement, but Spain appears to have been obstructive throughout the talks which formally began in 1786. Floridablanca had been replaced as Spain's Chief Minister in February, 1792, by Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, 10th Count of Aranda; who was also on the verge of being replaced when this was written.

3398 *Ibid* at 94. Manuel Godoy took over as Chief Minister in November, 1792, after which attempts to negotiate a commercial treaty petered out.

3399 Dickinson 2007 p.34.

3400 Punta Celebroña is Mengeary Point, East Falkland. Isla Celebroña is Kidney Island, to the north of Berkeley Sound.

3401 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.172. Which ships, went unstated.

In England, Capt. James Colnett, with his experience of the southern oceans, is approached to command *Rattler*.

> *"... I was informed that the Board of Admiralty had nominated me to undertake a voyage, planned in consequence of a memorial from merchants of the City of London, concerned in the South Sea Fisheries, to the Board of Trade; for the purpose of discovering such parts for the South Whale Fishers who voyage round Cape Horn, as might afford them the necessary advantages of refreshment and security to refit. This memorial stated the calamitous situation of the ships crews employed in this trade, from the scurvy and other diseases, incident to those who are obliged to keep the seas, from the want of that relief and refreshment, which is afforded by intermediate harbours."* [3402]

November 13th, at South Georgia, *Ann* (Pitman) hunts seals. [3403]

In **December**, British sealers *Fox*, *Sparrow* and *Minerva* also hunt at South Georgia. [3404]

"Most of the vessels worked the windward side of the islands, north-west from Port Egmont to the Jason Islands and south-west to Swan Island. Seals were abundant and the prevailing winds made to exploit other stocks on Staten Island and Tierra del Fuego..." [3405]

1793 – January 15th, in the Falklands, Lt. Don Pedro Pablo Sanguineto sails into Berkeley Sound. [3406]

January 21st, at the Soledad garrison, a ship arrives with letters and four new prisoners from the Rio de la Plata. Jose Lizarraga, a thief, has been sentenced to 10 years. Martin Maldonado, an assassin, to 8 years. Jose Rodriguez, assassin, 8 years. Feliciano Flores, neither crime nor sentence stated. [3407]

"... prisoners accepted the transfer to Maluinas in order to obtain a reduction in the time of imprisonment: one year of effective stay on the islands with a good conduct qualification was equivalent to two years of sentence. ... the option could arouse some interest, perhaps stimulated by an expectation of flight. They may have been encouraged by the fact that the island system was open confinement, less oppressive — and very different — than the cell confinement regime, but if so, direct knowledge of the harsh reality of the destination will have persuaded most of the desirability of desisting. A single escape attempt is recorded .., an attempt which was ended after a twenty-five-day exposure to the elements." [3408]

January 23rd, responding to his mail, Elizalde y Ustariz notes receipt of an order to enforce article 6 of the 1790 Nootka Sound Convention. [3409] In the same message, Elizalde reports Soledad's population as consisting of 183 people, including 35 convicts, and 14 servants. [3410]

3402 Colnett 1798. *Rattler* was purchased from the Navy and then refitted for the voyage by *Enderby & Sons*. With no specific orders from the Admiralty, Colnett arranged to be placed *'on leave'* for the duration of the voyage. He sailed on January 22, 1793 and was away for 22 months, arriving back in Dartmouth on November 1, 1794. It is moot whether Colnett stopped off at the Falklands, although some claim he did so in 1793. See *A Sheltered Life: The Unexpected History of the Giant Tortoise* Paul Chambers 2004. Also Dickinson 2007 p.35.

3403 Dickinson 2007p.61. *Ann* returned in 1793 with 50 tons of Elephant Seal oil and 50,000 skins.

3404 *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday March 12, 1793 p.2. Sealer *Minerva* was noted at Barbados in April 1793 with 22,000 seal skins, en-route for England (*Stamford Mercury* Friday June 28, 1793).

3405 Dickinson 2007 p.34

3406 In a letter dated March 15, 1793, Sanguineto reported on his voyage to the garrison in Berkeley Sound, noting that he'd found a British deserter in the Bay of Diamonds (?) and that he had come across an American boat's crew looking for their ship. Also an American ship, *Minerva*, out of New York that was hunting seals. No locations provided.

3407 Flores is noted as returning to Montevideo after just 12 months.

3408 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.146

3409 For the relevance, or otherwise, of art.6, see 1790 above. Silva & Tejerina (1996) confirm that the Viceroy had issued orders compatible with Art.7, which only provided for a written complaint to be submitted in any case of infraction.

3410 *AGN IX 16-9-9*

February 1st, in Europe, France declares war on Great Britain and the Dutch Republic. [3411]

February 7th, at Puerto Soledad, preparing to hand over, Elizalde y Ustariz considers the condition of the garrison infrastructure; "*... a roofless bakery, need for a new kitchen, walls, doors and windows in the Commandant's house, a workshop in ruins, the chapel "deplorable" and the grocery warehouse so infested with mice that a new wall collapsed.*" [3412]

"To the Commander newly relieved at Malouines... instructing him to hand over to his successor, the Drafts or Copies of Despatches, dated by him at Montevideo and having reference to the arrival at 'Las Islas Malouines' of the ships 'Salty' and 'Fair American.'.." [3413]

February 10th, Lt. Pedro Pablo Sanguineto commences his second tour in command of the garrison. [3414]

"The time was uncertain and all precautions had to be taken to put the colony in a state of defense. Thus it was that Sanguineto proceeded to check the three batteries. The one of San Carlos had at the time two guns one by one; four of three and two of four; that of Santiago had, on the other hand, four cannons of twenty-four, and San Felipe, two of eight. He also reviewed the constructions, making arrangements for the necessary repairs, in particular the straw that was in deplorable condition." [3415]

February 12th, in Madrid, a second Nootka Convention signed between Spain and Britain allocates compensation for the British vessels and property seized by Spain in 1790.

At the Falklands, American sealing vessels *Betsey, Josephus* and *Swallow* join *Nancy, Polly* and *Hero*. [3416]

At South Georgia, British sealer, *Young William,* hunts. [3417]

March 1st, Spain declares war on France. [3418]

March 3rd, from Madrid, an instruction of the Finance Ministry permits English whalers to land at Spanish ports on the western coast of South America, provided there is no cost to the Spanish treasury.

"... revealing some interest of the government to achieve an approach to England at a time when the French revolutionary germ threatened to spread to the peninsula and its domains. The cabinet adopted a poorly disguised appeasement policy to avoid another unfortunate incident like that of Nootka, establishing a compromise solution: aid would be given to the whalers provided they paid in cash for all their purchases of food. In practice this meant nullifying article 4 of the (Nootka) conventions and quasi-legalizing contraband in the waters of the South Pacific." [3419]

March 4th, at the port of Falmouth, England, *Fox* (James Hopper) arrives with 25,000 seal skins taken at South Georgia. [3420]

3411 Known in the UK as the French Revolutionary War.
3412 Bernhardson 1989 citing Elizalde's inventory of February 7, 1793 in *AGM IX 6-9-9*
3413 Note dated March 20, 1793 in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/616.* Benjamin Lee commanded *Fair American* which would seem to have been a merchantman. I have no information with regard to *Salty.*
3414 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.173
3415 *Ibid.* p.173 citing Langenheim 1939 pp.160-161
3416 Headland 1989 & 1992. *Polly* returned to Connecticut in May, 1794. *Nancy* sailed via Canton in China and arrived back at its home port of New York in May, 1795, having circumnavigated the globe.
3417 *Hampshire Chronicle* Saturday June 3, 1793
3418 *Stamford Mercury* Friday March 1, 1793. Now known as the War of the Pyrenees/La Guerra de la Convención.
3419 Silva & Tejerina 1996
3420 *Kentish Gazette* Tuesday March 12, 1793

March 25th, from Spain, a general order from the Ministry of War instructs port authorities to assist English vessels in case of need. No limitation is provided as to the type of vessel. [3421]

May 25th, Spain and Britain sign a treaty of alliance; agreeing to make common cause against France. [3422]

> *"Art. III. … in order that the British and Spanish vessels may be mutually protected and succoured during the present war, as well in their navigation as in the ports of the two high contracting parties, Their Britannick and Catholic Majesties have agreed, and agree, that their squadrons and ships of war shall convoy, without distinction, the trading vessels of the two nations in the same manner that each convoys its own, as far as circumstances may permit; and that both their ships of war and trading vessels shall be admitted into their respective ports and protected, and shall be furnished with the succours of which they may stand in need, at the current prices."* [3423]

June 2nd, at Puerto Deseado, American sealers *Ark* and *Governor Brown* anchor.

"Don Miguel Rescio, reported the arrival of that port of the American brigs Ark and Governor Brown in order to fish; were told to refrain from doing so, and immediately left, apologizing that they were only going to attend to their crews attacked with scurvy and not to fish in that port, nor in their vicinity, because they knew that they could not do it, because they knew the agreement between Great Britain and Spain." [3424]

June 23rd, from Buenos Aires, orders are sent out to prepare for possible French aggression.

"More arduous was the task of protecting the extensive Atlantic coast of the Viceroyalty. On June 23, Arredondo ordered Antonio de Cordova to prepare two brigantines in order to sail along the Patagonian coast and give notice to the port of Malvinas of the beginning of hostilities." [3425]

June 26th, Francisco Gil de Taboada, Viceroy of Peru, writes to Minister Manuel Godoy in Madrid to complain about the arrival of British whalers on his coasts; taking advantage of the "*gaps*" in the 1790 accord. [3426]

July 19th, from Montevideo, *Belen* sails for Puerto Soledad with the news that Spain and France are at war.

July 29th, at the Soledad garrison, information is received concerning large numbers of whalers and sealers.

"… the presence of American and English ships, every day in greater numbers, some of those flying the starry pavilion, in number of ten or more, were in Puerto Perruca killing and slaughtering sea lions. Small contingents of hunters (more than one hundred and fifty) devoted all their time to these tasks." [3427]

3421 Silva & Tejerina 1996

3422 *The Parliamentary Register: Or an Impartial Report of the Debates that occur in the Two Houses of Parliament …* William Woodfall 1794 vol.1 pp.118-220. An unusual situation for Spain to find itself in, but one that would only last until 1796, when Spain and France allied again.

3423 There would not appear to have been any limitation as to which ports.

3424 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones … en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. Quite why Americans, who were not party to the Anglo-Spanish Convention of 1790, would feel the need to obey its terms is unstated.

3425 *Ensayo sobre El Río de la Plata y la Revolución Francesa* Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois 1929 p.36 citing *Archivo general de la Nación, Buenos Aires, División Colonia, Sección Gobierno, Montevideo, 1793, leg. 45;*

3426 *Los balleneros Anglo-estadunidenses y la cuestión de la 'extranjerización' del comercio peruano a fines de la época colonial, 1790-1820* Ramiro Alberto Flores Guzmán 2010. The Viceroy would have been unaware of the May 25, 1793 Anglo-Spanish treaty when he wrote this.

3427 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.173. Puerto Perruca is a small inlet on the north-east coast of East Falkland.

"... in 1793, when the presence of the American citizens is determined by means of two English deserters who present(ed) themselves to the Maluinas authorities to make a corresponding denunciation. The story of one of them shows the difficulties encountered by the Spaniards, since, after pointing out "... that he knew very well that it is forbidden for them to come and fish on these islands as also to build these ships here (sloops) as they did by bringing them in pieces from the Homeland in the larger vessels that come to the fishing ... ", he added, "... after they saw some boat they abandoned it and people hid inland, afraid of the Spanish warship they know safeguards these islands."..." [3428]

"In 1793, an English deserter reported to the authorities of Puerto Soledad the presence of unlicensed sloops in the Falklands archipelago. According to the complaint, three or four large boats were wintering on the islands, about eight or ten small wolf sloops without licences scattered in different ports and about one hundred and fifty men who were in the port of Desvelos at the western end of the islands: mostly Americans and a few 'Royalists' (referring to Englishmen ...). The complaint added that the people on the ships were continually "fighting with guns, each one wanting to appropriate the power of being the privileged one in the fishing"."[3429]

Sanguineto calls together his officers to discuss the situation.

"D. José de Artecona Salazar, accountant of the Royal Navy vessel destined for the Santa Eulalia shipyard, and Minister of the Royal Treasury in the Malvinas Islands, certifies that the governor of Malvinas, D. Pedro Pablo Sanguineto, assembled a council of officers to take action on an American sloop anchored in Port Perruca, with 8 to 10 small boats, which without authority were in several ports of Gran Malvina killing sea lions, whose hides they had collected on land: that there ... a hundred and fifty men occupied in this traffic. The council decided that the brig of His Catholic Majesty San Julián de Gálvez, who, under the charge of an official and (with a) competent number of people, should reconnoiter the ports of those islands, ... that after the return of the said brigantine it would be sent to the province with a detailed report ... It is dated in the Soledad de Malvinas, the night of July 29, 1793." [3430]

"A military council in the Falklands discussed the issue and resolved to send the ship's second lieutenant Juan Latre aboard the brig San Julian de Galves to (go) and urge the ships without licences to go to sea, in "urban and friendly" terms, an instruction that took place again and again in the Spanish directives, afraid of starting a war." [3431]

August 2nd, from Puerto Soledad, *San Julian de Galvez* (Juan Latre) sails to seek out Americans.

In **September**, Lt. Latre sends a warning to the American sealing Brig, *Nancy*.

> *"Consistent with the latest conventions between the Spanish and British Courts and the orders which I am (under) from the Commander and Governor of the Malvinas islands, I must make you (aware) of not being able to fish or anchor in the vicinity of the Spanish establishments; Royalist Englishmen can fish ten leagues away from the said establishments, without being permitted in this (part of) America to form barracks ... the American English being not included in the privilege enjoyed by the Royalists,..."* [3432]

3428 Silva & Tejerina 1996

3429 Heller 2023 citing Martinez Zuviria 1939. The port of Desvelos would seem to have been on West Point Island.

3430 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278

3431 Heller 2023 citing Martinez Zuviria 1939. Also Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.174

3432 *Ibid.* Also Vernet 1832 and Areco 1885 p.47. A confused interpretation of the 1790 Nootka Sound Convention. See above. The term "American English" suggests that the Spanish had not fully come to terms with the outcome of the American War of Independence, which had ended a decade before in 1783.

September 14th, at the far western end of Byron Sound, Lt. Latre arrives off West Point Island. [3433]

"On the 14th Latre found the same in Port Desvelos, six American ships, all coming from New York, and one French; these ships were: Joseph, a frigate, Captain Hewit, and the brigantines Nancy, Captain Green, Mary, Captain Call and Mercury, Captain Bernard. These were engaged in fishing. ... their cabins and fields were destroyed, ... All obeyed the order, obeying the Spanish jurisdiction, saluting the King's flag, lowering their own. This is what the documents say." [3434]

"Latre himself continued to Isla Remolinos, in whose sheltered harbor he found eight American ships, six from New York and two from Providence. All well armed, one with cannon, the others with stone mortars, and all contained "firearms and munitions to slaughter seals". On shore, he found a stone hut which served as a smithery and storehouse for sealskins, as well as several large gardens. Ordering destruction of the shed and gardens, he permitted the removal of 800 to 900 sealskins, and warned the remainder of the ships away." [3435]

September 19th, with the arrival of *Belen*, the garrison at Soledad is made aware of Spain's war with France.

> *"Consequent on this notice I have made my provisions to put this colony under my command in a state of defense against any attacks the Enemy might make; and among others, to prepare the supplies to serve the Batteries, to cartridge ten shots per gantry from those who garrison this Plaza, to have these loaded, to place the lookout in Arbolé and to make night rounds on horseback in these surroundings."*[3436]

"The guns of the batteries were loaded ready to sweep with shrapnel any suspicious ship;..." [3437]

From the Falklands, *Swallow* sails with a cargo of 16,000 Fur Seal skins, and a quantity of Elephant Seal oil.

September 27th, at the Soledad garrison, a prisoner sentenced for murder, Cayetano Ucero, arrives. [3438]

October 8th, Sanguineto requests advice from the Viceroy on how to deal with American ships. [3439]

> *"As the English American colonists were the first to call for freedom and the French supported them with... I am determined to decide whether in the present circumstances they will join their party, ours, or remain neutral, because in the new orders only the English express themselves, in whose voice I understand the Royalists, and the public papers that have come to my power speak of them nothing, although there are almost all Sovereigns and Republics.*
>
> *I have tried, and will try, to handle myself with the greatest dissimulation and caution, and to appear to correspond well, with the aim, if they are friends, to be more so, and if they are enemies, not to upset them by giving rise to the later news that Your Excellency may communicate to me. In the latter case, if they were to come and relieve me later, and sent me two armed Zumacas and a large number of extra men to man the sea, I would scour the ports and the Sound and could make endless captures, since, as Your Excellency will see in the extract from the diary of Lieutenant General Don Juan Latre, he found twelve of these Republican ships in the Port of the West alone.*

3433 Other names for West Point appear to be *Puerto Desvuelos* and *Isla Remolinas*

3434 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. There was no verification from the Americans.

3435 Bernhardson 1989 pp.135 & 136. Also Silva & Tejerina 1996 citing *AGN. 6-2S-9-N° 212.*

3436 *Pedro P. Sanguineto to José de Artecona, Malvinas, September 21, 1793* in *General Archive of the Nation, Buenos Aires, Colonia Division, Government Section, Malvinas Islands, 1789-1806*

3437 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.174

3438 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144

3439 *AGN VII 2-3-4*

In any case, I hope that Your Excellency will serve to warn me how I am to deal with them in the present circumstances, whether they enter this port or if they land in other ports of these islands, or in my voyage when I return to the Province, since my desires are to be successful and I do not consider myself sufficiently prepared to ensure this, I am appealing to Your Excellency to ensure the most successful performance." [3440]

Patrolling near Port Salvador, Lt. Latre discovers further signs of sealing operations. He sails on to Saunders Island where he finds more evidence that sealers have been there with; *"... many burnt grasslands, and a lot of seal bones and shells."*

In the harbour of Port Egmont, to the south of Saunders Island, Latre encounters another American sealer. [3441]

"Here Latre impounded an unlicensed schooner and, after taking inventory, ordered it to Soledad with Captain and crew." [3442]

October 20th, at Puerto Soledad, a sloop arrives having been ordered there by Lt. Latre. [3443]

October 21st, in England, advertised in the *Leeds Intelligencer* journal:

"Liverpool. To be Sold by Auction, on Monday the Twenty-eighth of October instant, at a warehouse in Tower Garden, the Sale to begin at Ten o'Clock in the morning, About Ten Thousand Seal and Sea Lion Skins, salted in the Hair, being the cargo of the Meriam, lately arrived from Falklands Islands, assorted into suitable lots."

October 25th, at Puerto Soledad, another sloop arrives on the orders of Lt. Latre.

"During the course of his voyage, Latre ended up seizing two vessels that he found without licences. Some final notes attached to the document say that on October 20 and 25, these two sloops entered Puerto Soledad. La Moza Lista, pilot Guillermo (William) Joel, dependent of the brig Nancy, captain Daniel Verde (Daniel Greene), 145 tons, 26 crew men and 20,000 cargo (of) hides, which left New York in May 1792 bound for the Falklands and which had been anchored in the port of the West for six months. The schooner Endabor, Captain Smith, of 36 tons was dependent on the Brigatin Carmoney, of 112 tons, with a crew of 24 men and (with) 40,000 hides. ... a third sloop, Captain Tomás Blanco (Thomas White), arrived at the port from the brig Luevita, presenting the patents for the brigs Nancy and Carmoney, to which the two detained sloops belonged. Consequently, the sloops were allowed to join their ships, after urging their crew members to refrain from doing further damage in the vicinity of the Falkland Islands establishment and not to abuse the conditions under which they had been allowed to fish in those seas." [3444]

November 6th, a prisoner, Miguel Cordero, arrives at the Soledad garrison. [3445]

December 25th, in Berkeley Sound, *Atrevida* (Jose Bustamente y Guerra) anchors.[3446] Bustamente records that the *presidio* consists of 102 people – the crew of the *Santa Eulalia* plus 38 convicts – and that unnatural offences are being committed due to a lack of women at the fort.

3440 *Sanguineto a Arredondo ocrubre 10, 1793* in Caillet-Bois 1929

3441 *Extracto del Diario del Alférez de Navio don Juan Latre...* dated Octubre 8, 1793 in *AGN VII 2-3-4.* There are no supporting reports from the USA.

3442 Bernhardson 1989 pp.135 & 136

3443 Haller 2023. *Moza Lista* (*Mona Lisa*?) belonging to the American sealing ship *Nancy.* See October 25, 1793.

3444 *Ibid*. *Nancy* is the only name that appears to have been recorded correctly. See September, 1793, above.

3445 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144

3446 *Atrevida* was part of Malaspina's two ship expedition.

He also notes that little effort is being made to grow vegetables. [3447]

"They anchored in the port of Soledad, about which they obtained information of interest for their better understanding and governance, insisting above all that agriculture and livestock farming should be promoted there." [3448]

One of *Atrevida*'s crew sketches Puerto Soledad (below).

1794 – January 2nd, in the harbour of Port Egmont, Alejandro Malaspina, comes to anchor in his flagship *Descubierta*.[3449]

There he finds the American sealers *Nancy* (John Bernard), [3450] and *Hero*, (Enoch Basnard), anchored near the old British settlement on Saunders Island. A brig, *Mercury* (William Barnet), is anchored out at the western point, where she has been for 14 months; cultivating onshore; "*... an above average quantity of excellent vegetables and had bred some pigs and rabbits on a nearby island."* [3451]

> *"From the moment we tacked into the harbour we noticed two unrigged brigs anchored in the bay further to the south. Both acknowledged our ensign with the American flag. Their respective captains came on board that afternoon and informed me, as born out by their manifests, that they had left New York fifteen or sixteen months earlier, making directly for these islands for the sole purpose of obtaining seal furs and oil. Various other vessels from the same nation were anchored in a number of nearby harbours for the same purpose, with their seamen spread out throughout the surrounding*

3447 Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.127.
3448 Claverán 1988 p.432
3449 Malaspina was on the homeward leg of his scientific expedition to the Pacific Ocean. See 1789.
3450 Headland (1992 p.33) has *Nancy* commanded by Daniel Greene at the commencement of its voyage in May, 1792. Heller (2023) also refers to Daniel Greene as commanding *Nancy*. Perhaps there was more than one *Nancy*?
3451 Sealing ships spent an average of 18 months at the Falklands, with Saunders Island being favoured by British ships; New Island by the Americans. Surprising then that so few encounters were reported by the Spanish garrison at Soledad.

islands; their launches keeping up communication with the ships. ... the cargo of a single vessel often came to 20,000 seal skins and great numbers of barrels of oil. .. we could see no exaggerations to presume that within a few years all the moneys that the Spanish monarchy was expending in the Malvinas, however generously, would flow back into the hands of foreign traders. I suspended taking any action pending the accumulation of detailed information about the true spirit of our latest treaties. Rather, I offered them anything that might be useful to them..." [3452]

January 9th, Malaspina grows increasingly concerned regarding the activities of the American sealers.

"... there had been several incidents involving the American ships anchored either in the same harbour or nearby. Almost daily their large launches went around the outer islands. On the 9th a small schooner of the same nation belonging to a ship anchored near the western point of the islands, had anchored in the harbour, unable to sail because of her very bad condition. They all needed ship's biscuits and the schooner needed various provisions that she had requested but that had not yet reached our establishment at Soledad. As the time spent lengthened, the slaughter of seals increased to such an extent that it seemed likely that soon they would all be destroyed, as the Americans themselves admitted.

These undertakings, in my opinion, of a less equivocal interpretation of ***Article 6*** *of the most recent Escorial Treaty,*[3453] *eventually persuaded me not to remain an indifferent onlooker of such damage to our national interests, or negligently to allow the hunting to continue even longer while they waited for the stores they had requested. Both these duties, however, had to be discharged without breaking the established laws of hospitality or disturbing the peace. In particular we had to take care not to bring dishonour to our flag by making statements which could easily be evaded without the least punishment.*

Thus having summoned the captains of the two ships anchored in the harbour as well as Captain White from the small schooner, I explained the titles under which ***everything*** *included in the name Islas Malvinas must be considered a Spanish possession.* [3454]

I pointed out how harmful the fishing and hunting in which they were involved were to our national interests, how reprehensible it would be if I allowed myself to be an indifferent witness of such abuses, and how easy it would be, nevertheless, for them to move to other harbours in the vicinity during my brief stay in these parts, which would certainly be of no more than twelve days, and that this final consideration would oblige me to expel them at once, unless they could plead some reason for staying on, a justification that I would be willing to accept as I had no desire to inconvenience them while at anchor, nor fail to help them as far as possible. Such reasons could not fail to bring pressure to bear on them." [3455]

3452 Commander Malaspina quoted in Andrew David *et al* (ed.) 2004 vol.3

3453 Malaspina had sailed from Spain in July, 1789 and passed through into the Pacific in December, 1789. Quite where he obtained a copy of the 1790 convention was not recorded.

3454 Andrew David *et al* (ed.) 2004 vol.3. My emphasis. A pity that Malaspina did not record his explanation. It may have been enlightening. Spain had recognised the British in the western Islands in 1771, while leaving open the question of sovereignty which both Britain and Spain claimed over the whole archipelago. Art.6 of the 1790 Convention employed the word 'adjacent'. The Spanish considered that the archipelago was 'adjacent' to the coasts of South America; whilst the British did not. The Falklands are some 400 miles from Puerto Deseado which was the most southern Spanish settlement in 1790. Not that the Americans were party to the 1790 accord. See 1790, above.

3455 *Ibid.* Malaspina would seem to have been telling the Americans to disappear for 12 days.

"Malaspina was forced to reprimand several sailors from the American colonies who were engaged in fishing and were irresponsibly contributing to the extinction of the sea lion. He firmly reminded them that these islands were the property of Spain." [3456]

January 10th, Malaspina's *Journal* continues; *"... the captains of the two brigs at anchor in the harbour presented documents which confirmed their intention to leave as soon as they had finished taking water. In their requests for assistance all understood the necessity of leaving these islands immediately..."* [3457]

Capt. Barnet promises to leave after a further 10 days; while Capt. Basnard agrees to go in 6 or 7 days time.

January 11th, from Berkeley Sound, *Atrevida* (Jose Bustamente y Guerra) sails.

"On January 11, 1794, having accomplished their political and scientific objectives, they headed for the Aurora Islands, then continued their course north until reaching Montevideo, a port that announced the end of their labors on February 16, 1794." [3458]

In Madrid, a third Nootka Convention is signed between Spain and Britain. Both countries may trade on the north-west coast of America at Nootka Sound, but neither can erect permanent facilities.

January 16th, at Port Egmont, Malaspina takes on as crew six English sailors who had stayed behind to seal on their own behalf when their vessel left some six months before; and who had sold their stock of seal skins to one of the American ships.

January 17th, Malaspina records that the American ships have sailed.

January 20th, Malaspina sails from the harbour of Port Egmont, bound for Montevideo. [3459]

February 25th, from Montevideo, Lt. Don José de Aldana y Ortega sails for Puerto Soledad to take over as *comandante gobernador*. [3460]

3456 Claverán 1988 p.432
3457 Andrew David *et al* (ed.) 2004 vol.3.
3458 Claverán 1988 p.432
3459 Where they arrived on February 14, 1794. Malaspina would finally arrive back in Spain on September 21, 1794 after 62 months away. Initially lauded and promoted, Malaspina was involved in some political intrigue in 1795 which led to his arrest and detention. He remained in prison until 1802. As a result his journals were not immediately published. Some sources have it that Malaspina surveyed Port Egmont. If he did so, I have been unable to find any chart. The sketch of Saunders Island (above) is believed to date from this period, and it seems probable that it was made during Malaspina's visit. A handwritten caption at the bottom notes "*Vista del p^to Egmont*". No date or artist. On shore is a tented encampment. The vantage point is intriguing, probably as viewed from a height on West Falkland Island.
3460 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.174

March 4th, returning to Montevideo, Lt. Sanguineto reports to the Viceroy that he has "*reprimanded*" American, French and British whaling ships discovered in the "*vicinity*." [3461] Cattle number some 5,033. [3462]

April 30th, Spanish warship *Nuestra Señora de Belén* is ordered to reconnoiter the coasts of the Falklands.

"The ensign of (the Soledad) frigate D. Gerónimo Lobaton made a reconnaissance trip of the Falklands archipelago in the ship of war of Nuestra Señora de Belén, in 1794. The instructions are dated 30 of April of that year in Soledad of Malvinas. In them it is said: "In the treaties of conventions made in that year (1790) between our court and that of Great Britain, .., Article 4 deals with subjects not to sail or fish in those seas at a distance of ten leagues from the coast already occupied by Spain." [3463]

In Paris, the Royal Academy of Science publishes a map of the *Terrestrial globe represented in two planes-hemispheres*. Two groups of islands are noted off the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait – the *I. Sybald* and the *Isles Angloises* (English Islands). [3464]

May 12th, in London, a map of South America is published by *Laurie & Whittle*. [3465]

The chart's legend states:- *"The Isles of Falkland belong to Great Britain by Right of first Discovery. The English have a Fort & Settlement at Port Egmont in Saunders Island, on the North of the Western Falkland, & the Spaniards have a Fort in the Eastern Isle. As Port Egmont, is a safe and capacious Harbour, It will become of great utility to the British Navy & even to Privateers, in any future war, to annoy the Spanish Trade in the South Sea."*

September 8th, at Puerto Soledad, a whaler is detained by the Spanish. The vessel's name is recorded as *Meriam*, out of Dartmouth, and its Captain as Basilio (Basil) Huert. [3466]

September 21st, at the Falklands, a sailor, William Stevens, dies after falling from a rock. He is buried on Saunders Island. [3467]

3461 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.82. "*Vicinity*" is a vague term.

3462 *Informe del visitador general Diego de la Vega al virrey del Pino, Buenos Aires, 13 de marzo de 1804* in *AGN IX 17.01.01.* Pascoe (2022 vol.1 p.340) notes that cattle numbers declined dramatically between 1794 and 1798, when only 1,568 were reported.

3463 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278. Ten leagues is 30 miles. Art.4 of the 1790 Convention, however, was only applicable to the Pacific Ocean/South Seas (southern Pacific). See 1790, above.

3464 See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1794-the-terrestrial-globe-represented-in-two-planes-hemispheres-erected-on-the-projection-of-mr.-de-la-hyre-of-the-royal-academy-of-science...-paris-note-isles-angoises-english-islands.png

3465 *A map of South America containing Terra-Firma, Guayana, New Granada, Amazonia, Brasil, Peru, Paraguay, Chaco, Tucuman, Chili and Patagonia, from Mr. d'Anville with several improvements and additions, and the newest discoveries ... A chart of Falkland's Islands named by the French Malouine Islands and discovered by Hawkins, in the year 1593* Laurie & Whittle, 53, Fleet Street, 12th May, 1794. See also *Kitchin's General Atlas, describing the Whole Universe: being a complete collection of the most approved maps extant; corrected with the greatest care, and augmented from the last edition of D'Anville and Robert with many improvements by other eminent geographers, engraved on Sixty-Two plates, comprising Thirty Seven maps.*, Laurie & Whittle, London, 1797.

3466 This was noted in a message from the garrison dated June 14, 1795. I can find no references to a Capt. Huert during this period. However, Clayton (2014) connects a *Miriam* with a Capt. Worth and places it at Rio de Janeiro in September, 1795. Shubael Worth was a whaler out of Massachusetts whose sister Meriam had died young. Unconfirmed.

3467 *cf.* December 7th, 1810

1795 – January 2nd, at Puerto Soledad, prisoner Dominga Ariza, sentenced to 10 years for murder, arrives.[3468]

January 4th, at New Island, *Union* (John Boit), out of Rhode Island and en-route to the Pacific, anchors. [3469]

January 8th, American sealer *Sally* (John Nicols) also arrives at New Island.

At South Georgia, British sealing ships, *Active, Ann, Fox, Kitty, Lively, Lord Hawksbury, Mary, Minerva* and *Sybil*, visit for the austral summer. At the Falkland Islands, *Sydenham* hunts for whales.

"In 1795, the total value of the produce of the British Southern Whale Fishery was in excess of £210,000." [3470]

January 14th, at Puerto Soledad, *Ruby* (Bishop), a merchant ship out of Bristol and en-route for Hawaii, arrives seeking water. One of its crew, William Coker, voluntarily leaves the ship. [3471]

> *"Ship Ruby of Bristol, **Port Luis**, Falklands Isles 14th Janury (sic) 1795*
>
> *This will certify, that William Coker a mariner belonging to this ship left her by is (sic) own free will and request, and by permission of me the master of the said ship, and this will further Certify that I have no cause of complaint against the said sailor Coker for any misbehaviour, but he being an inferior man and not capable of doing his duty in a voyage of the great length we are bound on.*
>
> *Witness my hand Chas Bishop"*

March 28th, at the Soledad garrison, a group of prisoners arrive; sentenced to between six and eight years detention and labour. Teodoro Dominguez, Jose Burgos, Lorenzo Rodriguez, Francisco Solano, Pedro Villalba, Nicols Garay, Bernado Palomo and R. Contreras. [3472]

April 2nd, Spain abandons its establishment at Nootka Sound. [3473]

May 20th, at Puerto Soledad, *Sally* (John Nicols), is detained. [3474]

June 15th, Lt. Don Pedro Pablo Sanguineto returns, again, to command the *presidio*.

July 22nd, the Peace of Basel ends the War of the Pyrenees between Spain and France. [3475]

3468 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144

3469 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.342. *Union* sailed for the Pacific Ocean on January 24, 1795

3470 Stackpole 1972 p.282

3471 Reported by José de Aldana y Ortega to Buenos Aires. My emphasis. This ship is the subject of a further report dated May 24, 1797 from the Viceroy to Madrid – *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias …* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1901 vol.3 p.92. Some confusion is caused by a 1797 version of events where the date of the ship's arrival is given as January 9th and the name of the vessel as *Rubia* (*Blonde*) not *Rubi* (*Ruby*). *Ruby* (Capt. Charles Bishop) was a merchantman. The Spanish suspected the ship was smuggling.

3472 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 pp.143-145

3473 Spain did not go far and it has been suggested that they simply decided to avoid issues of sovereignty by decamping to another location nearby.

3474 Buenos Aires was notified on May 26, 1795. With no ship available to the Soledad garrison in 1795, it appears likely that this vessel was seized near the port. BSWF Databases notes a brigantine named *Sally* commanded by a Nichols returning to its home port on December 24, 1795. *Sally* was built in Newfoundland, so the home port could reasonably be assumed to be Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Clayton (2014) records 6 sealers with this name, both British and American; identification not assisted by a Spanish reluctance to stop referring to Americans as "*Englishmen*." A *Sally* was wrecked in 1796 at South Georgia; but the captain was either a Farmer or an Ellis according to Headland (1992). Any detention of a British ship would have been in breach of the 1790 Convention.

3475 The conflict had not gone well for Spain. It would be more than a year however, before Spain agreed to join France in its war with Britain. The protections embodied in the 1793 treaty with Britain would seem to have continued until the declaration of war in October, 1796.

August 5th, in Buenos Aires, a report notes that *Belen* has been unable to make a patrol at the Falklands. [3476]

October 27th, in San Lorenzo, Spain, the USA and Spain sign an accord - *Pinckney's Treaty*. [3477]

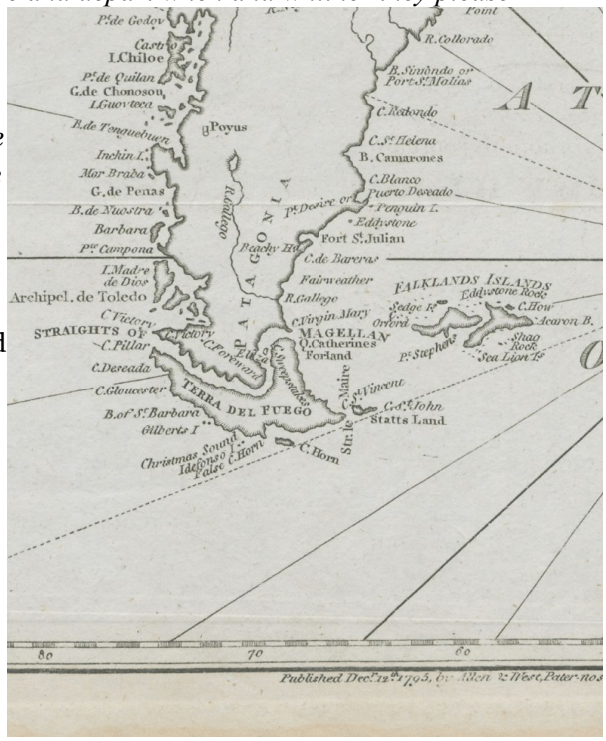
> *Art. VI: Each Party shall endeavour by all means in their power to protect and defend all Vessels and other effects belonging to the Citizens or Subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or by land, …*
>
> *Art. VII: And it is agreed that the Subjects or Citizens of each of the contracting Parties, their Vessels, or effects shall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other for any military expedition or other public or private purpose whatever; …*
>
> *Art. VIII: In case the Subjects and inhabitants of either Party with their shipping whether public and of war or private and of merchants be forced through stress of weather, pursuit of Pirates, or Enemies, or any other urgent necessity for seeking of shelter and harbor to retreat and enter into any of the Rivers, Bays, Roads, or Ports belonging to the other Party, they shall be received and treated with all humanity, and enjoy all favor, protection and help, and they shall be permitted to refresh and provide themselves at reasonable rates with victuals and all things needful for the sustenance of their persons or reparation of their Ships, and prosecution of their voyage; and they shall no ways be hindered from returning out of the said Ports, or Roads, but may remove and depart when and whither they please without any let or hindrance…"*

"In this way, the sailors of that nation were able to enjoy the same privileges enjoyed by the British whalers thanks to the fishing agreement of 1790." [3478]

November 22nd, from the port of Cádiz, Spanish Rear-Admiral Ignacio Maria de Álava y Sáenz de Navarrete, commanding *Europa* (74 guns), sails with two escorts, bound for Cape Horn.

December 12th, in England, the Rev. John Malham, in his *Naval Gazetteer*, includes a map of the South Atlantic (right).[3479]

December 18th, in the Atlantic, Álava instructs one of his faster frigates, *Señora del Pilar*, to go ahead to Puerto Soledad with an order for the commander there to meet him at Port Egmont; with sufficient cattle for his squadron.[3480]



3476 *Nuestra Senora de Belén (Our Lady of Bethlehem)* had been ordered to reconnoiter the coasts on April 30, 1794. Operating in those seas from 1781 she was still delivering mail and supplies to Soledad in 1803. This scribbled note, written in Buenos Aires on August 5th, is difficult to read but would seem to refer to *Belén's* commander as being a Francisco Ros (Ross/Rios?) when the vessel was involved in some "*calamity*" – possibly running aground on a sandbank. I thank David Foot for this difficult translation.

3477 Repudiated by Spain in 1798. Included as being relevant to how American vessels were treated at Puerto Soledad. See May, 1797

3478 Silva & Tejerina 1996

3479 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1795-john-malham-london-detail-e1548214709916.png

3480 Rear-Admiral Álava's log can be found at Spain's *Archivo General de las Indias* at *45 N 24*.

1796 – in early **January**, at Puerto Soledad, Rear-Admiral Álava anchors in *Europa* to take on supplies; *"Don Ignacio Maria de Alava ... came in search of food, which was generously provided to him (eighty cattle, a thousand bricks, and twenty-four hides to his hair)."* [3481]

January 26th, Álava arrives at the harbour of Port Egmont.[3482]

February 4th, *Europa* sails for South America. [3483]

February 12th, from Puerto Soledad, Sanguineto writes a report on a patrol of the islands. [3484]

March 15th, Lt. Don José Aldana y Ortega returns to take command of the Soledad garrison. [3485]

March 28th, at South Georgia, *Sally*, a sealing brig owned by *Thomas Guillame & Co* of London, is wrecked. All the crew are rescued by the British sealer, *Young William* (Mackie). [3486]

July 13th, at the Falklands, in Berkeley Sound, Spanish brig *Carmen y Animas* (Gerado Bordas), anchors to effect repairs. [3487]

August 19th, Spain signs a treaty of alliance with France under which the two nations agree to combine their forces in a war against Britain. [3488] With conflict imminent, the Spanish colonies are warned to prepare.

September 15th, aware of the Franco-Spanish treaty, Britain orders an embargo on Spain's ships and ports.

October 5th, Spain formally declares war against Britain. [3489]

"Spain declared war against Great Britain.. since which period, no distinct allusion to the convention of 1790 appears to have been made by either of the parties, in its public acts addressed to, or its engagements concluded with, the other. ... it would seem that the Convention of October, 1790, between Great Britain and Spain expired in October 1795, (sic) ..." [3490]

"The Nootka Sound convention grew out of certain rights on the part of Great Britain, which existed long prior to the formation of that convention. Gentlemen had talked about certain concessions on the part of Spain, certain benefits which had been conceded to England in the Nootka Sound convention; but it would be remembered that that convention was ended by the war of 1796." [3491]

"... (Nootka) was abrogated in October 1796, when Spain declared war against Great Britain." [3492]

3481 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.174

3482 Not an act of sovereignty, or war. Just a visit. No report survives.

3483 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.175

3484 Sanguineto was undoubtedly reporting on the reconnaissance by *Europa*. I have been unable to source a readable copy.

3485 Promoted to Captain on August 27, 1796. Caillet-Bois (1982 (6th ed.) p.175) states the handover was in April, 1796.

3486 Headland 1989 p.87. Also *Wrecks, Hulks and Other Vessel Remains at South Georgia, Falkland Islands Dependencies* R.K. Headland 1984 *Scott Polar Research Institute*, University of Cambridge 1984. *BSWF Databases* gives the date as March 28, 1797. Busch (1985) states that an American snow *Sally* was wrecked at South Georgia in August, 1797 and *BSWF Databases* may be confusing these two events.

3487 This from the section on Jose Aldana y Ortega in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.34. Bordas (styled in Tatham as Bondas) was a *primer piloto particular* in Spain's merchant marine.

3488 *Second Treaty of San Ildefonso.* Ratified by Spain on October 14, 1796.

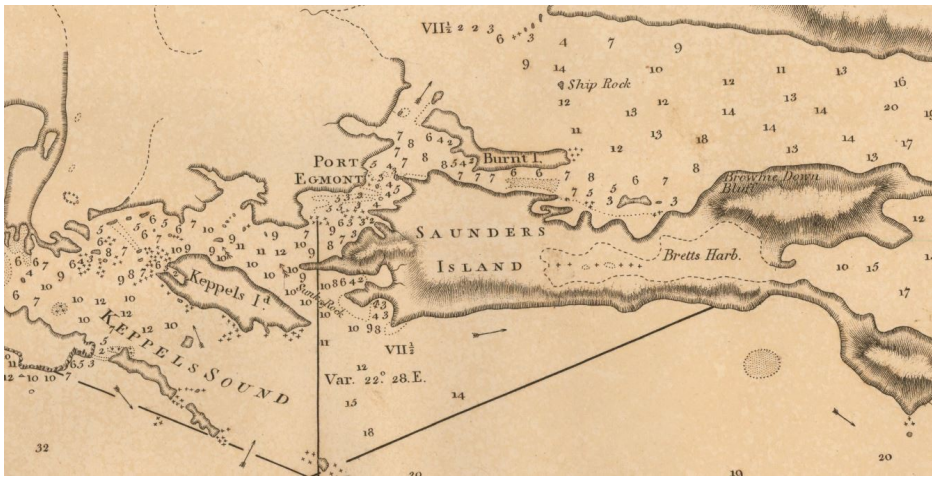
3489 Referred to in Britain as the *Anglo-Spanish War* (1796 -1802). Part of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Spain's South American colonies were largely unaffected, until Britain's raids on Montevideo and Buenos Aires in 1806/1807. *cf.* 1801, 1806, 1807 & 1809

3490 Greenhow 1842

3491 *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seatons' Annals of Congress; from their Register of debates; and from the official reported debates.* John C. Rives 1860 vol.5 (Congress – March 9, 1846)

3492 Bernhardt 1910. *cf.* August, 1814

October 23rd, from Puerto Soledad, the *Carmen y Animas* sails for Montevideo to report on its failure to reconnoitre the harbour of Port Egmont. [3493]



December 9th, a prisoner arrives at the Soledad garrison. Pedro Esquivel, sentenced to 10 years for murder.[3494]

1797 – Lieut. Edgar's 1786 chart of West Falkland is published in London (Port Egmont detail right. South-up orientation).[3495]

"I cannot omit this opportunity of bearing my strongest testimony to the accuracy with which Lieutenant Edgar has delineated the coast of the western main island, and the small ones of this group... On the northern coast of the western island there are many entrances; the principle one is that leading to Port Egmont, and which may be seen from some distance from the sea..." [3496]

Britain's navy blockades the Iberian Peninsula; cutting Spain off from her American colonies. [3497]

February 20th, at Puerto Soledad, Lt. Don Luis Medina y Torres takes over as *comandante gobernador*. Assessing the garrison, he notes that convicts are doing farm work but that it is insufficient and likely to, *".. bring about the demise of the colony."* He also reports that there are convicts whose release dates have passed, without a decision being made as to what action to take.

"... on his way to take up his post (he) had news that, from 47 ° to 15°, there were about fifteen American and English vessels dedicated to fishing." [3498]

February 22nd, at the Jason Islands, *Neptune* (David Greene), out of New England, arrives to hunt seals. [3499]

"About the Neptune's stay in the Falklands, the ship's supercargo, Ebenezer Townsend Jr., wrote in his diary: "These islands belong to Spain. They maintain a garrison in what is called the Spanish Maloon. Several times they have given orders for the Americans to leave, but we have not heard anything from them since we have been here. They care very little about the wolves (seals), but they are very tenacious with their sovereignty"." [3500]

3493 David & Novi in Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.34. Leaving the garrison, once again, without a ship.
3494 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.143. How he arrived, isn't stated.
3495 *A Chart of West Falkland Island from an Actual Survey by Lieu. Tho. Edgar of the Royal Navy in the Years 1786 & 1787* published by Aaron Arrowsmith, London 1797. See 1786
3496 *A voyage towards the south pole, performed in the years 1822-24* James Weddell 1825.
3497 Despite some later setbacks, 1797 marked the rise of the Royal Navy that would bring victory at Trafalgar. There was a noticeable drop off in activity at Puerto Soledad and few, if any, checks on Port Egmont.
3498 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.175
3499 Dickinson 2007 p.36. The ship remained until December, 1797 taking 30,000 skins from "*depleted stocks*". Haller (2023) names the captain as Daniel Greene.
3500 Haller 2023 citing Townsend 1888.

"At least eleven other sealing vessels arrived during 1796-1797, searching for the ever more scarce fur seal skins and the increasingly valuable oil." [3501]

In the USA, *Morses American Gazetteer* includes a map of the south cone. [3502]

May 9th, responding to a question regarding ships from the USA using the seas "*contiguous*" to the South American coastline, Spain's Minister Godoy writes to Buenos Aires to announce that it has been decided; *"... not to allow to any (foreign) ship the navigation of those ports."* [3503]

May 24th, from Buenos Aires, Viceroy Antonio Olaguer Feliú sends information to Madrid regarding a British merchant frigate, *Ruby*, seen at Soledad two years before. He reports the ship as having the purpose to trade in the Americas in defiance of the "*last convention*" between Spain and Great Britain. [3504]

August 22nd, at the Falkland Islands, a British whaler out of London, *Amelia*, kills geese and feral pigs. [3505]

In the harbour of Port Egmont, American sealer *Neptune* anchors; accompanied by *Juno* (Paul Bunker).[3506]

September 11th, from Spain, a Royal Order instructs the Viceroy in Buenos Aires that *"... no foreign vessel should sail in the waters adjacent to the Hispanic possessions of the Río de la Plata."* [3507]

October 19th, in the Falklands, at New Island, *Betsy* (Edmund Fanning) out of Stonington, anchors. [3508] Whaler *Olive Branch* (Paddock) also arrives; to take on water. [3509]

December 22nd, at Puerto Soledad, a prisoner, Juan Pablo Juarez, is landed - sentenced to 6 years for theft. [3510]

From the Falkland Islands, *Neptune* sails for the coast of Patagonia; *"The Neptune had already collected more than 30,000 skins during her eight months in the Falklands when she set sail in December 1797 for the Patagonian coast. It is noteworthy that before leaving, her crew left some pigs and poultry in Big Harbour, with the intention of allowing them to reproduce and to look for them again before continuing on their way to the Pacific. The islands, which only had the warrah (fox) as a natural predator, functioned in this way as natural corrals."* [3511]

3501 Dickinson 2007 p.36

3502 See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1797-for-morses-american-gazeteer-e1550107642491.png

3503 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 *pp.201-278.* Quesada refers to Godoy as the '*Prince of Peace*' – one of his many titles. This statement, however, would appear to conflict with the protections granted to the ships of both Spain and America under the 1795 treaty (repudiated by Spain in 1798).

3504 See January, 1795. The timing of this report is hard to understand unless the Viceroy had little else to report upon.

3505 *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner* John Howell (ed.) 1822. Also Clayton 2014. *Amelia* would seem to gave been en-route to the Pacific; reported at the Galapagos in October, 1798.

3506 *The Sea-hunters: the New England Whalemen during Two Centuries, 1635-1835* Edouard A. Stackpole 1953

3507 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.175

3508 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.342. Departed December 8, 1797

3509 Fanning 1924. The date of the *Olive Branch's* arrival isn't given, but both ships sailed for Cape Horn on December 8.

3510 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144

3511 Haller 2023. This ship appears to have returned to the Falklands in February, 1798, before sailing for the Pacific.

1798 – February 28th, from Puerto Soledad, Lt. Medina reports that the chapel is in ruins and that only two of the three *estancias* still stand. [3512]

"Livestock numbers continued to decline precipitously,... Prisoners assigned there may have been both cold and hungry." [3513]

March 2nd, Lt. Medina; *"Acknowledges receipt of the despatch making known to him the Royal Order that no foreign vessel whatsoever is allowed to navigate these seas."* [3514]

March 7th, prisoner Juan Marin, arrives at the garrison sentenced to 6 years for 'aggression.' [3515]

March 17th, Captain Don Francisco Xavier de Viana y Alzaibar takes command of the garrison.

At South Georgia, English sealers *Prince Edward* and *Sybil* anchor.

Two maps are published, one in the USA for the *New Encyclopedia*, the other in Paris by Bethalon which gives the archipelago its French name – Malouines. [3516]

April 3rd, instructions from Spain to the Viceroy in Buenos Aires command him to; *"... provide the 'Compania Maritma' with the funds, necessary for keeping on foot the undertaking, about to be carried out in the Islas Malouines."* [3517]

July 28th, at Puerto Soledad, prisoner Gregorio Leguizamon arrives: sentenced to 10 years. [3518]

In **August**, from Buenos Aires, instructions are sent to the Soledad garrison to attack any British ships found at Port Egmont. However, American vessels should be "*politely*" requested to leave.

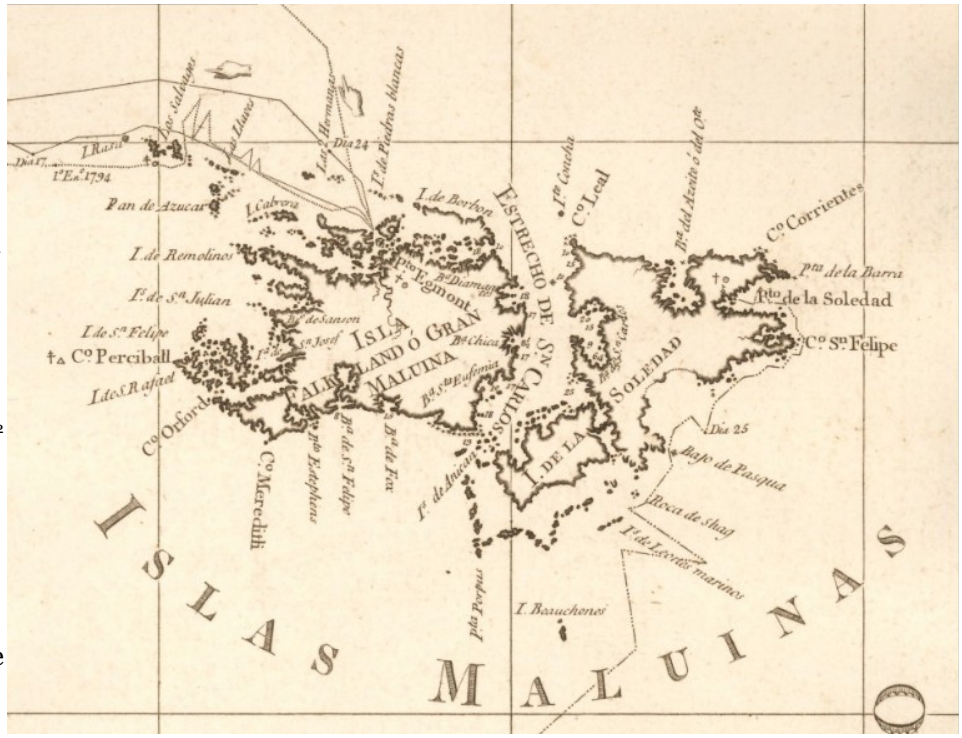
> *"... if they are proven to be American, Your Excellency will prudently and civilly order them to retire from the port belonging to His Catholic Majesty within 24 hours [...] If any British fishing vessel were anchored [...] you shall request their surrender and if they do not abide by the His Majesty"s order, you will position yourself suitably [...] [and] you will open fire."* [3519]

October 22nd, Puerto Soledad's commander reports the presence at the harbour of Port Egmont, of an American whaler, *Spuducell*. [3520]

October 31st, Lt. Don Francisco Xavier de Viana y Alzaibar writes of; *"... the necessity of transferring the Establishment at Puerto de la Soldedad, to Port Egmont."*[3521]

3512 *AGN IX 16-9-10*
3513 Bernhardson 1989 p.138
3514 Note dated March 2, 1798 in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/617*
3515 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144
3516 See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1798-the-world-from-the-best-authorities-for-the-new-encyclopedia-new-york.jpg and https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1798-betholon.jpg
3517 *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/617.* Note dated April 3, 1798
3518 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.144
3519 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 citing *AGN Sala IX 16-9-10*. Hardly necessary during a war? Although not in conflict with the USA, Spain revoked its 1795 treaty during 1798
3520 Note dated October 22, 1798 in *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/617*
3521 *Harris-Gastrell to Salibury, January 21, 1880* in *FO 6/502/617.* Suggested on many occassions.

In Madrid, a map of South America is produced (detail below) under the direction of the Government's Hydrographic agency – *Carta Esferica De Las Costas de la America Meridional desde Paralelo de 36° 30 de Latitud S. Hasta el Cabo de Horno*. The archipelago is named *Islas Maluinas*. East Falkland island is identified as *I de la Soledad*. West Falkland as *Isla Falkland ó Gran Maluina*. The locations of both Puerto Soledad and Port Egmont, are identified. [3522]



1799 – April 1st, Lt. Luis Medina y Torres returns to Soledad as *comandante gobernador*.

April 6th, nine prisoners arrive at the Soledad garrison. [3523]

April 15th, American whaler *London*, out of Nantucket, is reported near the Falklands.

June 18th, from England, sealers *Aurora* and *Lively* sail for South Georgia.

At South Georgia, *Regulator,* an American ship, is wrecked at Right Whale Bay. The crew, with cargo, get ashore. *Regulator*'s 14,000 seal pelts are sold to the British sealer, *Morse*. English sealers *Earl Spencer* and *Hercules* also fish at South Georgia. [3524]

In London, William Faden completes a copy of the official Spanish map of South America originally produced in 1775 by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla.

"In a recent article, Dr. Walter Ristow of the Library of Congress has developed a convincing argument that Faden engraved his copy from an original purchased in 1785 by an American diplomat at the auction of a Spanish gentleman's library and sent to Thomas Jefferson, then American Ambassador in Paris. In August 1786, Jefferson asked W. S. Smith, a friend in London, to arrange for the re-engraving ... In September Smith reported that arrangements had been made with Faden; Jefferson

3522 Based upon a survey carried out by Juan de Lángara in 1789, this map reveals Malaspina's track (despite Malaspina languishing in a Spanish goal until 1802). This appears to be the first official Spanish chart since that by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla in 1776 (see above). See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1798-carta-esferica-de-las-costas-de-la-america-meridional-desde-paralelo-de-36c2b0-30-de-latitud-s.-hasta-el-cabo-de-hornos-...-by-direccion-hidrografica-de-madrid-spanish.jpg

3523 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.145

3524 *Voyages to South Georgia 1795-1820* A.G.E. Jones. 1971

forwarded the map in December 1786. Thirteen years later, in 1799, the re-engraving finally appeared. By superposing a full-scale photostat of the Faden over a similar photostat of an 18th century original, one can determine that Faden did indeed make the exact copy that he claimed in the imprint note on the map itself." [3525]

1800 – January 11th, from Spain, a Royal Order for the Viceroy of Buenos Aires requires the release of English prisoners from 11 whaling ships. [3526]

January 26th, in the Falklands, the American ship *Perseverance,* of Boston, anchors; *"... in North West Harbour, in one of the Falkland Islands where we found the Diana of London, commanded by captain John Locke."* [3527]

January 27th, at Grand Jason, *Concord* (Wyer) and *Minerva* (Mayhew Folger), out of Salem, anchor. To be joined by American sealers *Barclay* (Griffin Barney) and *Mars* (Uriah Swain).[3528]

March 15th, at the Soledad garrison, Capt. Don Francisco Xavier de Viana y Alzaíbar arrives as *comandante gobernador*.

"According to the inventory that the Oriental Francisco Javier de Viana receives, when he takes over the governorship of the Islands in 1800, there were then twenty-six buildings in total, twelve of them stone, among which was the governor's house, the hospital, the chapel and house of the priests, four houses of officers, the navy barracks, the troop barracks and inmates, two workers and several to warehouses." [3529]

3525 Smith 1966. For more detail on the original Spanish chart and its various editions, see 1775 above. The importance here is the change of colour. Cano's February, 1776, second edition had East Falkland in red for Spain, while West Falkland was in green for England. Faden had copied a third edition which most probably dated from late 1776, around the time that the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata was created. West Falkland was now red.

3526 *ES.41091.AGI/21//STATE,80, N.75.* Unconfirmed. Whilst such seizures could be expected during a period of war, it seems unusual that the disappearance of eleven vessels caused no comment in the British press. And why an instruction for release? Britain and Spain remained at war. Further research required.

3527 *Narrative of voyages and travels in the northern and southern hemisphere* Amasa Delano 1817 *Perseverance* departed February 1, 1800. *Diana* had sailed out from England in 1798. *cf. BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and Rhys Richards.

3528 Dickinson 2007 p.37

3529 Podetti 2013

Nine convicts arrive at the Soledad garrison to serve out sentences ranging from six to 10 years. [3530]

May 11th, from New York, *Aspasia* (Edmund Fanning) sails for South Georgia. [3531]

June 6th, at South Georgia, British sealer *Canada* (Lewis Llewellin), founders. [3532]

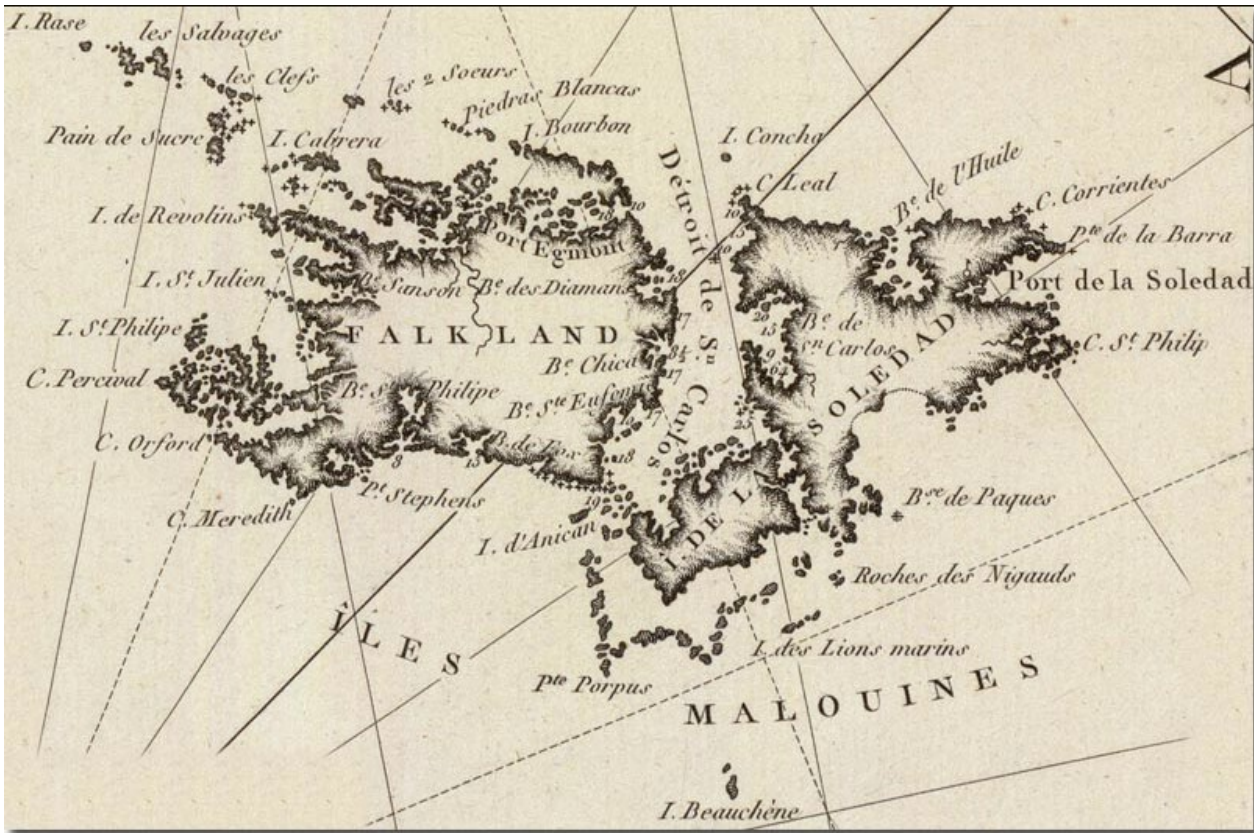
"In 1795, the total value of the produce of the British Southern Whale Fishery was in excess of £210,000. In 1800 the total was raised to more that £260,000." [3533]

In **September**, *Aspasia* (Fanning), arrives at South Georgia looking for *Regulator*. Fanning notes the presence of 16 other British and American vessels around the Island.

During **December**, at the Falkland Islands, American sealer *Sally* (Nathaniel Storer), hunts; *"Sally took 45,000 skins at the Falkland Islands in December 1800 and continued to South Georgia to complete its cargo..."* [3534]

At South Georgia, British sealers *Duke of Kent* and *Eliza* hunt. Also Americans *Betsy* (Cartwright) and *Hope* (Ray).

In Paris, a French copy of Spain's 1798 chart is published by the Depot-General de Marine (below). [3535]



3530 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.145 citing *AGN XVII 3879*
3531 Dickinson 2007 fn. p.62
3532 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; Rhys Richards. *Canada* had departed England September 2nd, 1799
3533 Stackpole 1972 p.282
3534 Dickinson 2007 pp.63-64. Fanning's 57,000 seal skins was a record never again equalled.
3535 *Carte des cotes de l'Amerique Meridionale depuis le parallele 36030' late. sud jusqu'au Cap de Horn. Levee en 1789, 1790 &c. par des officiers de la Marine d'Espagne et publiee par ordre du Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, au Depot general de la Marine en 1800*. Not an exact copy. See 1798 above, and 1802.

1801 – in **February**, in London, tentative talks commence to bring the Anglo-French war to an end. [3536]

"The negotiation for peace,.. between M. Otto on the part of France, and Lord Hawkesbury, our secretary of state for the home department,... was carried on with profound and admirable secrecy on both sides." [3537]

From South Georgia, *Aspasia* (Fanning) sails for Canton in China with 57,000 seal skins. [3538]

February 28th, at Soledad, Comandante Francisco Javier de Viana writes a letter.

"In the first few years of the 19th century, the Spanish name for the Falklands changed from "Maluinas" (a Hispanicisation of the French Malouines) to "Malvinas", but since "v" is bilabial in Spanish, the change was even smaller than might appear. The first use of the new spelling ... is from a letter by Comandante Francisco Javier de Viana dated 28 February 1801; ..." [3539]

March 19th, in Paris, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, now 71 years old and still believing that France has superior title to the Falkland Islands, becomes aware of the negotiations taking place in London. Bougainville writes to his Foreign Ministry to propose a French return to the archipelago. [3540]

> *"30,000 Frenchmen, established on these islands would ensure to the Metropole (Paris) a vast trade in the two oceans, and this settlement would also serve to form the training school indispensable for sailors of a navy such as the French Navy should be. No time is more suitable than now for Spain to renounce in our favour her **imaginary** right to these islands and for England to **consent** to this concession."* [3541]

"The Bougainville memorial clearly considered the islands Spanish and not British." [3542]

"Even Louis de Bougainville, ... Senator of France in 1799, advised Napoleon to obtain, from England, a base for the French Navy on the Islands, alleging that England rather than Spain was their lawful owner." [3543]

March 31st, at Soledad, Lt. Don Ramón Fernández y Villegas takes command of the garrison.

"Spain began to find it increasingly hard to maintain her overseas possessions. The supply situation at Puerto Soledad, never good at the best of times, began to get critical. Commandant Ramón Fernández y Villegas, who served only one tour of duty (March 1801 to March 1802) ordered fuel (mainly diddle-dee) to be conserved for essential purposes such as boiling down seal blubber, and ordered the training of horses to be accelerated because the tamed horses available were in poor condition. Low morale led to fraud and deceit – livestock were sold to passing ships for personal profit by storekeepers, soldiers and prisoners ..." [3544]

3536 Now known as the French Revolutionary War, a number of other European nations were involved including Spain.

3537 *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1801* J. Dodsley (pub.) 1802. Officially, Louis Guillaume Otto was the French Commissioner for the exchange of prisoners; in reality Citizen Talleyrand's agent in Britain. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, was Foreign Secretary and the son of Charles Jenkinson of the Privy Council Committee which had overseen the development of the Southern Whale Fishery in the 1780's. And which had considered the legal status of the Falklands in 1789 (see above).

3538 Dickinson 2007 pp.63-64. Fanning's 57,000 seal skins was a record never again equalled.

3539 *The Falklands Saga: From the Beginning to 1831* Graham Pascoe 2024 2nd edition vol.1 citing Gomez Langenheim 1939 vol.1 pp.179/183. Pascoe notes that "*Malvinas*" became common from 1806.

3540 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.1543 citing *Aff. étr., Mémoires et documents. Indes occidentales 17/14 f° 257, 28 ventôse, an IX.* Surprisingly Martin-Allanic would seem to have been unaware of the demands made during the negotiations leading up to the Amiens treaty. See below.

3541 Quoted in *La Primera Unión del Sur, Orígenes de la Frontera Austral Argentino-Chilena Patagonia, Islas Malvinas y Antártida, Buenos Aires* Diego Luis Molinari 1961 p.67. Also Cawkell 2001 p.27. My emphasis.

3542 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.90. Bougainville clearly considered Spanish rights as "*imaginary*".

3543 Peña & Peña 2018

3544 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.345-346

May 29th, in London, negotiations resume between Otto and Lord Hawkesbury for a treaty of peace. [3545]

"*... between the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic (on the one Part); and his Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (on the other Part).*" [3546]

In Britain, responsibility for the Colonies is transferred to the 'War and Colonial Office'.

July 31st, at Puerto Soledad, salt meat is introduced in the diet following an unforeseen reduction in cattle. [3547]

"... an investigation was opened with the intervention of the general inspector due to the unjustifiable decline reflected by the numbers of the rodeo and the backlog of the accounts – which were objected—, requesting a report on the inquiries made to establish the causes of the mismanagement, with the purpose of establishing responsibilities and applying punishments. Apart from the risk that scurvy would be unleashed, the administrative zeal to avoid any exaggerated or inappropriate expense and the objective of extreme savings in all branches weighed its own in the research effort. The main reasons stated were two. On the one hand, the inexperience of most of the officials stationed on the islands: their naval antecedents did not qualify them for an adequate knowledge of the rural tasks of raising and caring for cattle, and the periodic changes in their posting prevented them acquiring (the skills) by reducing their chances of exercising adequate controls. And on the other, the fact that these tasks were in the hands of the inmates who had not only been practising them for years, but also knew – it was claimed – all the ways of committing fraud." [3548]

In Britain, cartographer John Cary publishes *A New Chart of the World on Mercator Projection*. [3549]

September 7th, in London, negotiations continue for preliminary articles of peace. Article 13 of the proposals refer to a French demand for the; *"... cession of an establishment for the fishery in the Malouine isles."* [3550]

> *"The French plenipotentiary having communicated to Lord Hawkesbury, the projet of a preliminary treaty which had been sent to him by his Government, and the British Minister of State having on this subject taken the advice of his Britannic Majesty's Council, the discussion was opened between the two plenipotentiaries, who agreed on following, article by article, the aforesaid projet, and on committing to paper such observations as it might admit of. ... Arts. XIII and XIV containing dispositions relative to particular transactions, and to civil rights: Lord Hawkesbury acquainted Citizen Otto that these articles had been submitted to the consideration of the High Chancellor of the Crown, who will give his opinion to the cabinet. Citizen Otto declared, that conformable to a dispatch he had just received, it was especially enjoined to him to comprehend the allies of the republic in the dispositions of the 13th and 14th articles, on condition of a just reciprocity for Great Britain."* [3551]

3545 Boyle 1835 vol.2

3546 *Annual Register* 1802 p.608. The extent of Spanish involvement at this stage of negotiation is unclear.

3547 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.116 citing *Office of Francisco Tomas de Estrada to the Marquis of Avilés, July 31, 1801* in *AGN IX 17. 01. 01*

3548 *Ibid.* p.148 citing *Informe del visitador general Diego de la Vega al virrey del Pino, Bue-nos Aires, 13 de marzo de 1804. AGN IX 17. 01. 01*. It was suggested that the prisoners caring for the cattle, had been killing them and selling the meat to passing whalers.

3549 See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1801-a-new-chart-of-the-world-on-mercator-projection-by-john-cary-london.jpg

3550 *Pieces Officielles relatives Aux Preliminaires de Londres et Au Traite D'Amiens – A Paris, de L'Imprimerie de la Republique An XI* translated as the *Official Papers Relative to the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens published at Paris by Authority of the French Government* 1803. Translation printed for J. Debrett May 30, 1803 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/official_papers_relative_to_the_prelimin.pdf

3551 *The Whole Correspondence between the Governments of Great Britain and France, prior to the signature of the Definitive Treaty of Peace:... French Official Papers relative to the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens.*

"... Napoleon ... dared to claim the Falklands in preliminary negotiations of the Peace of Amiens, ..." [3552]

Lord Hawkesbury rejects the articles. France's negotiator accepts, without discussion, their deferment.

"It seems that the articles proposed by Mr. Otto and rejected by Lord Hawkesbury had intended to state: 1. the exchange of islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon against part of the island of Newfoundland; 2. the cession of a fishing establishment in the Falkland Islands; 3. Fishermen neutrality in wartime." [3553]

"... British bloggers maintain that in these negotiations, the French government made its first request for the Falklands/Malvinas. This assertion is not consistent with official French documents, Napoleon Bonapart's correspondence, nor French parliamentary records, which make no mention to the Falkland/Malvinas..." [3554]

October 1st, in London, preliminary articles are agreed and signed by Lord Hawksbury, for Britain, and Citizen Louis Guillaume Otto for France and its allies. Article 13 now only refers to the fisheries of Newfoundland and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence; deferring a final arrangement regarding these until the definitive treaty. The agreement is accompanied by an official cessation of hostilities, which includes the allies of both France and Britain.

October 4th, in Paris, notices that preliminary articles have been agreed are posted around the city.

> *"The Commissaries of the Police of Paris, escorted by detachments of light infantry and dragoons, preceded by drums and trumpets, and surrounded on all sides by innumerable crowds of citizens, traversed the principal streets and squares, proclaiming in the midst of torches the news of the signature of Preliminaries."* [3555]

In Canton, China, *Betsy* (Cartwright) arrives with 14,000 seal skins taken from South Georgia. [3556]

October 31st, in Britain, King George III appoints the Marquis Cornwallis as plenipotentiary to a congress to be held at Amiens; providing him with full instructions based upon the agreements already reached; *"The terms in which the Preliminary Articles are drawn up appear, ... to be so little susceptible of any Amendment that you will propose to adopt them without any other alterations than those which are usual in reducing Preliminary Articles into a definitive Treaty. ..."* [3557]

November 4th, at Puerto Soledad, a new brick built church is consecrated; *"One small positive development ... at long last the stone chapel was finished,..."* [3558]

This was added as an appendix to *The Correspondence between Great Britain and France on the subject of the late Negotiation presented by His Majesty's Command to Both Houses of Parliament 18th May, 1803 to which are added His Majesty's Declaration and Copies of the Preliminary and Definitive Treaties of Peace.* Printed for John Stockdale 1803.

3552 Molinari 1961

3553 *Histoire abrégée des Traités de Paix, entre les puissances de l'Europe, depuis la paix de Westphalie* Christophe Koch 1817 p.132

3554 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 pp.65-66. The Falklands article was first noted by Argentine historian Diego Molinari in his 1961 book (see footnote above). Kohen & Rodríguez (2017) cite the Stockdale publication, but fail to mention the work printed by Debrett (a translation of the French original); of which they were made aware by one "*British blogger*" - me.

3555 *Royal Cornwall Gazette* October 17, 1801

3556 Dickinson 2007 pp.63-64

3557 *Papers concerning the negotiation of the Treaty of Amiens by Lords Cornwallis* in *U269/O199/1* held at Kent History & Library Centre, Maidstone.

3558 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.345-346

November 12th, Lt. Francisco Javier de Viana writes to the Secretary of State for the Marine to say that he is suffering from scurvy.

"26 months of the cruel and arduous destiny of exile in Soledad de Maluinas have caused in my mind ills of such a nature that in addition to depriving me of the satisfaction of being able to continue such honourable profession, they go so far as to deprive me even of the hope of recovery; those are, Your Excellency, a drastic scorbutic disorder and a considerable increase in the constant nervous affliction that I suffer from." [3559]

December 1st, at Amiens, Lord Cornwallis arrives for the peace talks; due to commence on the 9th.

December 17th, a '*Projet of the Definitive Treaty*', is sent from Amiens to London, for the attention of Lord Hawksbury.

December 26th, at Amiens, unexpectedly, French officials present further conditions for a definitive peace treaty; repeating demands previously rejected.

> *"It will be also granted to the French Republic, to promote fisheries in the South Seas, an Establishment in the Malouines Isles or Falkland, which will be defined by a subsequent convention."*[3560]

December 27th, Lord Cornwallis informs London of the renewed French demands. [3561]

"At the end of the old year he (Napoleon) put out a counter project, amounting almost to a new treaty, claiming extended fishing rights in Newfoundland, the restoration of the fortifications of Pondicherry at British expense, an establishment in the Falkland Islands and the abolition of the right of salute at sea… Cornwallis and Hawkesbury had the utmost difficulty in resisting these claims." [3562]

At the Falkland Islands, *Betsy* hunts; also sowing a variety of vegetable seeds around the archipelago. At South Georgia, British sealers *Duke of Kent, Earl Spencer*, *Sprightly* and *Dragon* hunt seals; as does *Favourite* out of Nantucket. [3563]

3559 Quoted in Pascoe 2024 2nd. edition vol.1 citing *Investigaciones y Ensayos* Laurio H. Destéfani 1968 p.278
3560 *PRO 30/11/264 p.76V*
3561 *Cornwallis to Hawkesbury No.18* in PRO *30/11/264*
3562 *The Years of Endurance: 1793-1802* Arthur Bryant 1942
3563 *Memoirs of Joseph Holt, General of the Irish Rebels, in 1798* Joseph Holt & Thomas Croker 1838 p.353

1802 – January 1st, from London, Lord Hawkesbury writes to Cornwallis at Amiens.

> *"… I cannot refrain from expressing the surprise which has been felt here on observing that this French Government, after having professed their Determination to adhere to the Preliminaries, should have thought proper to introduce so much new matter into the Contre Projet of the Definitive Treaty, particularly as His Majesty had cautiously avoided bringing any <u>new</u> pretensions in the Projet which you presented in His name. …* [3564]
>
> *There are six points in the Contre Projet of the French Government which are either wholly new or were discussed and positively rejected before the signature of the Preliminaries …*
>
> *2dly. The Arrangements for the Newfoundland Fisheries. The French Projet proposes that His Majesty should cede in full Sovereignty the most important part of the Island of Newfoundland in consideration of the Barren Rocks of St. Pierre and Miquelon. An article to the same effect was introduced into the first Projet of the Preliminary Treaty presented by the French Government and was rejected by His Majesty – He will not consent to cede any part of His Territory in this quarter, nor to extend the limits of the French Fisheries….*
>
> *3dly. The Proposition respecting an Establishment in **Falklands Island**. This Article was likewise brought forward in the Projet of Preliminaries and **likewise** rejected – it cannot therefore form a part of the Definitive Treaty. …"* [3565]

January 16th, Lord Hawkesbury writes again, with regard to the absence of the Spanish Ambassador.

> *"It is with the greatest degree of surprise, that I find … that there appears to be no Prospect of the arrival of a Spanish Minister at Amiens, and though more than three months have elapsed since the signature of the Preliminaries, His Majesty has as yet received no Intimation of the Spanish Government having acceded, or being even ready to accede to that Treaty. This conduct on the Part of Spain is the more extraordinary as His Majesty had the forbearance to extend in the first Instance the Benefits of the Armistice to Spain, and that from the beginning of October to the present Period, they have been participating in all the Advantages of a Cessation of Hostilities. …"* [3566]

Hawkesbury urges Cornwallis to pressure the French to do something about their missing ally.

"… to take without Delay the most effective means of bringing the Spanish Government to a distinct Declaration of its Intentions, … with respect to the definitive Treaty. You will observe that the non-accession of Spain to the Preliminaries, after so long a lapse of time, might fairly be considered by His Majesty as a Rejection of them and would justify Him in renewing Hostilities against that Power. … Your Lordship cannot fail to perceive the expediency of making this communication through the Channel of the French Government, on a consideration of the Principles on which the negotiation of the Preliminary Articles and of the definitive Treaty, have throughout been conducted, and on account of the French Government having fully admitted themselves to be responsible for the cessions of their Allies." [3567]

3564 Original emphasis – underlined 3 times.

3565 In *U269/O199/1* at Maidstone *op.cit*. Also *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis* Charles Ross 1859 vol.3 p.426. My emphasis. This rejection has to be read in the context of the previous paragraph; ie. rejected because the British King would not agree to extend the limits of the French fisheries. Noteworthy, perhaps, that while the demand had referred to the *Malouines* (plural), George III only refused consent when it came to '*Falklands Island.*'

3566 *Ibid.* Spain's envoy, the Marquis de Azara, seems to have suffered a succession of '*political*' illnesses which delayed his arrival at Amiens until early February.

3567 *Ibid.*

January 19th, at Amiens, Lord Cornwallis deals with the French demands of December 26th. [3568]

> *"As to what related to 1. The exchange of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for a part of the island of Newfoundland, 2.* ***The cession of an establishment for the fishery in the Malouines Isles****, 3. The neutrality of fishers in time of war, Lord Cornwallis said, that these articles having been presented and rejected before the signing of the preliminaries, could not be reproduced with greater success."* [3569]

French negotiators withdraw the three demands; *"Citizen J. Bonaparte declared in turn that he was desisting from the demands of the three articles."* [3570]

"Joseph Bonaparte retira ces trois demandes, sur l'observation que lui fit lord Cornwallis, qu'elles avoicnt été présentées et rejetées avant la signature des préliminaires." [3571]

"... the question of sovereignty over the Falklands/Malvinas does not arise. Cornwallis' reply was as Hawkesbury had ordered: the issues had already been discussed in the preliminary negotiations. That is to say, both of them considered these issues as a whole and having only one purpose: fishing." [3572]

"French negotiators withdrew their request, but the fact remains that France envisaged England as the power entitled to carry out final arrangements about the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, and England saw itself entitled to do so and acted accordingly. The denial of the French request to establish a naval base in the archipelago provides further indication of Great Britain's will to maintain ownership and return to the islands at some future time. ... it may well be sustained that the ... British refusal to set a French base in the Malouines ... amounted to an act of possession that interrupted any ongoing statute of limitation." [3573]

January 21st, in the Falkland Islands, *Anna Josepha* (McLean), en-route from Sydney to Cape Town, stops at Hope Bay. One of the passengers, Lieut. James Grant RN, notes the presence of American sealers, including *Washington*; *"... her commander, Jedediah Fitz, ..."* [3574]

"He had planted a garden here, as was the custom with vessels visiting this place, and he brought some potatoes fresh dug from it, which he recommended me to taste, after setting me an example. I complied, and

---

3568 This episode is little known or understood. To sum it up, Bougainville, old but still respected, had raised the issue of reasserting a French claim in his letter of 1801; a letter which dismissed Spanish rights to the Falklands as "*imaginary*", and which noted a requirement for British consent. In taking this up, the French government demanded an establishment from Britain; not from Spain, its ally. Clear recognition that France still considered that the British had rights in the Falklands archipelago dating from 1771. How much the Spanish government knew before Amiens, is unknown. All the documents were subsequently published by France in 1803, so there can be no doubt that Spain became aware. I can find no evidence of a Spanish protest. Despite a few maps suggesting otherwise, it should be remembered that in the 30 years following 1771, Spain had at no time raised its flag over the western Falkland Islands.

3569 *Official Papers Relative to the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens...* 1803 Part II p.8. My emphasis. A very public act of sovereignty.

3570 *Ibid.*

3571 Koch 1817 p.136 – "*Joseph Bonaparte withdrew these three requests on Lord Cornwallis's observation that they had been presented and rejected before the signing of the preliminaries."*

3572 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.67. Britain's refusal was clearly an act of territorial sovereignty. 1771's *status quo* had not been forgotten by either France or England. No complaint from Spain, must be taken as tacit acknowledgement.

3573 Peña & Peña 2018

3574 *The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery ...* James Grant 1803 p.176. Hope Bay was also known as West Point. *Anna Josepha* remained at Hope Bay for 6 days, before sailing for the Cape of Good Hope. See - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/the-narrative-of-a-voyage-of-discovery-e280a6-james-grant-1803.pdf

must say I have never before taken a more unpalatable medicine. He made use of the young leaves of the common dock, boiling them as cabbage, to eat with his meat." [3575]

"... Lt James Grant recording a visit to West Point Island wrote: "Some of our people, as I suspect, had wantonly set fire to the fussock (sic), and there being a breeze the flames spred (sic) with great fury, so that our endeavors to extinguish it proved ineffectual. Although we had heavy rain for two days, yet I observed it was still burning". Grant was clearly concerned about the fire and noted how great the destruction this burning caused to wildlife. This was not a common sentiment among the early voyagers to the Islands and there are several accounts of tussock being fired." [3576]

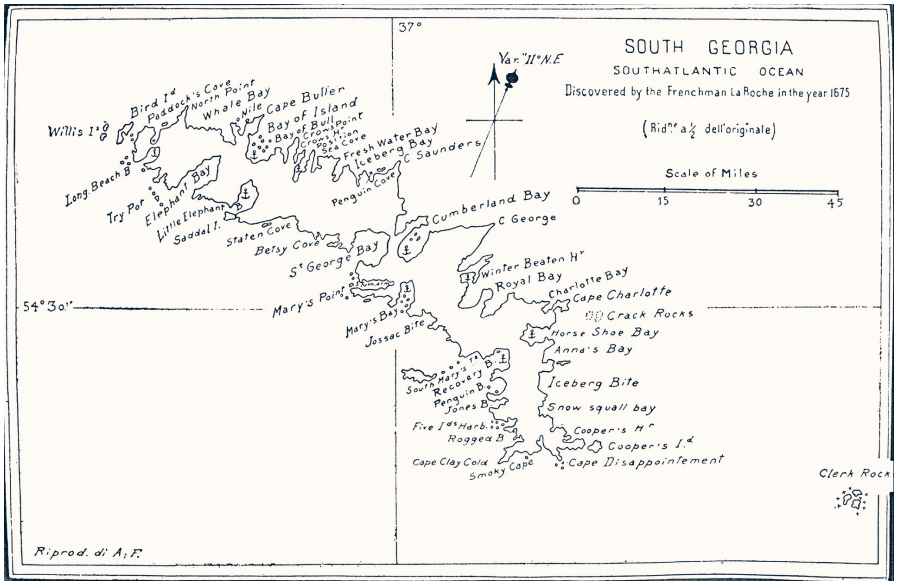
January 31st, at Puerto Soledad, an American ship, *Juno* (Kendrick) stops off for the purpose of taking on water. Kendrick tells Lt. Villegas that he was advised to do so by the Spanish Consul in the USA. Villegas writes to Buenos Aires for advice. [3577]

February 16th, at South Georgia, British sealer, *Earl Spencer,* is lost.[3578]

In Canton, China, *Hope* (Ray) arrives with 34,000 seal skins taken from South Georgia. [3579]

March 17th, at Soledad, Lt. Don Bernardo de Bonavía takes command of the *presidio*.

Capt. Isaac Pendleton (USA) publishes a map of South Georgia to assist sealers (right).



March 27th, at Amiens, after a marathon five hour negotiating session, a peace treaty is signed at 3am. [3580]

"When peace was signed, most of the British conquests from Spain were restored to her; but the settlement in Honduras, like that of the Falkland Islands, was not given up, and continued on the same footing as any other possession under the British Crown." [3581]

May 4th, from Buenos Aires, Villegas' January request for advice is finally answered. The instruction is to obey general orders and eject foreign vessels. [3582]

3575 *Ibid.* p.180
3576 *Tussac Grass in the Falklands* I. J. Strange, C. J. Parry., M. C. Parry, R. W. Woods 1988
3577 Vernet 1832
3578 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards. *Earl Spencer* had sailed from England on May 15, 1801
3579 Dickinson 2007 pp.63-64.
3580 The peace with France would last just 14 months; that with Spain a little longer. See 1804
3581 *Frelinghuysen to Lowell Dept. of State May 5, 1883 no. 225* quoting *Granville to the British Ministry in Washington December 30. 1882*
3582 Vernet 1832. Villegas had already departed.

June 22nd, at the Rio Negro, on the South American mainland, a sloop from an American ship, Diana, enters to obtain fresh water - only to be ordered away by the port's commander; *"The sloop obeyed immediately, abandoning the pilot and six sailors."* [3583]

October 8th, in Buenos Aires, an independent news journal – *Telégrafo Mercantil* – is closed by the Viceroy.

"Many historical sources consider that an article on the state of Government of the Malvinas was received badly in high places..." [3584]

In London, William Fadden publishes a chart (detail on next page) of South America – *Chart of the Coasts of South America From Rio de la Plata to Cape Horn, And From Cape Horn to Valparayso, Including The Isles of Juan Fernandes*.

> *"The "First Correct Delineation of a Great Part of the Shores" of South America, based upon the most important Spanish Scientific Expedition of the 18th Century.*"

The archipelago is named as Falkland's Islands, with West Island and East Island noted. While the chart includes a map of Berkeley Sound, there is no indication of the presence of a Spanish garrison. [3585]

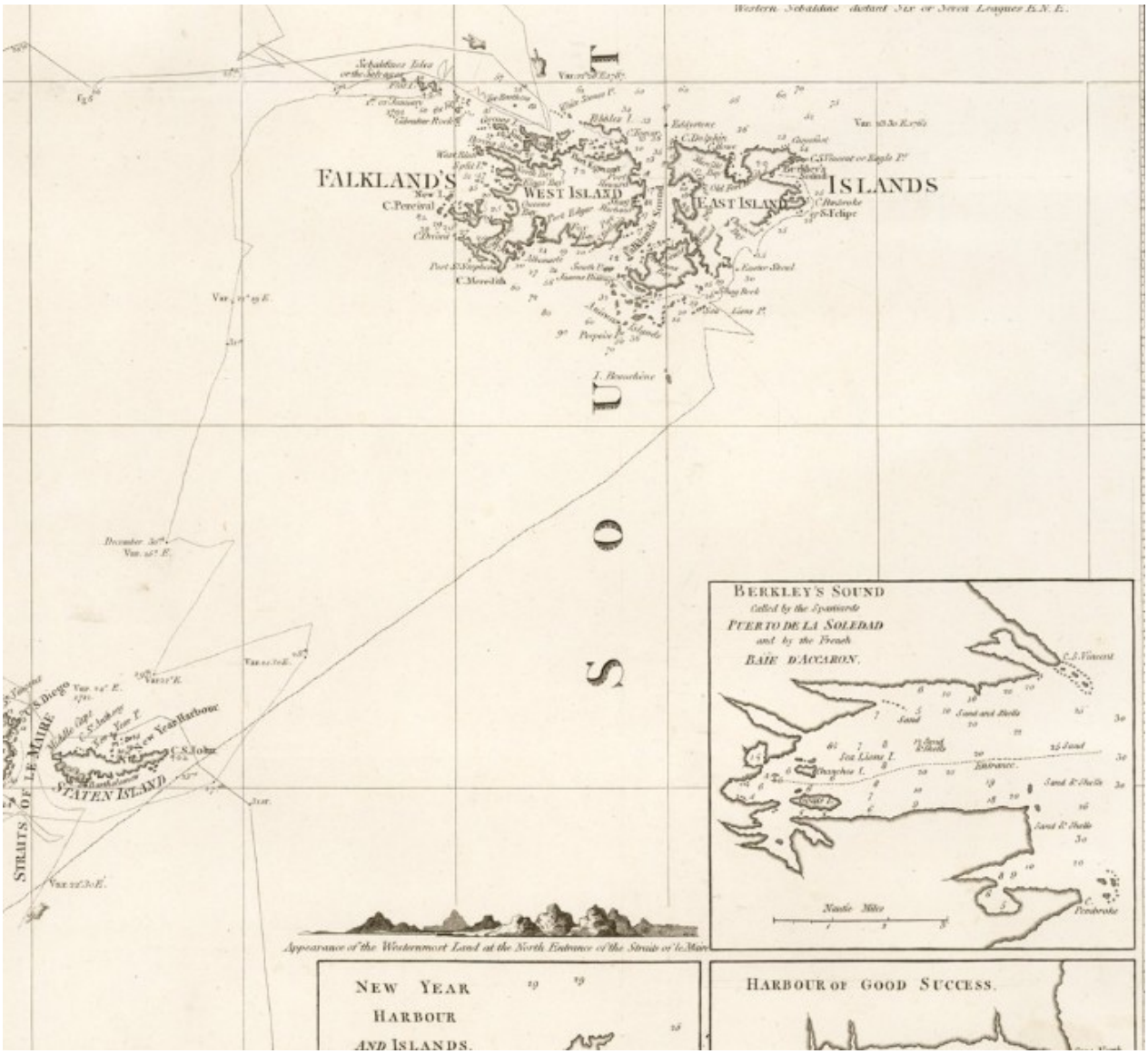
"The Spanish chart from which almost the whole of the present is a faithful copy has been geometrically surveyed by royal order in the years 1789, 90, 94, and 95; and presented to his Catholic Majesty in 1798 by Don Juan de Langara, minister of marine. That excellent original extends only from the parallel of 36° 30' of south latitude to Cape Horn, and goes not beyond the meridian of 76° 42' west of Greenwich. A greater extension given to this copy in latitude and longitude has enabled us to insert the Isles of Juan Fernandes, which are of some interest to our navigators in the South Sea. We have added, besides, various plans of harbours and roads, appearances of land, tracks of ships, with their soundings, &c. and several other particulars. ... The Spanish survey here mentioned must be that by Malaspina, whose name, we understand, is, on account of some slight difference or jealousy, affectedly passed in silence by the Spanish council of marine. The present chart is extremely interesting, as it is founded on the first correct delineation of a great part of the shores of the new continent; and it varies considerably from the charts and maps before published. ...." [3586]

3583 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278

3584 *El Virreino y los Virreyes* Agustin Pieroni 2015 p.275. The article referred to was entitled – *Circunstancias en que se halla la provincia de Buenos Aires e Islas Malvinas y modo de repararse* (Circumstances in which are the province of Buenos Aires and Falkland Islands and how to fix). Sadly I am unable to find a copy of the article. Another reason put forward for the journal's closure was that the editor had criticised some naval officers.

3585 Another William Faden copy of a Spanish chart, albeit with some details renamed. See 1798 above.

3586 *The Critical Review; or Annals of Literature* 1802 vol.34 p.585-86. Malaspina, however, still languished in a Spanish gaol, although he would be released later in 1802.



1803 – in **January**, at the harbour of Port Egmont, an American ship out of Rhode Island, *Eleonora* (Edmund Cole), anchors off Saunders Island. Crew member, Benjamine Peak, a victim of smallpox, is buried.[3587]

March 10th, from Montevideo, Gerardo Bordas, commanding the merchantman *Nuestra Senora de Belén,* sails for Puerto Soledad. [3588] The cost of the *presidio* on Soledad Island is put at 24,564 pesos. [3589]

On Soledad Island, Lt. Bernardo de Bonavía notes the continuing reduction in cattle numbers. He also complains to Buenos Aires that the Dominican priest is a "*chronic drunkard*". [3590]

April 18th, at the Soledad garrison, Lt. Don Antonio Leal de Ibarra y Oxinando, commander of the corvette *Atrevida*, takes over as *comandante gobernador*.

3587 *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River: being a narrative of the expedition fitted out by John Jacob Astor to establish the Pacific Fur Company* Alexander Ross 1849
3588 The vessel had been in regular use as a mail and supply ship since 1781.
3589 Torrente 1829. Listed under the expenses of Buenos Aires.
3590 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.347

April 17th, Bordas arrives at Soledad with the garrison's stores for the year. [3591]

May 17th, Britain returns to war with France. [3592]

July 10th, at Puerto Deseado, the fish drying factory, together with its operating company, *Compañía Marítima*, closes down; ending Spain's attempt to operate a profitable fishing business off the Patagonian coast. [3593]

1804 – February 25th, in Montevideo, a suggestion is put forward that the frigates used to supply the Soledad garrison be replaced by two smaller corvettes. [3594]

March 13th, a report from the Soledad garrison confirms that only 199 cattle remain on the island. [3595]

"Two pieces of information allow us to glimpse an explanation that is not satisfied with attributing all the blame to the prison peons. The first is the low level of remuneration of the personnel stationed in Malvinas, ... Second, the life and liberty of the prisoners ... were in the hands of the prison guards. In short, the organization of an illegal maneuver of systematic cattle abduction known to all, sustained for years, and never investigated or deactivated, far exceeded the intervention capacity of some prisoner laborers and required the participation of other people." [3596]

March 21st, at Puerto Soledad, Lt. Bernardo de Bonavía returns to the command.

June 9th, from the Thames river in England, a newly coppered whaling ship, *Cyrus* (West), sails for the Southern Whale Fishery grounds.

"... Captain West fell in with the whaler Samuel, of Nantucket, under Captain Gideon Gardner, and the two vessels sailed in company to the Falkland Islands, where they stayed several days. ... they found five men living ashore who were "without any ship or anything to live upon other than what they caught daily... Captain West.. took two of the castaways and the Samuel took the other three." [3597]

In **October**, in London, MP Sir Home Riggs Popham writes to Prime Minister Pitt outlining the advantages to be had if the British assist the Spanish colonies in gaining their independence, identifying; *"the riches that it would bring in, and new sources that it would open for our manufactures and navigation"*. [3598]

December 12th, after 18 months of disputed neutrality, and under pressure from France, Spain once again declares war with Britain.

3591 No reason was put forward for a journey of over five weeks.

3592 A resumption of the Napoleonic wars. Committed to an *"offensive and defensive"* alliance with France by a 1796 treaty, Spain avoided involvement by reinterpreting the language of the treaty. Spain would resist until December, 1804.

3593 Shaw 2008. This company also had the rights to transport goods between Buenos Aires and Soledad although it is not clear whether that option had ever been taken up. *cf.* Sept 1789, June 1792 & 1806

3594 *Leg. 36 Doc.154*

3595 *Informe del visitador general Diego de la Vega al virrey del Pino, Bue-nos Aires, 13 de marzo de 1804. AGN IX 17. 01. 01.* In 1794, the count had been 5,033. Bernhardson 1989 p.138 gives the 1804 total as 235 citing *AGN VII 2-3-3*

3596 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.149. In other words, the cattle were being killed and sold off to passing ships.

3597 Stackpole 1972 p.274

3598 Williams 1935

1805 – in **February**, at South Georgia, British ships *Swift* and *Young William* hunt seals. [3599]

March 21st, at Soledad, Lt. Don Antonio Leal de Ibarra y Oxinando takes over command.

October 21st, a naval battle takes place off Cape Trafalgar in Spain. Britain's victory reduces the capacity of Spain to communicate with South America; firmly establishing British naval supremacy in the Atlantic. Lord Horatio Nelson, who had joined the navy during the Falklands crisis of 1770, is killed during the battle.

> *"On the appearance of hostilities relative to the Falkland Islands, in the year 1770, Mr. H. Nelson left the school at North Walsham, and, at twelve years of age, was received on board the Raisonable, 64 guns, by his maternal uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling."* [3600]

November 15th, at Soledad Island, *St. Augustin*, a Spanish ship (*Talquino*) seized by a British privateer off the coast of Chile and bound for England, stops off to take on fresh water. The prize crew and ship are taken prisoner by a small Spanish force on horseback, sent out from the Soledad garrison to reconnoitre the coasts of East Falkland.

"Your Excellency having sent 6 armed men to cross the southern coasts of this island to surprise enemies, who on several occasions have been sighted ... I was informed by the brigade gunner and corporal Pedro Ramon Pando de Neyra, that at 7 in the morning of November 15 last, enemies were on the coast called Puerto de los Leones y Los Pajaros, ..; that following cautious observations he saw the enemies on the land of this island, whom he easily surrounded using the horses, and seized without resistance, and also seizing a large boat that they had on the beach, he did the same with a ship that it was a medium brig, capable of over 250 tons, that the enemies anchored on a nearby island called Santa Isabel. They are prisoners with the captain and the English crew of the said brig called San Agustin, alias the 'Talguinon', captured from the Spaniards on the coast of Talca, with Xaime Morlec captain of the corsair named the Antilop, and headed to the island of Santa Elena, to go from her by convoy to London. Harassed by necessity they had arrived and gone down to land to get water. The captain of the dam is called Andres Jonson, ..." [3601]

"There was no official reaction by Great Britain in regard to acts of enforcement performed by Spain against the sailors of the British Crown visiting the islands..." [3602]

November 25th, ten days after being captured, *St. Augustin* is wrecked on the coast of East Falkland. [3603]

3599 Both vessels were owned by *Bennet & Co* and had sailed together from England on June 11, 1804

3600 *The Globe* November 7, 1805. Spain lost 11 ships together with over 6,000 of its naval forces dead, wounded or captured. *cf.* 1770

3601 Part of a report number 239 of February 26, 1806 from the commander of the '*Maluinas*', received at Buenos Aires on May 9, 1806 (second page is missing). British privateer *Antelope* (James Mortlock) had been operating off the coast of Chile near Valparaiso in early October, 1805. Reported to have taken two brigs as prizes there. *Antelope* was itself captured by a Spanish ship on October 13, 1805, with Mortlock and 15 crew killed. Translation by Fabian Turcato.

3602 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.56. Ridiculous statement. Britain and Spain were at war.

3603 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150167330.* Circumstances not stated. Reported on February 22, 1806, by Gerado Bordas, who was commissioned to fetch the equipment and stores salvaged from the wreck.

1806 – January 4th, at Puerto Soledad, *Nuestra Senora del Carmen* (Bordas?), arrives with garrison stores.

February 22nd, at Montevideo, Gerardo Bordas returns with the British prize crew from *St. Augustin*. [3604]

March 20th, at Puerto Soledad, Lt. Bernardo de Bonavía returns to command the garrison.

From London, Commodore Home Riggs Popham at the Cape Colony receives an order to patrol the east coast of South America from Rio de Janeiro to the Rio de la Plata.[3605]

"This objective was simple and brought him closer to his desired goal: the Río de la Plata. Only the military commander at the Cape, Sir David Baird, could thwart his will. Popham needed to bring Beresford's troops, Baird's subordinate, to land and take military control of the port to be conquered. He convinced both with a simple deal: they would divide the portion of the loot that did not go to London. The expedition offered no risk; The naval victory at Trafalgar in October 1805 had made the English absolute masters of the seas; moreover, Napoleon's alliance with Charles IV, King of Spain, was already a reality. Popham believed these circumstances would protect him from his superiors." [3606]

April 14th, from the Cape, Popham and Beresford sail for South America. [3607]

June 25th, at the Rio de la Plata, some 15 km from Buenos Aires, Commodore Popham lands 1,560 troops and marines under the command of General Beresford. Spain's Viceroy, the Marquis Rafael de Sobremonte, together with the treasury, flees to Córdoba. En-route, the treasury caravan is ambushed by British troops. [3608]

June 27th, largely unopposed, Buenos Aries – with some 70,000 inhabitants – is occupied by General Beresford's forces.

3604 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa Ref: BMDB20150167330*

3605 Popham had escorted an expedition of 6,300 troops to the Cape to seize it from the Dutch; an action involving little fighting and leaving Popham somewhat bored. With these new orders, Popham saw an opportunity to put into action a plan that he had been working on since 1804 – the seizure of Spanish territory in South America. Informed of discontent in Buenos Aires, Popham promoted William Carr Beresford to General and sailed for the Rio de la Plata. Beresford was designated to be Governor should the territory be taken successfully. None of this had been authorised by the British Government, although it is a matter of conjecture just how much some Ministers knew. Not directly concerned with the Falkland Islands, however, today, Argentines refer to these events as the first 'invasion' by the British – despite there being no Argentina as such in 1806. Context being important, the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata was a Spanish colony and the attacks that followed the arrival of Home Riggs Popham took place during a war with Spain.

3606 *Queridos enemigos: De Beresford a Maradona, la verdadera historia de las relaciones ingleses y argentinaos* Ema Cibotti 2006 p.17

3607 Before sailing, Bereford sent a letter to London requesting instructions on what he should do if the expedition was successful. That letter arrived in London on June 24 and was answered a month later stating that Bereford was not, under any circumstances, to offer the inhabitants of Buenos Aires their independence. By the time that instruction reached the Rio de la Plata, Beresford had lost the city and was confined.

3608 Total value some 1.5 million pesos. More than 200 years later, Argentine's are still lamenting the loss; calling it theft.

"On 27 June some 1,600 British troops had captured the second-largest city in Spanish South America and capital of a vast region, the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, which stretched from the Atlantic to the Andes and from Patagonia in the far south to the borders of modern Peru. The idea of capturing Buenos Aires had originated in the fertile mind of Sir Home Riggs Popham, commander of the English fleet that had taken Cape Town from the Dutch earlier in the year. Nevertheless the British government, with the enthusiastic support of commercial and manufacturing interests, decided to back the invasion." [3609]

"It is difficult to assess Popham's true intentions: he barely set foot on the River Plate, was present in the city on a few occasions, and although he signed the capitulation agreement, there is little evidence of how serious his contacts with the Creoles were, as there is in the case of Beresford. Furthermore, the first measure he ordered from the ship was the confiscation of the city treasury, which he sent to London after collecting his share of the loot." [3610]

June 28th, Britain's flag is raised over Buenos Aires.

"The ten-article capitulation agreement established the conditions that the victor imposed on the inhabitants of Buenos Aires and bore the signatures of the two English commanders, Beresford and Popham. On the Spanish side, Brigadier De la Quintana, Francisco Lezica, and Anselmo Sáenz Valiente, the last two members of the Cabildo, signed the agreement. The negotiations took three days of discussion, and everything indicates that it was Guillermo White, a well-known speculator of Anglo-American origin, who some believe was also a spy, who managed to bring the parties together. ... Beresford ... demanded the surrender of weapons in the possession of the population, declared the death penalty for those who encouraged English soldiers to desert, and clarified that slaves remained subject to their owners." [3611]

An initial attempt to dislodge Beresford is repelled.

"Accordingly, a man of the name of Pueridon, having got together about fifteen hundred men, advanced with nine field pieces against Buenos Ayres: General Beresford, with five hundred men, met him about twelve miles from the town, dispersed the insurgents, and brought back in triumph the whole of their artillery." [3612]

In a Buenos Airean government warehouse, General Beresford discovers the lead plate stolen from Fort George on Saunders Island in 1776. Beresford sends it to Commodore Popham. [3613]

"Not a word was said when in 1806-1807 British officials (sic) invaded Buenos Aires and found the leaden plaque left behind in the once-British settlement. Another question is why Great Britain, when attempting to conquer the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata, did not take any action against Spain's presence in the only territory that supposedly was British." [3614]

3609 *Britain and Latin America in historical perspective* Leslie Bethell 1989 in *Britain and Latin America: a changing relationship* Victor Bulmer-Thomas (ed.) 1989

3610 Cibotti 2006 p.17

3611 *Ibid*. p.21

3612 *An Authentic Narrative Of The Proceedings Of The Expedition Under The Command Of Brigadier - Gen. Craufurd , Until Its Arrival At Monte Video; With An Account Of The Operations Against Buenos Ayres Under The Command Of Lieut. Gen Whitelocke.* by An Officer Of The Expedition 1809

3613 *Woodbine Parish to Earl Aberdeen November 20, 1830* in *FO 6 499*

3614 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.56. These authors make no attempt to explain why, in the middle of a war, the British Government would feel the need to complain about an act of petty theft committed 30 years earlier? As for East Falkland, some 1000 miles away, a small garrison was hardly a threat. Assuming that the British knew that it was still there.

July 11th, General Beresford issues a proclamation declaring Buenos Aires a free port. [3615]

"The line of conduct he adopted towards the inhabitants was of a conciliatory nature, though, at the same time, he established a strong police for the preservation of good order, and to watch any movements of a suspicious nature." [3616]

"In July, Popham wrote enthusiastic letters to the officials of the manufacturing and commercial centers of England, pointing out the new opportunities, not only in Buenos Aires and Montevideo but also in the whole viceroyalty. To encourage commerce, Beresford abolished all prohibitions and reduced duties, previously 34½ per cent on English products, to 12½ per cent for British subjects and 17½per cent for others." [3617]

"In the short time he was in Buenos Aires, Popham grew to "like the South Americans prodigiously," but this liking was not particularly returned, due to the humiliation felt by the people of that city and to the fact that the English had come as conquerors, not as liberators." [3618]

July 19th, from the Rio de la Plata, HMS *Narcissus* sails for England carrying a report, Popham's letters, one million pesos in gold and silver coins together with other captured goods. Also Clayton's 1774 lead plate. [3619]

On the far side of the river from Buenos Aires, local Spanish commanders gather a second force of some 1,200 men, under the command of Capt. Santiago de Liniers. [3620]

"The surprize by which the American Spaniards had been struck at the first view of English troops, where they had never been seen before, soon wore away; and they were not long in discovering the great advantages they

3615 Pewter medal at the British Museum (M.5282). Stated on the reverse - *"Divine and human laws respected, personal liberty and property assured, free trade extended, protected by Great Britain. Buenos Ayres June 25, 1806"*

3616 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809

3617 Williams 1935

3618 Craine 1961 pp.9-11.

3619 The plate eventually found its way to the Great Store at the Tower of London, where it was destroyed in a fire on October 30, 1841. *cf.* 1774, 1776 & 1841

3620 French by birth, de Liniers had joined Spain's navy during the American Revolutionary War. Promoted to the rank of captain, de Liniers had been posted to the Rio de la Plata in 1788 to organise a flotilla of gunships. Following the death of his first wife in 1790, de Liniers had married into one of Buenos Aires's wealthiest families.

would have in a well conducted insurrection against the invaders. The Viceroy had fled; but there remained men of sufficient consequence to excite a party against the English, and the support they could obtain from Monte Video, in men and arms, was far from being of a trifling nature. " [3621]

August 1st, aware that the Spaniards are preparing to cross the river, Beresford summons Popham, who attempts to move his ships to Buenos Aires despite contrary winds.

"The Spaniards took advantage of this gale to effect their passage across the river; … they passed over the bank called Palmas, about nine miles above the river. Violent rains set in with the gales, the roads were much damaged, and this circumstance, adding to the danger of quitting the town in its present ferment, General Beresford found himself reduced to the necessity of concentrating his defence to the castle and adjacent square." [3622]

August 10th, while Popham attempts a landing, Spanish forces move into the city, towards the fort.

"(Liniers), .., advanced cautiously into the town: and when Sir Home Popham landed on the 11th, he found General Beresford defending with obstinacy the approaches to the Great Square; but the enemy, assisted by the inhabitants within, gradually gained ground in the streets and lodged themselves in the commanding houses. It was now deemed advisable to attempt a retreat over the small river Chieulo, and gain Ensenada, whence a reimbarkation might be effected. The wounded, and some treasure, were first conveyed over; but before any further progress could be made with the few boats in our possession, the Spaniards … opposed it, and Sir Home himself with difficulty escaped to his own vessel." [3623]

August 14th, isolated and unable to retreat, General Beresford surrenders.

"There were two hundred and fifty of (Beresford's) little army killed and wounded; the remainder were made prisoners of war, consisting of a few dragoons and artillery, the 71st Regiment of Infantry, and about one hundred and fifty of the St. Helena Corps; the whole amounted to about fourteen hundred." [3624]

"Angered by subjection, and more interested in overthrowing the English than in commercial prosperity, the citizens of Buenos Aires suddenly attacked and forced Beresford to surrender. As the British fell back on Montevideo, Maldonado and Colonia, to await help from England, the merchants suffered heavy losses, but tried to continue business in the new centres on a lesser scale." [3625]

Commodore Popham removes his ships to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, and blockades it in the hope that reinforcements will arrive from the Cape or England.

"Popham, after helplessly watching the fighting from his ships floating lazily in the Plata river, moved the remnants of the British forces into Maldonado and Colonia to await reinforcements…" [3626]

In Buenos Aires, by popular acclaim, Capt. Santiago de Liniers is declared Commander-in-Chief.

In Paris, a map of South America is published by Eustache Herrison. [3627]

3621 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809
3622 *Ibid.*
3623 *Ibid.*
3624 *Ibid.* The 71st Regiment of Foot lost both of its Regimental colours which are still on display in Buenos Aires.
3625 Williams 1935
3626 Craine 1961 p.11
3627 See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/1806-lamerique-meridionale-by-eustache-herrison-paris.jpg

September 13th, in London, *The Times* reports; *"By an express which we have just received from Portsmouth we have to congratulate the Public on one of the most important events of the present war ... Buenos Aires at this moment forms a part of the British Empire."* [3628]

September 15th, the *Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser* reports.

> *"We heartily congratulate our countrymen upon this fresh success of our arms. Small as was the force sent against Buenos Ayres, it is sufficient to hold the place till fresh reinforcements are sent. We trust they will be sent immediately."*

September 16th, *The Times* reports:

> *"By such a union we should have a never-failing market for our commodities, and our enemies would be forever deprived of the power of adding the resources of these rich provinces to their other means of annoying us."*

"The recent brilliant acquisition by the British forces under General Beresford and Sir Home Popham of the very important settlement of Buenos Ayres, renders an account of the extensive Viceroyalty to which it gives its name doubly desirable. ... If the limits of the work will admit, it is intended next to introduce succinct accounts of such of the adjacent countries, as, though not included in the political denomination of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, have, nevertheless, natural relations towards it, which make them objects of interest at the present time. .... Peru and Chili on the west; and the unexplored districts of Patagonia to the south; with the Falkland islands and others, scattered in the Atlantic ocean, on the east; are those alluded to." [3629]

September 17th, in London, unaware of Beresford's surrender, an Order in Council declares Buenos Aires to be British and open to trade. [3630]

September 23rd, the *Kentish Weekly Post* reports:

> *"On Saturday morning, the treasure taken from the Spanish settlement, Buenos Ayres, was brought to (London) town in eight wagons, on each of which was a Jack Tar, holding a flag, on which was inscribed the word Treasure; as also on the caravans, RM the initials of Royal Money. They were escorted by the Loyal Britons, commanded by Colonel Alexander Davidson, the rear being brought up by the Clapham Volunteers, commanded by Col. Bestead. ... It was followed through the street by a great concourse of people, with music playing, and colours flying. Each wagon was drawn by six horses. The* ***colours*** *upon the wagons were those* ***taken at Buenos Ayres****."* [3631]

September 26th, London's *Morning Post* reports; *"The reinforcements destined for Buenos Ayres consists of the 36th and 88th regiments, now embarked at Spithead. They are to be conveyed by the Ardent, of 64 guns, Captain Donelly, and several other vessels."* [3632]

"By October, one hundred ships were being fitted out for South America. Government aided by permitting delays of six weeks to a year in the payment of duties ... and by setting aside the monopoly of the South Sea Company." [3633]

3628 Quoted in Bethell 1989. Somewhat premature.
3629 *History of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres;...* S. H. Wilcocke 1807. The limits of the work did not, apparently, allow.
3630 *London Gazette* September 20, 1806
3631 My emphasis. Current location of the captured flags, unknown. The bullion was placed in the bank of England.
3632 The fleet sailed on October 9, 1806; before news of de Liniers victory reached London.
3633 Williams 1935

October 5th, at the Rio de la Plata, reinforcements arrive from the Cape.

"The first of them appeared on the 5th of October, and seven days after, the whole detachment arrived under the command of Lieutenant- Colonel Backhouse of the 47th Infantry. It consisted of two squadrons of the 20th Light Dragoons, one company of Artillery, the 38th and 47th Regiments of Infantry, and a company of the 54th Infantry that had been recovered from the French on board the Volontaire frigate. This armament sailed up to Monte Video, in the expectation of being able, by a co-operative attack of the land and sea forces, to get possession; but it was found impossible to bring the men of war sufficiently near to cover the landing of the troops, or to make any impression on the town. It was now deemed advisable to secure some post on the river, where the detachment could maintain itself until the arrival of additional reinforcements from England, which it was naturally expected would be delayed as little as possible." [3634]

October 11th, from England, reinforcements for Sir Home Popham sail for South America.

"(Samuel Auchmuty) had sailed from Falmouth on the 11th of October, under convoy of the Ardent, 64 (guns), with four squadrons of the 17th Light Dragoons, some artillery, the 40th and 87th Regiments of Infantry, and three companies of the Rifle Corps." [3635]

December 13th, in Spain, an instruction from the Treasury, notes a change in accounting procedures. [3636]

> *"... for the expenditures and payments we shall consider from now onwards the establishment of Malvinas as a ship sailing and all the employees at that destination as depending on the ship,.."* [3637]

At Puerto Deseado, Spain's last outpost on the coast of Patagonia is abandoned, following the failure of a resupply ship to arrive from Buenos Aires. [3638]

1807 – January 5th, British forces arrive at the Rio de la Plata, to join Popham's remaining men and the reinforcements from the Cape. [3639] From Buenos Aires, Santiago de Liniers evacuates his British prisoners,

"On the first appearance of the English reinforcements, General Linier, who had assumed the command of the Spanish forces, removed the prisoners who had been taken with General Beresford, about three hundred miles into the interior of the country, and the men were separated from the officers. General Beresford remonstrated; but these remonstrances proved fruitless; for though General Linier felt inclined to an exchange of prisoners, yet this was very strongly opposed by the civil authorities." [3640]

January 10th, off Montevideo, British ships bombard the town.

January 16th, British troops land some eight miles below Montevideo.

January 20th, Spanish cavalry attack the British force, but are repulsed.

February 3rd, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty attacks the town and port of Montevideo.

3634 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809

3635 *Ibid.*

3636 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.82 citing *AGN Sala X 10-2-10. cf.* 1810

3637 Quoted in *Malvinas: towards an integrating conception* Marcelo Luis Vernet in *The Question of Malvinas Islands and the Bicentennial Argentina* 2011. *cf.* 1810

3638 Shaw 2008. Deseado remained abandoned until occupied by the Argentine Republic in 1881. Haller (2023) gives the date of abandonment as October, 1807, and the reoccupation as 1887. *cf.* 1789, 1792 & 1803

3639 Rear-Admiral Sirling taking command from Popham.

3640 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809. Shortly thereafter, General Beresford and others effected an escape.

February 4th, after 24 hours of fierce fighting, Montevideo's Governor, Ruiz Huidobro, surrenders. [3641]

"The joy of effecting this conquest was not a little damped by the reflection that it had been purchased with the blood of a great number of gallant men, and particularly of officers. This slaughter had been entirely occasioned by the fire of the guns in the depot, which commanded the breach within eighty yards, and disgorged from large calibres grape and landgridge in perfect showers whole sections were brought to the ground at a volley." [3642]

February 7th, further British reinforcements, the 9th Light Dragoons, arrive on *Nereide*. In Buenos Aires, Santiago de Liniers presses men into his own forces, together with volunteers.

"The Spanish forces were recruited, and even received parties of men from the opposite side of the continent, chiefly consisting of volunteers, natives of Old Spain, and who proved their best soldiers. There were, besides, a number of Frenchmen in the province, the most respectable of whom were employed as officers, and others in disciplining the inhabitants whom he had prevailed on, by various measures, to take up arms in their defence: it is perhaps not necessary to add, that religion proved the most powerful engine he could employ on this occasion." [3643]

From Buenos Aires, General Beresford escapes. [3644]

"He had been fairly defeated, and faced with his indecisiveness, Creoles and Spaniards had quickly joined the resistance, led by Liniers and Pueyrredón. The contacts he had made, however, helped him navigate this difficult situation. The Creoles of the independence movement rescued him, kept him safe in Buenos Aires, and enabled his escape to Montevideo. Everything indicates that they did not act alone but with the approval of (Martin de) Álzaga, the leader of the group of European Spaniards." [3645]

February 9th, with the Rio de la Plata blockaded, Viceroy Sobremonte writes from San José to inform the Soledad garrison commander that supplies cannot be sent, and that he must fend for himself. [3646]

"On February 9, 1807, from San José, the battered Viceroy warned Bernardo Bonavía of the fall of Montevideo ... and, at the same time, advised him to try to obtain aid on the Patagonian coast, while he, using the good offices of Felipe Contucci, tried to send him from Brazil everything he could obtain." [3647]

February 10th, Santiago de Liniers replaces Rafael de Sobremonte as Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata by popular acclaim.[3648]

"Buenos Aires had had ample news of the threatened danger; troops were drilled and trained; cannon were cast; and powder was hurried from Chile, carried over the mountains on willing shoulders. Viceroy Sobremonte had returned and after abortive attempts to reassume power, had been by popular vote formally deposed and imprisoned. The man of the hour was Liniers." [3649]

3641 Auchmuty praised the spirited defence of Montevideo and immediately suppressed looting by British forces who seem to have been made more welcome by the populace than had Beresford's the year before in Buenos Aires.
3642 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809
3643 *Ibid.*
3644 Sailed from Montevideo on March 28, 1807.
3645 Cibotti 2006 p.27
3646 Cawkell 2001 p.41. San José lies to the north of Buenos Aires, on the Uruguay river.
3647 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.176
3648 Sources differ - February, 1807, January, 1808 and May, 1808. Confusion that may be due to the lack of an initial Royal appointment. Apparently confirmed by Spain's king in 1808; presumably just before de Liniers was deposed.
3649 *Notes on the History of Argentine Independence* Charles W. Whittemore 1920

"Buenos Aires ... demanded the viceroy's dismissal. But such an act had to have institutional legitimacy, and this was provided by Martín de Álzaga, the Mayor with the first vote in the City Council. On February 10, 1807, the City Council deposed the Viceroy for incompetence; the hero of the Reconquista assumed military command. However, political power in the city remained in the hands of Álzaga, the strongman of the situation." [3650]

March 6th, back in Portsmouth, England, Sir Home Riggs Popham is court-martialled on a charge of abandoning his post. [3651]

April 25th, Sir Samuel Auchmuty writes; *"In the present unsettled state of the country, it was not to be expected that British goods would find their way into the interior, but there is reason to believe that some Channels have been opened for their introduction."* [3652]

"In May, (Auchmuty) estimated that goods (chiefly British manufactures) worth at least £1,209,600, had been sold, largely "in retail shops set up in Monte Video by English Merchants... (unfortunately) old rubbish, that had been lying up for years in the warehouses, were shipped off, and disposed of at Monte Video, to the country dealers, who, on opening the packages for the retail trade, found articles not only far inferior to the samples, but, in many instances, totally unfit for use"." [3653]

May 10th, at Montevideo, Lieutenant-General John Whitelocke arrives on *Thisbe* to take command; *"... and Major General Gower came with him as second in command. They had sailed from England on the 9th of March, with several transports, having on board the 89th Regiment of Infantry, a detachment of flying artillery, and a number of recruits for the regiments on this station: a small proportion of the flying artillery were in the Thisbe."* [3654]

June 17th, at Puerto Soledad, supplies finally arrive.

"The relief arrived in good time on June 17, helping to improve the difficult situation of the villagers who saw the supply of the daily ration conclude on that date. Bonavia then declared that he was willing"to keep this possession to the King by resisting all invasion"..." [3655]

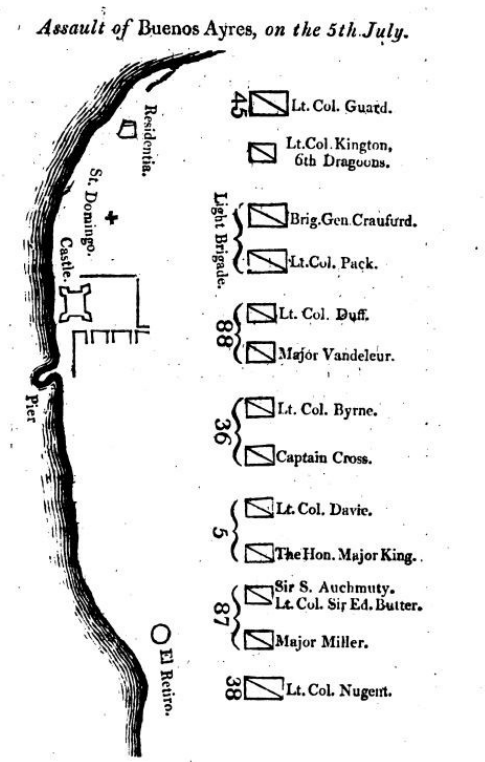
July 1st, at Buenos Aires, Whitelocke's forces move forward.

"On Wednesday, the 1st of July, the army closed and moved onwards with more order and regularity, as it was expected to have the ground we were approaching somewhat disputed. Our march was in three divisions, but on the same road. The light brigade led, with the two three-pounders: it was followed, at about one mile and a half, by General Lumley's, with the two six-pounders, and the main body, under General Whitelocke, brought up the rear." [3656]

July 5th, Whitelock attacks Buenos Aires.[3657]

3650 Cibotti 2006 p.32
3651 See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/trial-of-sir-home-popham.pdf
3652 Williams 1935 citing *CO 324/68 p.55.* The British ever had their eyes on trade.
3653 *Ibid.* citing *CO 324/68 p.62*
3654 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809
3655 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.176. There were no 'villagers'. Only garrison members and a few prisoners.
3656 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809
3657 *Ibid*. pp.150- 165

"The type of fire to which the troops were exposed was extremely violent. Shrapnel at every street corner, rifle fire. Hand grenades, bricks, and stones from every house, each householder defending his dwelling with his slaves, each of these a fortress, and perhaps it wouldn't be too much to say that the entire male population of Buenos Aires was employed in its defense." [3658]



"Above seventy officers and one thousand men were killed, or badly wounded. One hundred and twenty officers and fifteen hundred rank and file were taken prisoners; and fifteen hundred stands of excellent arms fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and nearly the whole of this loss was encountered at those points where there was no possibility of success, in the unconnected and unsupported manner in which these attacks were made." [3659]

July 12th, Lieutenant-General Whitelocke agrees a ceasefire with Commander de Liniers.

"A Definitive Treaty between the Generals in Chief of His Britannic Majesty and of His Catholic Majesty, as per the following Articles.

I. There shall be from this time a cessation of hostilities on both sides of the river Plata.

II. The troops of His Britannic Majesty shall retain, for the period of two months, the fortress and place of Monte Video, and, as a neutral country, there shall be considered a line drawn from San Carlos on the west, to Pando on the east; and there shall not be, on any part of that line, hostilities committed on any side, the neutrality being understood only that the individuals of both nations may live freely under their respective laws, the Spanish subjects being judged by theirs, as the English by those of their nation.

III. There shall be on both sides a mutual restitution of prisoners, including not only those which have been taken since the arrival of the troops under Lieutenant- General Whitelocke, but also all those His Britannic Majesty's subjects captured in South America since the commencement of the war.

IV. That for the promptest dispatch of the vessels and troops of His Britannic Majesty, there shall be no impediment thrown in the way of the supplies of provisions which may be requested for Monte Video.

V. A period of ten days, from this time, is given for the reimbarkation of His Britannic Majesty's troops to pass to the north side of the river La Plata, with the arms which may actually be in their power, stores, and equipage, at the most convenient points which may be selected, and during this time provisions may be sold to them.

VI. That at the time of the delivery of the place and fortress of Monte Video, which shall take place at the end of the two months fixed in the second article, the delivery will be made in the terms it was found, and with the artillery it had when it was taken.

3658 Whitelocke quoted in Cibotti 2006 p.34
3659 *Ibid.*

VII. Three officers of rank shall be delivered for and until the fulfilment of the above articles by both parties, being well understood that His Britannic Majesty's officers who have been on their parole, cannot serve against South America until their arrival in Europe.

Done at the Fort of Buenos Ayres, the 7th day of July, 1807, signing two of one tenor. JOHN WHITELOCKE, Lieut. -Gen. Commanding. GEORGE MURRAY, Rear-Adm. Commanding. SANTIAGO LINIERS. CESAR BALBIANI. BERNARDO VELASCOS."

The British are to leave Montevideo within two months, following an exchange of prisoners. [3660]

"And thus terminated, so fatally for the British arms in South America, an expedition from which so much had been expected by the British nation, whose government had spared no expense in appointing and transporting an army calculated to ensure success, as far as it depended on preparatory measures to obtain it. The failure cannot be attributed to the want of that courage and perseverance which constitute the chief features in the character of the English soldier: regimental officers and men did their duty " like brave, like gallant soldiers," to use the language of one of the generals: the list of killed and wounded will support this assertion; but the greater part of the troops were employed by their leaders in a plan of attack where neither courage or intrepidity were of any avail; they were sent into situations where women and children who could pull a trigger were formidable enemies; they were instructed, on these occasions, nay, positively ordered, on pain of the severest punishments, not to fire a single shot, but to make use of the bayonet only, and against what? against brick walls, and houses strongly barricaded, while they remained exposed to showers of musketry over their heads. The despair of the men and officers could only be equalled by their indignation against those who had ordered them to a certain slaughter, without a chance of success. The defences prepared in the town, to meet the attack, could not have been unknown to those who planned it, as the information of all the prisoners who fell into our hands, after the 2nd, corresponded on this subject. By some expressions which dropped from two brigadiers, it appeared that they had never been consulted in forming a plan of attack: it was merely shewn to Colonel Pack (who was thoroughly acquainted with every avenue and approach to the Castle), after it had been decided on, and this officer gave his opinion strongly against it, and was known to declare that he foresaw it would have an unfortunate issue." [3661]

"The bad strategy of the English and the courage of the natives caused such losses of men that Whitelocke agreed to leave the whole river Plata if all English prisoners were returned. His abandonment of Montevideo without an effort surprised even the Spanish-Americans, but he explained it on the ground that the city "can never be of any advantage while the capital of the Province and the great entrepôt of commerce remained in the hands of the enemy"... The judge-advocate at Whitelocke's trial agreed with the bitter feeling in England that withdrawal from Montevideo was needless, most of the inhabitants being considered friendly to the British." [3662]

"Montevideo was in English hands, affording an excellent base from which to carry out any operations against Buenos Aires, and there were ten thousand troops at Whitelocke's disposal. Yet, to the surprise of the Spanish-Americans, after a few skirmishes Whitelocke asked for a truce and agreed to evacuate the entire region. The English as colonizers were out,..." [3663]

3660 Prisoners had been divided into groups and sent into the interior. 200 at Mendoza, 200 in San Juan, 400 in Cordoba, 100 in San Luis, 100 at Santiago del Estero and 200 in San Miguel de Tucuman. Where there were no secure facilities, they were taken into private homes. Some were sufficiently well treated that they were loath to leave. At least 170 deserted.

3661 An Officer Of The Expedition 1809

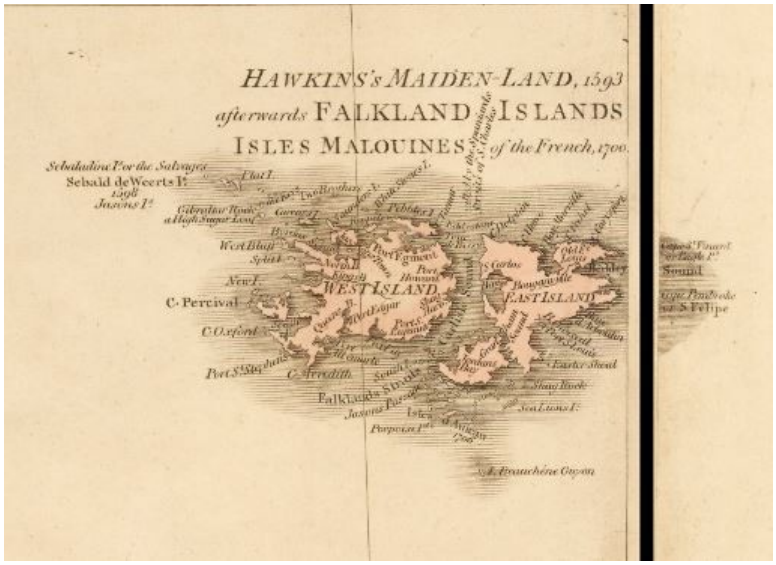
3662 Williams 1935 citing *CO 324/68 p.89*

3663 Craine 1961 p.12

"The English invasions and their defeat led to the erosion of the Spanish colonial regime and radically transformed the situation on the banks of the Río de la Plata. The victory achieved was not the product of experience nurtured during centuries of Spanish domination; it was a product of the times, as unprecedented as the will of the population that had made itself heard. The supporters of emancipation saw growing opportunities for this endeavor, and nothing would stop them. The English, who were aware of these aspirations for independence, had not taken them seriously, and this prevented them from realizing that their strategies of domination were not the path to follow. Aside from the dead, the only one who paid for this error ... was General Whitelocke; a court-martial convicted him, he was demoted, and his name was singled out as an example of military misconduct in every regiment of the British army." [3664]

July 19th, in Europe, Napoleon demands that Portugal close its ports to British shipping and trade.

In London, a map of South America is published by William Faden (detail right).



September 9th, at Montevideo, after seven months, Britain's union flag is lowered and its troops evacuate the port.[3665]

"With the evacuation of Montevideo on 9 September 1807, Britain's short-lived empire in southern South America came to an inglorious end." [3666]

October 22nd, Britain and Portugal agree a secret convention.

"When Canning was made aware of the Napoleonic threat to Portugal, he entered into negotiations with Souza Coutinho, at that time the Portuguese Ambassador to London, regarding the creation of new relations between England and Portugal. The result of these negotiations was the Convention of October 22, 1807, by which the two States agreed to friendship and alliance. England assured the Prince Regent that if it were necessary for him to leave Portugal for Brazil the British navy would escort him. It was understood that if such a move occurred the Prince Regent would take with him the Portuguese navy and merchant marine, thus keeping them out of Napoleon's hands. It was also understood that if Prince John arrived in Brazil there would be further negotiation in regard to British commerce." [3667]

"When Napoleon, determined to close the only remaining loophole in the Continental System against British trade with Europe by invading Portugal ... Great Britain renewed its existing guarantees ... now specifically to include the protection of the Portuguese court in Brazil and the liberation of Portugal from the French." [3668]

October 27th, an agreement is reached between France and Spain for an invasion of Portugal - the *Treaty of Fontainebleau*. French forces cross into Spain.

3664 Cibotti 2006 p.37
3665 See January 28, 1808.
3666 Bethell 1989
3667 Craine 1961 p.37
3668 *Britain and Brazil (1808–1914)* L. Bethell 2018 in *Brazil:Essays on History and Politics* L. Bethell (ed) 2018 (London Institute of Latin American Studies) pp. 57-92. England's first treaty with Portugal dates back to 1356

November 19th, from Spain, a French army invades Portugal through the River Tagal valley. Belatedly, Portugal ratifies the agreement with Britain.

"The Prince Regent, however, did not ratify the agreement until after the English instituted a blockade of the Portuguese ports and word was received that Napoleon had crossed the border." [3669]

November 29th, with the French and Spanish armies at the gates of Lisbon, Portugal's Prince Regent, João VI, the Royal family and court, flee for Brazil. [3670] Fifteen warships and 20 transports evacuate 15,000 Portuguese citizens. [3671]

November 30th, Napoleon's forces enter Lisbon. [3672]

1808 – January 22nd, after a difficult voyage, the Portuguese émigrés arrive in Brazil. Britain establishes a naval base at Rio de Janeiro; to protect the Royal Family.

"... the naval protection provided by the station was a safe shield for merchants and whalers, who in their shadow could increase their participation in Ibero-American trade and continue to exploit increasingly the whaling in the South Pacific." [3673]

January 28th, at Chelsea College, London, Lieut-General John Whitelock is court-marshalled for conduct unbecoming his duty as an officer; acts derogatory to the honour of His Majesty's arms; acts prejudicial to good order and military disciple and conduct contrary to his duty as an officer.

> *"This is not the Case of an Officer on his Trial by Court Martial for any one particular fact alledged against him, but it is the first Trial by Court Martial, instituted to investigate into the Conduct of a General Officer, having the command of an Expedition against a foreign Province."* [3674]

In London, Laurie & Whittle publish a world map (detail right).

At South Georgia, British ships *Otter* and *Swan* (James Lindsay), hunt seals.

At the Falklands, American sealer *Triumph* also hunts.

February 9th, in Spain, French troops cross the Pyrenees to occupy Navarra and Catalonia. The citadels of Pamplona and Barcelona are seized. Spain's objections are ignored. [3675]

3669 Craine 1961 p.37

3670 Prince Regent of Portugal and Prince of Brazil, with absolute powers from 1799 until 1816 during the period of his mother's insanity. Ascended to the throne in 1816.

3671 The evacuation was so chaotic that 14 treasure carts were left behind on the dock. Even so, the French found that the evacuees had still managed to take half of Portugal's specie with them.

3672 Once again, not directly relevant to the Falkland Islands, but included to provide context. Spanish ministers had shown themselves to be reluctant partners with Napoleon and what happened next divided Spain; leading inexorably to the withdrawal of Spain from the Falklands archipelago.

3673 Guzmán 2010

3674 Judge Advocate. Found guilty of all but one of the charges, the Lieut.-General was dismissed from the service. See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/trial-of-general-john-whitelocke.pdf

3675 With in excess of 60,000 French troops on Spanish soil, on February 24, 1808, Napoleon declared himself no longer bound by the Treaty of Fontainebleau of October 27, 1807.

March 10th, from Montevideo, *primer piloto particular* Don Gerardo Bordas, of the Spanish merchant marine, sails to take command of the *presidio* on Soledad. [3676]

March 19th, in Spain, Napoleon forces King Carlos IV to abdicate in favour of his son, Ferdinand.

May 2nd, in Madrid, the populace rise up against the French occupiers, killing 150 soldiers before being crushed by Napoleon's *Imperial Guard*. Hundreds of Madrid's citizens are shot. Popular uprisings break out in Cartegena, Valencia, Zaragoza, Murcia and in Asturias. Hearing of the Spanish revolt, Portugal's citizens also rebel. Put down viciously, the population of the town of Évora is massacred. Insurgency breaks out across the whole Iberian Peninsula.

May 5th, imprisoned at Bayonne, Carlos IV is forced to retract his earlier abdication, only to abdicate again; this time in favour of Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte. On Ferdinand's arrival at Bayonne, he is forced to renounce his own claim to the throne.

June 6th, Napoleon proclaims his brother, Joseph, as José I, King of Spain and the Indies.

In Buenos Aires, Viceroy Santiago de Liniers permits British traders to settle in the city. [3677]

June 15th, at Bayonne in south-west France, 150 Spanish nobles gather to discuss the future of Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, New Granada and the Rio de la Plata.

June 20th, the Bayonne conference recognises Joseph Bonaparte as José I, King of Spain and the Indies.

"A tremendous propaganda campaign was instituted to enlighten the colonists (of South America) to the advantages which would come to them by the regeneration of Spain." [3678]

July 25th, in Madrid, Joseph Bonaparte is crowned.

In **August**, in Portugal, at Mondego Bay to the north of Lisbon, 14,000 British troops commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley disembark.

August 17th, at Rolica in Portugal, British troops defeat a French force sent to slow Wellesley's advance on Lisbon. Britain's first battle of the Peninsular War.

August 21st, at Vimeiro, an Anglo-Portuguese army led by Sir Arthur Wellesley defeats French forces.

August 22nd, Sir Arthur Wellesley is replaced as commander of British forces by Sir Hew Dalrymple.

> *"Sir Hew Dalrymple was confused and incapable beyond any man I ever saw head an army. The whole of his conduct then and since has proved him to be a very foolish man."* [3679]

August 30th, following a negotiation culminating in the Convention of Cintra, 21,000 French troops are permitted to withdraw from Portugal with all their equipment. [3680]

At South Georgia, British sealer, *Favourite*, hunts seals. [3681]

September 25th, in Spain, the *juntas* of Murcia, Valencia and Seville come together to form a temporary government – the Supreme Central Junta – to coordinate Spanish opposition to the French.

3676 A surprising choice, as Bordas was not a commissioned officer. That said, Spain was short of naval officers. *cf.* 1810
3677 Williams 1935. Around 100, amongst a population of 40,000.
3678 Craine 1961 pp.39-41
3679 Lieut.-General Sir John Moore
3680 Dalrymple ordered Wellesley to sign. An inquiry in November/December, 1808, cleared both Dalrymple and Wellesley of any wrongdoing, but Dalrymple was then quietly retired. Wellesley returned to Portugal.
3681 Sailed in June, 1808; returning to London July 13, 1809.

"In 1808, when news of the abdication of the King and the declaration of war against France was received in the Rio de la Plata, Liniers found himself, almost immediately, an object of distrust to the old Spaniards. However, it was the city of Montevideo, under governor Francisco Xavier Elio, which reacted first. Elio refused to obey the orders of Liniers, called together the people, and established an independent junta after the pattern set up in Spain. Shortly after the action of Elio and the city of Montevideo, some of the leading Spaniards of Buenos Aires attempted to follow their example, a movement which was crushed by Liniers and his troops." [3682]

1809 – January 1st, in Buenos Aires, a coup attempt against Santiago de Liniers fails.

"... with the evident intention of changing the Form of Government as well as the Governor, the Chief Military men on the 1st of January last paraded the troops of the Line devoted to them before the Castle immediately in front of the provisional regiments which were drawn up round the Cabildo assembled in their hall, and they prevented the Vice Roy from yielding his authority to the Cabildo and vacating his office as the Law expressly required, on this appearance of Military array with the greatest portion of the Artillery existing in Buenos Ayres on the side of the Vice Roy who now appeared at its head, the provincial troops dispersed without conflict with the Troops of the line or other fireing (sic) than that against the first deserters on either side by which seven or eight men were killed; the refractory leaders of the Cabildo were arrested and embarked in a small Vessel for the Malvinas or Falkland Islands and order was restored. The Vice Roy Liniers is thus maintained (by revolutionary means) in his authority legally forfeited certainly, but which according to the general opinion best suits the line ad interim at least till the pleasure of the Catholic King or his legal representative shall be known,..." [3683]

"The affairs of the River Plate are unsettled – The French General Liniers, who was the Acting Governor of Buenos Aires had banished most of the principle inhabitants to Falkland's Islands; but the Spanish Governor of Monte Video, much disgusted by so tyrannical a measure, immediately on receiving the information sent vessels to their relief, and prepared a welcome reception for the exiled patriots at Monte Video, whither they were accordingly removed." [3684]

"... the Governor of Monte Video had fitted out the ship Diamond, to proceed to Falkland Island, to bring back the Cabelda (sic), which had been sent prisoners to that place by Liniers." [3685]

January 14th, in Spain, the Supreme Central Junta signs a treaty of peace and alliance with Britain. [3686]

> *"Art. I. There shall be between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII, King of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, and Between all their kingdoms, states, dominions, and subjects, a Christian, stable and inviolable peace; and a perpetual and sincere amity, and a strict alliance during the war against France; together with an entire and lasting oblivion of all acts of hostility done on either side, in the course of the late wars, in which they have been engaged against each other. ...*

3682 Craine 1961 p.18. Viceroy de Liniers was French by birth.

3683 *Sir Sidney Smith on HMS Foudroyant at Rio de Janeiro to the Secretary of the Admiralty February 24, 1809* in *Mayo Documental* Universidad de Buenos Aires 1964 vol.8 p.36

3684 *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* July 30, 1809.

3685 *Belfast Commercial Chronicle May 17, 1809.* A *Cabildo* was an administrative council. In this case the members of the Montevideo Cabildo had sought the resignation of Liniers and their leaders were arrested. Despite these reports, the Cabildo leaders were imprisoned at Carmen de Patagones, not at Puerto Soledad.

3686 *HC Deb 27 March 1809 vol.13 cc809-12.* Known as the *Apodaca – Canning Treaty.*

Art. III. His Britannic Majesty engages to continue to assist, to the utmost of his power, the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and promises not to acknowledge any other King of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII, his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge: and the Spanish government in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII, engages never, in any case, to cede to France, any part of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy, in any part of the world." [3687]

"... as to the Treaty of 1809. That Treaty was made at the beginning of the Spanish struggle against France, and was directed wholly, and in terms not to be misapprehended, to the circumstances of the moment at which it was made. It was a Treaty of Peace, putting an end to the war in which we had been since 1804 engaged with Spain. ... All the stipulations of the Treaty ... undoubtedly pledged us to Spain, not to lay down our arms until (Napoleon's) design should be defeated in Spain, and the pretension altogether abandoned as to America:..." [3688]

".. after having been at war with Spain for eight of the past twelve years, Britain suddenly became an ally." [3689]

January 22nd, the Supreme Central Junta issues a decree, in the name of the "*Captive King*".

"Considering that the vast and precious dominions that Spain possesses in the Indies are not strictly colonies or factories like those of other nations, but an essential and integral part of the Spanish monarchy..., His Majesty has been pleased to declare... that the kingdoms, provinces and islands that form the aforementioned dominions must have national representation immediately under his royal person and constitute part of the Central Junta... through their corresponding deputies. For this royal resolution to take effect, the Viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, New Kingdom of Granada and Buenos Aires, and the independent Captaincies General of the island of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Chile, the Province of Venezuela and the Philippines must appoint an individual each to represent their respective district."

"Thus, the Junta Central acknowledged the Americans' claims that their lands were not colonies but kingdoms, that they constituted integral parts of the Spanish Monarchy, and that they possessed the right of representation in the national government. The act was profoundly revolutionary. Thereafter, Americans had to be recognized as the equals of the Spaniards. In ways that were difficult to imagine at the time, that recognition of equality transformed the relationship between Spain and America and granted the people of the New World the rights they had demanded but had not actually expected to receive. It created a relationship between metropolis and the overseas territories that no other European monarchy ever granted its overseas possessions." [3690]

March 1st, in England, Phillips of London publish - *A Chart of the Great Ocean or South* Seas (next page). [3691]

In the Iberian Peninsula, French forces again invade Portugal.

March 27th, in London, Foreign Secretary George Canning lays the treaty with Spain before Parliament.

3687 Ratified on July 5, 1809. It would be this article that Spain accused Secretary George Canning of breaching in 1825, with a treaty between Britain and the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. *cf.* 1811 & 1825

3688 *George Canning to the Chevalier de Los Rios, Minister of His Most Catholic Majesty March 25, 1825. cf.* 1825

3689 Rock 1987

3690 *The Hispanic Revolution: Spain and America 1808-1826* Jaime E. Rodriguez 2009

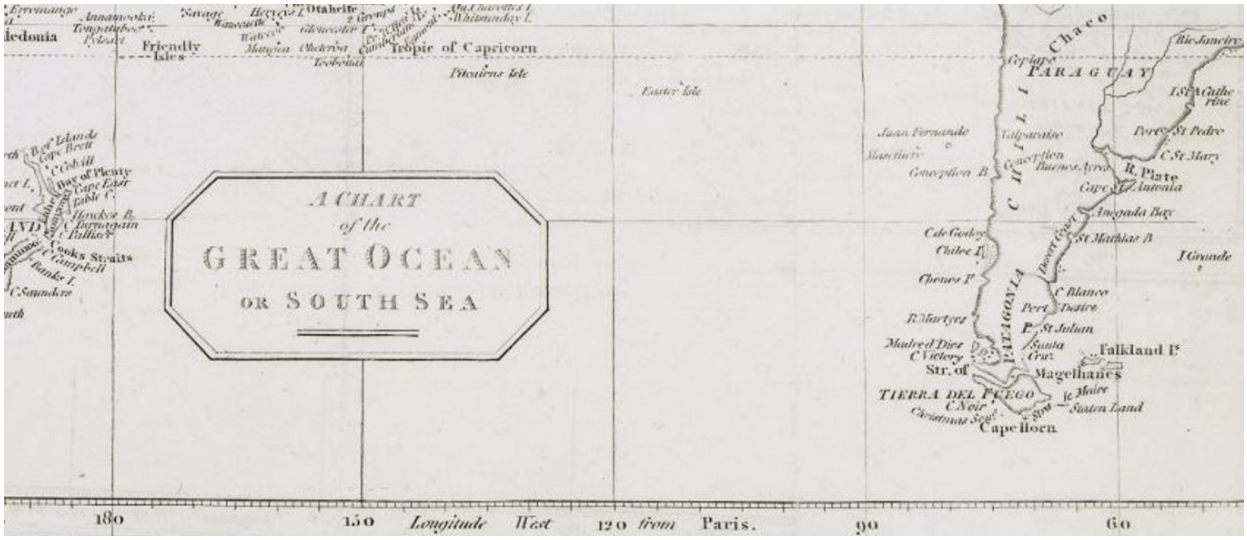
3691 A useful reminder that the South Sea was the southern Pacific Ocean, not the south Atlantic. See - https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/1809-london.png

In **May**, in Portugal, French forces are yet again ejected by British troops; once again led by Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

May 22nd, in Spain, the Supreme Central Junta invites representatives from Spain's overseas territories to sit in a Cortes. Peru, Buenos Aires and Chile are invited to send representatives.

At Puerto Soledad, following a survey, the commander notes that the garrison has 215 head of cattle. [3692]

In the Iberian Peninsula, British forces move into Spain from Portugal.



June 30th, at Buenos Aires, Santiago de Liniers is replaced as Viceroy by Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros: appointed by the Junta de Seville.

July 15th, Viceroy Balthasar de Cisneros arrives at Buenos Aires.

"... in an effort to calm the public mind, sent out an old naval officer, Don Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, to replace Liniers as viceroy. Buenos Aires, at this time, had an empty treasury and could not even meet the current expenses of the government. .... The people, needing everything, and with a tremendous accumulation of produce, were crying out for at least a temporary opening of the ports. Into this situation came Cisneros, without money or troops and without permission to open the ports or relax in any way the Spanish colonial regulations." [3693]

July 27th, in Spain, at Talavera, Sir Arthur Wellesley defeats a French army.

August 26th, from London, Wellesley is rewarded for his successes by an elevation to a peerage as Viscount Wellington of Talavera and Wellington in the county of Somerset.

In **September**, in Buenos Aires, Mariano Moreno calls for a relaxation of Spain's trading rules to allow English goods into the port in order to replenish the treasury. The Viceroy reluctantly opens the ports to free trade, ignoring Spain's previous monopolies.

"All ships might unload, paying a duty of 24 per cent on the cargo at local prices, but goods must be consigned to resident Spanish merchants. No duty was payable on exports." [3694]

3692 Jiminez, Alioto & Villar 2018 p.116
3693 Craine 1961
3694 Williams 1935

1810 — January 8th, at Soledad, Pilot Pablo Guillén Martínez takes over command of the garrison from Gerado Bordas. On hearing the news of events in Spain, Gerado Bordas swears his loyalty to King Ferdinand. [3695]

January 14th, on hearing the news of events in Spain, Gerado Bordas swears his loyalty to King Ferdinand. [3696]

> *"... this Colony being at the same time the only point in the Monarchy that, due to its location, is unaware of everything that has happened; and consequently the only place where the oath of obedience that we rightly owe to our King and natural lord has not been sworn; I immediately planned to carry out this diligence, and it took place on the 14th of this month, between 8 and 9 in the morning, in the courtyard of this church, with as much solemnity as possible and the acclamations of the people that followed."* [3697]

"The rest of the year passed without major incidents for the small garrison of 46 people that populated the Falkland Islands." [3698]

"He brought the disturbing news that Spain had been invaded by France and that Carlos IV had abdicated in favour of his son, who had become Fernando VII, but both of them had been imprisoned by Napoleon in France. Accordingly a Te Deum was celebrated at Puerto Soledad in honour of Fernando VII by Fray José Zambrano on 14 January and a proclamation of loyalty was read." [3699]

Bordas sails to the Royal Spanish Naval base in Montevideo, seeking payment of the wages due to him in accordance with the Spanish treasury instruction of December, 1806. [3700]

January 29th, in Spain, following military reverses, the Supreme Junta dissolves itself. A five person Council of Regency of Spain and the Indies, is tasked with pursuing the arrangements for a Cortes.

March 20th, from Montevideo, with no funds arriving from Spain, Rear-Admiral Salazar passes on Bordas' request for payment to Viceroy Cisneros in Buenos Aires, who instructs that certified copies of the 1806 Treasury Order be sent to Salazar at Montevideo. To remind the Rear-Admiral that the debt is the Navy's and Spain's; not that of Buenos Aires.

May 14th, at the port of Buenos Aires, an English schooner, *Mistletoe* (Ramsay), arrives with newspapers reporting the fall of Spanish Supreme Junta.

May 15th, in the Falklands, the whaler *Swan* (Lindsay) inspects Beauchene Island.[3701]

May 20th, Salazar again writes to Buenos Aires requesting assistance with the payment of Pilot Bordas' wages.

May 22nd — 25th, in Buenos Aires, in reaction to events in Spain, a *cabildo abierto* rejects the authority of the Spanish Junta and Council of Regency whilst declaring; *"... constant fidelity and adherence to their beloved Ferdinand VII, and his legal successors to the crown of Spain."* [3702]

3695 *AGN X-171*
3696 *AGN X-171*
3697 *Bordas a Cisneros, 15 de enero de 1810* in *Archivo del Gobierno de Buenos Aires, 1810, t. 28, doc. 295.*
3698 Gustavo Bobrik in *Arquitectura y planeamiento en las Islas Malvinas : 1764-1833* 2020 p.77
3699 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.352 citing Fitte *Cronologia* 1968 p.187
3700 See December, 1806 and March, 1808
3701 Burney 1817 p.37. *Swan* was owned by the *London Whaling Company* of Enderby & Sons.
3702 *Present State of the Spanish Colonies* W. Walton 1810. It is often argued that modern Argentina can date its independence to 1810 but, while this may be heart-felt, it has no foundation in the laws of the time. The seeds of independence may well have been sown in 1810 but a revolution requires rather more than declaring loyalty to Spain's legitimate King. There was no claim of independence, no secession from the Spanish Empire, no cession by Spain and no recognition by any established nation. See 1814, 1816, 1824 & 1863.

"The first overt act of revolution against Spanish authority in what is now the Argentine Republic was ... nominally a protest against the invasion of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte; the revolutionary Junta Gubernativa in Buenos Aires still professed loyalty to the captive king, Ferdinand VII. Actually it was a movement for separation from Spanish sovereignty. Professed allegiance to Ferdinand was a device for evading chastisement by Spanish authority, ... in distant Buenos Aires they never expected Ferdinand to come back to the throne; that is why they affected to remain his subjects." [3703]

"In 1810 the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires played its part in the general revolutionary movement to free Spanish America from the suzerainty of a Spain that was in the hands of Napoleon I. A revolutionary junta was set up in Buenos Aires, but attempts to extend its authority into the interior and over all the provinces of the former Viceroyalty proved unsuccessful." [3704]

"For some three centuries as a colony, under the control of the Kings of Spain, the region of the Rio de la Plata was one of the most backward and neglected areas of the Spanish-American empire. ... in 1810, Buenos Aires had a long way to go to reach the living standards of other cities of the world. The city itself probably had a population of about 46,000, ..." [3705]

Buenos Aires forms its own Primera Junta, with Spain's Viceroy, Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros, as President. However, due to popular unrest, Cisneros is almost immediately forced to resign, and is banished. In his place, Cornelio Judas Tadeo de Saavedra becomes president of a government that includes Manuel Belgrano, Juan Jose Castelli and Mariano Moreno.

> *"... we established our own Junta of Government, on the model of those of Spain. Its institution was purely* ***provisional****, and* ***in the name of*** *the captive King,* ***Ferdinand****..."* [3706]

"It cannot, .., be denied that the Argentine Nation succeeded to Spain in the Dominion over the Malvina Islands, on separating herself from that Country in 1810." [3707]

"... if it were admitted that the sovereign rights of Spain were vested in the ancient viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, by virtue of the revolution of May twenty fifth, eighteen hundred and ten, those rights could ***not*** *have been vested in the Argentine Republic, because that republic constituted only one of the four nations into which the viceroyalty was divided, and could not show the releases of the others; and that the Oriental Republic of Yruquay, commonly called the Banda Oriental, Paraguay, and Bolivia, all independent nations, had equal rights to the possession of the islands in question with the Argentine Republic."* [3708]

"The Provisional Council under the Presidency of Saavedra installed itself in the Fortress on May 25th. 1810, and swore to preserve the country under the sceptre of Ferdinand VII and to observe the laws of the kingdom. Although governing as an autonomous body, it always invoked the name and authority of the King, a rather anomalous position. The expeditions to Upper Perú under Balcarce and to Paraguay under Belgrano used the flag of Spain, and the same emblem daily flew over the Fortress and city of Buenos Aires for three years. It was not until 1813 that the oath of allegiance to the King was abolished, and all Spanish civil, military and ecclesiastical employees were removed from office." [3709]

3703 *Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States 1811-1824* Samuel Flag Bemis 1939
3704 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
3705 Craine 1961 p.4
3706 *Manifesto directed to all nations of the Earth, by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, respecting the treatment and cruelties they have experienced from the Spaniards, and which have given rise to the Declaration of their Independence, Buenos Ayres, October 25, 1816.* My emphasis
3707 Vernet 1832. Actively denied, to the present day. *cf.* 1816, 1833, 1834 and 1848.
3708 Reynolds 1835 p.501. My emphasis
3709 Whittemore 1920

"On May 25, a new vote was held and a new junta gubernativa was elected with Cornelio Saavedra as President and Mariano Moreno as Secretary. In this manner was established the "provisional junta of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, in the name of King Ferdinand the Seventh". This junta gubernativa was, in essence, the beginning of Argentina's independence, although no complete declaration of such was made until 1816 and political stability was not achieved until long after that. Consequently, by 1810, Buenos Aires, in the midst of the turmoil created by the outside influences of Great Britain, France, and the United States, and by the internal problems of Spain, acted for herself. ..." [3710]

"In 1810, there was as yet no generally accepted right for new nations to come into existence. Spain, having striven for three centuries to establish her colonial empire, was in no hurry to give it up,..." [3711]

"... a declaration of independence is a necessary, .., condition for unilateral secession..." [3712]

"... the idea that Argentina should be the heir of the Viceroyalty is naive, if only because the Viceroyalty was the first enemy of the subversive State born in Buenos Aires in 1810. ... the Law of the Indies established that sovereignty corresponded to the King, and that in the absence of royal authority, it fell to the town councils. Therefore, Buenos Aires had authority over Montevideo and other cities with their own town councils, only as long as royal authority resided there. From May 25, 1810, there was no royal authority in that city, so legally it ceased to be the capital. All the town councils became its peers with the exception of that of Montevideo, which, by hosting the new viceroy, became the theoretical seat of sovereignty." [3713]

"... 1810 is the year for the succession (sic) of States in Hispanic South America." [3714]

"Uti possidetis juris of 1810 is a rule relating to the succession of states to territory followed by the States of Spanish South America. ... formal proclamations of independence would only come later. The new states inherited the territory belonging to the Spanish Crown..." [3715]

"Some Argentine writers assert that Argentina inherited Spain's rights in the Falklands immediately upon the revolt of Buenos Aires from Spain on 25 May 1810, but that is patently false – throughout 1810 and well into 1811 Spain still had a garrison at Puerto Soledad (Port Louis) and was thus still in de facto possession of at least that part of the islands. Moreover, on withdrawing in February 1811 Spain stated a clear intention to return, and as late as 1822 and 1825 asserted her claim to the whole of South America (thus including the Falklands) by protesting against the recognition of the United Provinces of the River Plate by the United States and Britain" [3716]

In the river at Buenos Aires, events ashore are observed by the officers and crews of four British ships anchored in the harbour - HMS *Mutine,* HMS *Mistletoe,* HMS *Nancy* and HMS *Pitt*.

Capt. Fabian on *Mutine* orders a salvo of cannon in salute. [3717]

3710 Craine 1961 p.19

3711 Calvert 1983

3712 *State Practice and International Law in Relation to Unilateral Secession* James Crawford 1997 in *Self-Determination in International Law, Quebec and Lessons Learned: Legal Opinions Selected & Introduced* 2012. *cf.* 1816

3713 Escudé 2008

3714 *On an alleged 'review' of Malvinas entre el Derecho y la Historia* by Marcelo Kohen & Facundo Rodriguez published in *Penguin News* July 30, 2016. As Argentina's predecessor, the United Provinces declared independence in 1816. Can '*succession*' precede '*secession*.' *cf.* 1713

3715 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.71. *cf.* 1811, 1816 & 1848

3716 Pascoe 2020 p.50

3717 HMS *Pitt* almost immediately sailed for Rio de Janeiro with the news. Capt. Fabian reported on events to Lord Wellington, following *Mutine*'s return to the UK, on August 7, 1810.

"Castelli spoke to me in the following terms: that this Junta, the officials, the Army, and all the inhabitants in general, were willing and willing to continue in strict alliance with Great Britain and to show all possible favor and protection to British subjects and their property, and likewise to accept from the British Government and subjects [...] the same sentiments of alliance and friendship. I replied: I am very grateful to the Junta for its determination and for the manifestation of its affectionate feelings toward England. This is not only in accordance with our way of thinking, but I also have orders from my government to provide them with all possible assistance." [3718]

On hearing the news, the Banda Oriental (Eastern Bank/Montevideo) endorses the rule of the Council of Regency in Spain. Francisco Javier de Elío declares himself Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata. [3719]

"Montevideo at first apparently supported the May revolution of Buenos Aires, but shortly afterwards changed its attitude, recognized the authority of the Regency at Cádiz ... The pure Spanish element was stronger in Montevideo than in Buenos Aires, where the creoles dominated." [3720]

"When, in May, 1810, a revolutionary government was set up at Buenos Aires, the Spaniards used Montevideo as a base for a blockade of the city." [3721]

"Since 1810, the control of the south escaped the hands of our early rulers. The cry of May did not find echo, for a while, in Montevideo, whose tall and imposing ramparts were bristling with cannons – for 4 years one of the main concerns of the Buenos Aires revolutionaries." [3722]

"In effect, the Spanish government transferred the capital to Montevideo and appointed a new viceroy there who was at war with Buenos Aires. It can be argued that this reasoning is based on a Spanish-centric legalism and is therefore fallacious, but the contrary argument is based on a Buenos Aires legalism that is even more fallacious, because it is anchored in the pretensions of an incipient State, then unrecognized." [3723]

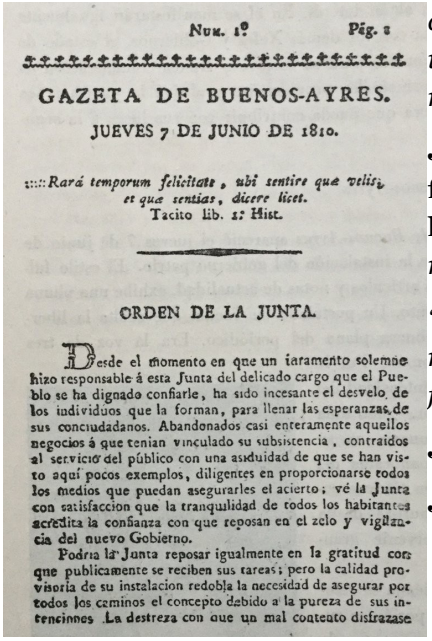
May 30th, in Buenos Aires, the issue of Bordas' wages is put before de Saavedra, who acknowledges the request with his signature, but – as Cisneros had done – asks for the Treasury Order of December 13th, 1806 to be sent to Montevideo. A further reminder for Salazar that the debt belongs to Spain, not Buenos Aires. [3724]

"Today I am sending to the Navy Commander of this Naval Station the following letter: Having observed that the High Board of the Royal Treasury in charge of apportioning all expenditures and payments has approved that the Malvinas settlement be given the same treatment as that given to a ship at sea and that all men be considered as part of the crew of the ship ... henceforth all salaries, gratuities, wages and other expenses incurred in said settlement or pertaining to it, whatever type they may be, shall be paid by the Navy commander of this Naval Station." [3725]

3718 Fabian quoted in Cibottii pp.51-52
3719 Confirmed by the Junta of Cádiz on January 19, 1811. Soledad's garrison remain loyal to Montevideo.
3720 Whittemore 1920
3721 Williams 1935
3722 Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982 p.177
3723 Escudé 2008
3724 Bordas, a civilian pilot, was shortly after appointed *alferez de fragata,* a navy rank. Possibly as a way around the problem.
3725 Quoted in Destafani 1982

"The previous decisions of the Viceroyal authorities, concerning the remuneration of staff assigned to the Falklands/Malvinas, were taken over by the new authorities, who ordered the payment of the rewards owed to the former Commandant of the Malvinas, Gerardo Bordas." [3726]

"... an infinitesimally tiny event, which in any case had absolutely no effect on the Falklands since at that time, and for eight months afterwards, there was a Spanish commandant in the islands, Pablo Guillén Martínez, who had served from January 1810 and remained in office at Puerto Soledad until February 1811." [3727]



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GAZETA DE BUENOS-AYRES.

JUEVES 7 DE JUNIO DE 1810.

::::: *Rará temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias, dicere licet.*
Tacito lib. 1: Hist.

ORDEN DE LA JUNTA.

Desde el momento en que un iaramento solemne hizo responsable á esta Junta del delicado cargo que el Pueblo se ha dignado confiarle, ha sido incesante el desvelo de los individuos que la forman, para llenar las esperanzas de sus conciudadanos. Abandonados casi enteramente aquellos negocios á que tenian vinculado su subsistencia, contraidos al servicio del público con una asiduidad de que se han visto aquí pocos exemplos, diligentes en proporcionarse todos los medios que puedan asegurarles el acierto; vé la Junta con satisfaccion que la tranquilidad de todos los habitantes acredita la confianza con que reposan en el zelo y vigilancia del nuevo Gobierno.

Podria la Junta reposar igualmente en la gratitud con que publicamente se reciben sus tareas; pero la calidad provisoria de su instalacion redobla la necesidad de asegurar por todos los caminos el concepto debido a la pureza de sus intenciones. La destreza con que un mal contento disfrazase

June 2nd,in Buenos Aires, *La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* is founded by decree for the publication of official announcements, appointments, notices and laws, as; "*the people have a right to know the behaviour of their representatives.*" [3728]

"... The press has never been tolerated with a single day of genuine and manly freedom in Buenos Ayres. Nothing is published but what is flattering to the powers that be:.." [3729]

June 7th, the first edition of *La Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* is published (left).

June 15th, *La Gaceta* reports.

> *"The Revolution proceeds tranquilly. We have raised 1000 men, to resist any attempts that may be made by the disaffected, in addition to the 500, completed pursuant to the act of investiture of the new Government. The latter have been sent into the interior, and are to proceed to Kusco (sic), to chastise Giraneche, who betrayed our cause at La Paz, and at whose instigation about five or six persons were hung or beheaded at the latter, and 30 more banished to the Island of Juan Fernandez, and the Falkland Islands. ... Monte Video has not yet assented to the new order of things, but we presume harmony will soon be restored throughout the whole of the territories on the shores of La Plata."* [3730]

June 20th, from Brazil, British Envoy Extraordinary, Viscount Strangford, writes regarding events in Buenos Aires. He informs Lord Wellington that the dispute is with the Spanish Government, and is not a separation from Spain itself.

"Diplomatic reachings for foreign encouragement and assistance followed immediately the events of the 25th of May. The first appeal was to Great Britain. Despite the sympathy of the British Minister in Rio de Janeiro for the cause of independence in the revolted Spanish provinces, the first diplomatic missions from Buenos Aires' — to Lord Strangford in Rio, and to the British Government in London — were ineffectual because of Great Britain's determined policy to sustain the Spanish nationalists in their struggle against Napoleon and to

3726 Kohen & Rodríguez 2017 p.82. I am unable to decide if this interpretation is ingenious or disingenuous. The discussion started before the *cabildo abieto* (see January, March & May, 1810) and the "*previous decisions*" were that the debt did not belong to Buenos Aires, but to the Spanish Royal Navy at Montevideo.

3727 Pascoe 2020 p.54. The obscure affair of Bordas' wages is poorly understood in Argentina, where it is viewed as evidence of the revolutionary regime in Buenos Aires exercising administrative control over Puerto Soledad. This was simply not the case. This was a disagreement about a debt that predated the *cabildo abierto*. All that the Buenos Airean junta appears to have done, was to refer the matter of payment back to the Navy in Montevideo.

3728 The *Gazeta de Buenos Ayres* continued as the official organ of Buenos Aires until replaced by Minister Bernardino Rivadavia in August, 1821. *cf.* 1821

3729 Manning 1925 vol.1 p.428

3730 Quoted in the *Caledonian Mercury* September 6, 1810. There is no evidence that these '*banishments*' were carried out.

preserve the old Spanish Empire so that the patriots of the Peninsula might draw support and succor from the royal provinces overseas." [3731]

June 28th, in Washington DC, US Secretary of State Robert Smith appoints Joel R. Poinsett to be its *"agent for seamen and commerce"* at Buenos Aires. [3732] Among his duties, Poinsett is to make inquiries about the situation in Buenos Aires at this time; *"(To discover) the state, the characteristics, and the proportions, as to numbers, intelligence, and wealth, of the several parties, the amount of population, the extent and organization of the military force, and the pecuniary resources of the country."* [3733]

> *"You will make it your object, whenever it may be proper, to diffuse the impression that the United States cherish the sincerest good will toward the people of Spanish-America as neighbors, as belonging to the same portion of the globe and as having a mutual interest in cultivating friendly intercourse; that this disposition will exist, whatever may be their internal system or European relation, with respect to which no interference of any sort is pretended; and that, in the event of a political separation from the parent country, and of the establishment of an independent system of national government, it will coincide with the sentiments and policy of the United States to promote the most friendly relations, and the most liberal intercourse, between the inhabitants of this hemisphere, as having all a common interest, and as lying under a common obligation to maintain that system of peace, justice and good will, which is the only source of happiness for nations."* [3734]

"The Madison administration made the first systematic effort of the United States to extend its agencies in Spanish America. Three types of agents were employed: special agents, agents for commerce and seamen, and consuls. Special agents were appointed to perform some specific mission, usually of brief duration. Agents for commerce and seamen were appointed under an act of Congress in 1796 for the protection of American seamen in foreign ports. John Quincy Adams summed it up neatly when he wrote that "This office of commercial agent is a substitute for that of consul in ports where consuls cannot be admitted, or to which from whatever cause they cannot be sent." ... By definition the consul was an official appointed to reside in a foreign country to care for the commercial interests of the citizens of the appointing government. As such, the United States sent consuls to Spanish America under the Madison administration. Adams, however, later refused to receive a consul from one of the Spanish-American countries on the ground that such action committed the United States to recognition." [3735]

"Madison selected Poinsett as his 'agent' to the southernmost area of Latin America. Sectretary of State Robert Smith detailed Poinsett's scope of action, instructing him to travel to Buenos Aires and "to take such steps, not incompatible with the nuetral character and honest policy of the United States, as the occassion renders proper". ..." [3736]

August 30th, in Spain, Jose Fernandez de Castro reports on events in Buenos Aires; *"He now refused to condemn the insurgents maintaining that the independence they had declared was not from Spain but from French-occupied Spain. There was no intention of establishing a separate government..."* [3737]

3731 Bemis 1939
3732 Poinsett was an American, trading in Buenos Aires.
3733 Quoted in Bemis 1939
3734 Quoted in Craine 1961 p.55 citing *Smith to Poinsett June 28, 1810*
3735 Craine 1961 p.22
3736 *Joel R. Poinsett: First US Envoy in Latin America* Luciano Manciafico 2012 in *The Foreign Service Journal* July 2012
3737 *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810-1840* Michael P. Costeloe 1986 p.30. Jose de Castro had arrived in Spain to represent the merchants of Buenos Aires.

September 24th, in Cádiz, three representatives from the Rio de la Plata provinces attend the Cortes which decides to split Spain's government into three branches; the Council of Regency acting as the executive.

December 7th, in the Falklands, at the harbour of Port Egmont, *Tonquin* (Jonathon Thorn), anchors near Saunders Island to take on water. Scotsman, Alexander Ross, is a passenger.

> *"... Mr. McKay, myself and some others, went up the bay a little to repair two old graves which we had discovered in a dilapidated state the day before. On one of these graves was the following rudely-cut inscription on a board:- 'William Stevens, aged 22 years, killed by a fall from a rock, on 21st of September 1794;' on the other, 'Benjamine Peak died of the smallpox on the 5th of January 1803 ship Eleonora, Captain Edmund Cole, Providence, Rhode Islands."* [3738]

1811 – January 8th, in Montevideo, at a meeting of the *Junta Militar Asesora* (Military Advisory Committee) attended by Gaspar de Vigodet, it is decided that the Soledad garrison should be recalled. [3739]

> *"... the vessel destined to relieve it (with) forty or forty-four men and the necessary food for one and a half years, whose total with salaries and other expenses reach up to about twenty thousand pesos and as a result it is impossible that the (Treasury) can prepare this amount, it seems to us that there is no other option to adopt, than to leave that establishment, which has not been and cannot be of any use to the Pacific Sea.... all buildings (to be) closed, and a shield with the Arms of the King, that manifests his right of property...."* [3740]

> *"... this Port [of Isla de Soledad de Malvinas] is to be abandoned, by sending a ship to said port [...] with the aim that all belongings, both of artillery and any other nature, found there are collected and brought to this City, as well as the Church ornaments, leaving all buildings well sealed and **placing the King's Coat of Arms** to demonstrate ownership, and that in the meanwhile said abandoned Port remain (sic), that annually a ship is sent for reconnaissance of the port, verifying that in it or in any other port of said islands no other Power has established any kind of settlement."* [3741]

"The commander of the Spanish naval base at Montevideo, Jose Maria de Salazar, was responsible for supplying the garrison at Puerto Soledad, but in view of the developing crisis he requested Governor Vigodet of Montevideo to convene a council of war to discuss the question. The governor called the naval and army chiefs together and the council met on 8 January, 1811. Salazar pointed out to them that the garrison at Puerto Soledad would have to be supplied at once with stores for a year and a half, which would cost some 20,000 pesos. That money was not available, and the garrison's ship would be useful at Montevideo, so they decided to withdraw the garrison entirely." [3742]

On the same day, orders are written for 2nd Lt. Pablo Guillén, commanding at Puerto Soledad, to evacuate the remaining garrison; leaving behind the marks and signs of possession. [3743]

3738 Ross 1849

3739 With Elio acting as Viceroy, Vigodet was the de-facto Governor of Montevideo, although both men awaited confirmation of their positions from Spain.

3740 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa* ref: *BMDB20150201577.* This document appears to be a copy of the record of the meeting of the Committee of War in Montevideo as it carries multiple signatures. The quote below would appear to be a part of the same record.

3741 Quoted in Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.83 citing *Archiva General de Marina Don Alvaro de Bazan. El Viso del Marques (Ciudad Real). Expediciones de Indias No.524, pp. 10, 11 & 12*

3742 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.353 citing Destefani 1968 pp.282-284

3743 Similar to the act of possession carried out by the British force on its departure from Port Egmont. *cf.* 1774

"Prior to verifying the abandonment of the establishment that you are leaving, nail in the place that you consider most appropriate the coat of arms of Spain, if it wasn't already there, and write in the proper place, not exposed to the elements, with uppercase letters the following -

*"This **island** with its port, buildings, dependencies and everything else inside belongs to the sovereignty of Sr Don Fernando 7th, legitimate King of Spain, and the Indies and the date"*

- having written such august name and (posted) in several places of the establishment, this act to be verified by both the captain and the chaplain to give it all the possible solemnity; everything as agreed in the War Council celebrated today in the house of Sr Governor of that place. ... Jose Maria Salasar"[3744]

"Early in 1811, Montevideo being the only part of the Viceroyalty of La Plata which was still under Spanish authority, the Royal Governor of Montevideo withdrew the remaining part of the detachment of the Falkland Islands." [3745]

"Asserting its regional hegemony, Spain maintained a half-hearted occupation for nearly half a century, during which the Islands became a military hardship post and penal colony." [3746]

"In January 1811 the Advisory Military Junta in Montevideo, attended by acting-Viceroy Gaspar de Vigodet, resolved that the penal colony at Soledad should be abandoned as the garrison troops were needed in Montevideo and no additional funds could be obtained to supply the settlement. Pilot Manuel Moreno was sent to inform the governor at Soledad, Pablo Guillén Martínez, that the troops were to be embarked to Montevideo..." [3747]

"Orders were drawn up the same day to captain Manuel Moreno of the brig Gálvez to sail to Puerto Soledad with orders to commandant Guillén Martinez to evacuate the garrison. Moreno was ordered to close the establishment down without delay, take all military equipment from the islands, release the cattle and horses, leave the buildings locked, and in a suitable place he was to place the Spanish coat of arms and a text "in capital letters" proclaiming that the island with its harbour, buildings, and all it contained appertained to the sovereignty of King Fernando VII." [3748]

January 12th, from Montevideo, the bergantine *Galvez* sails for Soledad Island.

January 19th, in Spain, Francisco Javier de Elío is confirmed Viceroy by the Cortes de Cádiz. Buenos Aires is declared a rebel city.

"...Francisco Elío, the ex-governor of Montevideo, returned to that city from Spain bearing a commission from the Regency of Cadiz designating him Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata. When the junta in Buenos Aires refused to recognise Elío's commission, the Spaniard declared war on the junta. Two days after this declaration, Artigas... headed for Buenos Aires, sounding a call to arms as he moved across the Banda Oriental." [3749]

3744 *Jose Maria Salasar a Sr. Gm. Pablo Guillen 8 de enero de 1811* in *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa* ref: *BMDB20150201577*. My emphasis. Island singular.
3745 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490* citing Goebel 1927 p.433.
3746 Bernhardson 1989
3747 Peña & Peña 2018
3748 Pascoe 2022 vol.1 p.353 citing Destefani 1968 pp.282-284
3749 *José Artigas* Bernard F. Bobb 1947 in *The Americas* 1947 Oct. vol.4 no.2

"... Elío in Montevideo had been appointed Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata and was recognized as such by Britain. Elio, angered that the junta of Buenos Aires would not accept him, blockaded the river and planned to attack Buenos Aires" [3750]

February 7th, at Puerto Soledad, with the arrival of the brig *Galvez*, the *comandante gobernador* Don Pablo Guillén Martinez posts Spain's claim to the Island onto the door of the church bell tower at Soledad.

THIS ISLAND WITH ITS PORTS, BUILDINGS, UNITS AND CONTENTS BELONGS TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SR. D. FERNANDO VII KING OF SPAIN AND THE INDIES, SOLEDAD OF MALUINAS 7 February 1811

Governor Paul Guillén. [3751]

"... if it be hypothetically admitted that the full and entire right of sovereignty was possessed by Spain – has Spain renounced it? Has Spain ever, by any acknowledgment whatever, yielded the rights which she once possessed? Has Spain, as yet, relinquished by any formal Act or acknowledgment any part of her claim to supreme dominion over these islands? If the rights of Spain are dormant they are not extinct;..." [3752]

"The Argentine jurisdiction was exercised in those (Patagonian) coasts from 1811,..." [3753]

"The same inscription was placed on the doors of the thirty-odd buildings. A memorandum was prepared making reference to all this and was duly signed by Governor Guillen, Manuel Moreno and the Vicar of the Islands, Juan Canosa, dated February 13th, 1811 in the colony of Soledad de Malvinas." [3754]

"Puerto Soledad was only then abandoned. The English government, however, did not take any measures in relation to that uninhabited archipelago. On the enigma of British silence in this regard, we believe we have found its explanation in the English offer to mediate between Spaniards and Americans, provided they were allowed to trade freely. The so-called English rights, in view of undoubted commercial benefits, had to be relegated to the background. An English occupation, then, would have displeased Spain, and this did not fit the purposes of the London ministers." [3755]

"There is no evidence of the Spanish settlement being extended to West Falkland, nor of the British settlement being extended to East Falkland." [3756]

"The 32 Spanish governors which Argentina argue held jurisdiction over the Falkland Islands from 1774 to 1811 (and therefore demonstrate the exercise of Argentine sovereignty) did not settle the Islands or govern a population of civilians. Nor did they refute the British claim of sovereignty dating to 1765. The historical record shows that these individuals performed the function of commanders of the penal colony the Spanish had established on the Islands. As such, their authority was over the prisoners and their guards." [3757]

3750 Craine 1961 p.61 citing *Poinsett to Secretary of State May 10, 1811*

3751 "*ESTA ISLA CON SUS PUERTOS, EDIFICIOS, DEPENDENCIAS Y QUANTO CONTIENE PERTENECE A LA SOBERANÍA DEL SR. D. FERNANDO VII REY DE ESPAÑA Y SUS INDIAS, SOLEDAD DE MALVINAS 7 de febrero de 1811 siendo gobernador Pablo Guillén."* The original order had stipulated upper case. For the Spanish documents, see - https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/88740.pdf

3752 US Envoy to Buenos Aires, Francis Baylies, in 1832, quoted in *British and Foreign State Papers 1831 – 1832* p.348

3753 *De Quesada a Bayard, 4 de Mayo de 1887* in *Memoria de Relaciones ... en 1887* Argentina (Ministry of Foreign Relations & Worship) 1887 pp.201-278.

3754 Destefani 1982.

3755 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.179 citing *Memorias de la vida del Hon. Señor D. José García de León y Pizarro* 1894 vol.1

3756 *The Falkland Islands, 5th Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1983-1984 HC 268 25.10.1984* para.16

3757 British Government response, dated May 28, 2013, to an Argentine letter of April 9, 2013 in *UN Document A/67/880*

"Del Carril quotes Spanish scholar Gil Munilla who pointed out that the plates left by Lieutenant Clayton at Port Egmont and by Guillen at Soledad referred to "the Falkland island" and to "this island" respectively, both in singular, and therefore the reservation of dominion would apply only to West Falkland (Gran Malvina) in the first case and to East Falkland (Isla Soledad) in the second." [3758]

"The plaque was a statement of an animus revertendi ["a mind to return"], like the plaque left by the British at Port Egmont in 1774. ... Such a plaque fulfils much the same function as an owner's name in a book, and in reference to territory it has the effect of maintaining the original owner's claim for a time, though there is no agreement as to how long that time may be." [3759]

February 13th, *comandante gobernador* Pablo Guillén evacuates the Soledad garrison. [3760]

> *"Don Pablo Guillen second Pilot of the Royal Navy, Commander of the Zumaca del Rey la Carlota and of the Soledad de Maluinas Colony, Don Juan Canora Capellan of said Zumaca and Vicar of the expressed Colony, and Don Manuel Moreno second Pilot of the Royal Navy and Commander of the King's Bergantine el Galvez =*
>
> *We certify that on the 13th of February one thousand eight hundred eleven has been placed in the belfry of this Royal Chapel of the Arms of Spain and on a plate of lead the inscription that It continues "This Island with its Ports, Buildings, Dependencies and everything it contains belongs to the Sovereignty of the Lord Don Fernando 7th legitimate King of Spain and his Indies, Soledad de Maluinas February 7, 1811 being Governor Pablo Guillen" and in the other buildings and which dictated on paper, everything that has been verified with all solemnity, and for the record of the signature in the Soledad Colony of Maluinas thirteen February one thousand eight hundred eleven = Pablo Guillen = Juan Canora = Manuel Moreno"* [3761]

"The abandonment of a Territory does not annul the right to it, unless it be spontaneous, and without any intention of returning to it. Then only is there real abandonment; in the opposite case there is only a non-use, but the right still exists." [3762]

"And thus the islands were once again abandoned to the elements." [3763]

"... the Spaniards, had planned to return at a more favorable time; they took the precaution of removing the doors and windows of the houses, stacking them inside ..." [3764]

"... upon the Spanish withdrawal in 1811, the Malvinas Islands remained de facto without a possessor (and without a human population), and became res nullius." [3765]

3758 Peña & Peña 2018
3759 Pascoe 2020 pp.50 & 54
3760 Destefani (1982)
3761 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa* ref: *BMDB20150201577*
3762 Vernet 1832 quoted in Foreign Office *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*
3763 Goebel 1927 p.433
3764 Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.214
3765 *Historia General de las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina* Andrés Cisneros & Carlos Escudé (eds.) 1989 vol.1 p.176 quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.74. Neither Spain nor Britain had renounced their claims and therefore *res nullius* (without owner) would seem to be wishful thinking on the part of these Argentine editors.

"Britain never accepted the Spanish claim to sovereignty, on the basis of a purchase from France, over the Falkland Islands. In particular, the fact that Spain occupied the Islands alone from 1774 to 1811 is not an indication that Britain accepted Spanish sovereignty over them." [3766]

"Spain did not relinquish its sovereignty. The Spanish withdrawal of 1811 is notably different from the British withdrawal from Port Egmont in 1774." [3767]

'Neither the British withdrawal of 1774 nor the Spanish of 1811 should be deemed to have been carried out with anumis derelinquendi. In both cases, signs and symbols were left behind to tell that the evacuation was only temporary and founded on the need for the garrisons to attend more pressing needs elsewhere." [3768]

In Buenos Aires, on the same day, Joel Poinsett arrives as the US agent for seamen and commerce. [3769]

February 16th, Joel Poinsett writes to the new US Secretary of State, James Monroe.

"His initial assessment was that the United States could replace the influence of both Spain and England once the European colonies declared independence. … he wrote to the new Secretary of State, James Monroe, requesting that he be given official credentials and detailed instructions to deal with the fledging governments of Buenos Aires, Santiago and Bogata." [3770]

March 2nd, Buenos Aires newspaper, *Correo de Comercio*, publishes a letter from Manuel Belgrano (its editor) complaining of English whalers hunting the coasts of Patagonia and the Falklands.

> *"The British, with the aim of fishing whales, which abound in these seas, constantly circulate along these coasts. One of the coastguards of the Spanish frigate S. Gil asked a British vessel why they were navigating in those seas, the coasts of Patagonia and the Malvinas islands, and he was answered that those seas belonged to everybody."* [3771]

"The British sailors never invoked any alleged British sovereignty over the Falkland/Malvinas Islands." [3772]

"… whether they were American or British, their reply merely meant "We have a perfect right to be here"." [3773]

March 7th, at Montevideo, the Soledad garrison arrives aboard *Carlota*.

March 18th, from Montevideo, Viceroy Elío reports to the Cortes de Cádiz that his campaign has been successful and that; *"I am certain that I can put an end to this whole thing once 2,000 troops arrive."* [3774]

3766 Foreign Office submission to the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in 1983.Spain did not base its claim on a purchase. *cf. The Falkland Islands, 5th Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 1983-1984 HC 268 25.10.1984.* Also 1789

3767 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.83 citing *Archiva General de Marina Don Alvaro de Bazan. El Viso del Marques (Ciudad Real). Expediciones de Indias No.524, pp. 10, 11 & 12.* Despite this interpretation, the similarities between 1774 and 1811 are striking – both powers withdrew a garrison due to costs and at a time of struggle; both left appropriate marks and signs to reinforce their sovereignty and both nations held an intention to return. As events would prove, only Britain would do so.

3768 Peña & Peña 2018

3769 Craine 1961 p.77 citing *Junta of Buenos Aires to the President February 13, 1811.*

3770 Manciafico 2012 *op cit*

3771 *Correo de Comercio* March 2, 1811

3772 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017

3773 Pascoe 2020 p.55

3774 Costeloe 1986 p.32. Also *Catalogo de Documentos del Archivo de Indias en Serville referentes a la Historia de la Republica Argentina 1778 – 1820* 1910 vol.3 p.304

"The new Viceroy, Elío, had arrived at Monte Video, and announced his arrival to the Government of Buenos Ayres, calling upon them to pay obedience to the mother country, and to the authority invested in him. To this address the Junta replied in very petulant terms,.." [3775]

In the same message, Elío notifies the Cortes that Don Gaspar Vigodet had ordered the evacuation of Soledad Island, following the decision of January 8th. [3776]

"... because in addition to not bringing any utility to the State, .., it has a cost to maintain that (of) ... 20,000 pesos per year." [3777]

"The Field Marshal Don Gaspar de Vigodet, Governor of this place, had determined in consequence of a Junta that had (met) to that effect... on January 8, 1811, to remove the rest of the Detachment of the Malvinas Islands that existed there, by that in addition to not bringing any utility to the State, being in a situation of being able with great work to attend to the precise expenses of the place, the maintenance of that detachment had a cost of 20 thousand pesos a year: for this purpose it sent a Zumaca, which, with the one that existed there, had to remove the people and belongings that could have a use here, which I think is rational.

Previously I had already proposed to the Viceroys to withdraw it, because the truth does not reveal any usefulness of this establishment, which while not being appealing to any nation, anyone who wanted it would seize it when they tried because its defence was too poor." [3778]

Elio proposes that the garrisons at Rio Negro and San José de la Costa Patagonica, also return to Montevideo.[3779]

March 19th, in London, announced in the official Gazette:

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has ... been graciously pleased, in the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty, to appoint Robert Staples, Esq., to be His Majesty's Consul at Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies." [3780]

"Shortly before the revolution in 1809 (sic), Mackinnon, the elected 'president' of the British merchants, (had) urged Canning to appoint a permanent consul to represent them before the viceroy. He requested a person of weight and authority, partly to discipline young tearaways in the city, who while engaged in trading were giving the British a bad name.... In 1811, his fellow merchants nominated Robert Staples as consul. A distant relative of Lord Castlereagh, ..." [3781]

3775 *Evening Mail* Friday May 10, 1811

3776 *Independencia de America: Fuentes para su estudio* Pedro Torres Lanzas 1912 1st series, II p.485 no.2932

3777 *Xavier Elio al Ministro del Despacho de Estado de S.M. Marzo 18 de 1811* in *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Seccion V, Audencia de Buenos Aires, Duplicados del Virrey, ano 1813, est.122, caja 6, leg.27.* Quoted in Caillet-Bois 1982 (6th ed.) p.178

3778 Viceroy Elío quoted in Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982 p.410 citing *Xavier Elio al Ministro del Despacho de Estada de S.M. Montevideo.*

3779 *122-6-21 Archivo General de Indias.* The San Jose evacuation would seem, at least, to have taken place as the Spanish settlement there was destroyed shortly after by the local Indian people.

3780 *The London Gazette* March 19, 1811. Upon what advice Robert Ponsonby Staples I (the first) was appointed is not immediately clear. The appointment of a Consul could be viewed as recognition, something incompatible with British support for the Spanish monarchy at this time. A resident of Buenos Aires from mid-1810, Staples was not recognised as Consul by the authorities as they were unable to obtain confirmation from London (see June 26, 1811). As a result, he returned to England in 1812 and lobbied for recognition of Buenos Aires as an independent entity. He also sought for himself, an appointment as Commercial Agent at Buenos Aires. Unsuccessful, Staples did receive £1,200 as compensation for his failed consulship. Staples returned to Buenos Aires in 1813 in a private capacity, but appears to have continued to refer to himself as Consul until ordered to desist by the Foreign Office in 1819. See July, 1816.

3781 *The British in Argentina: Commerce, Settlers and Power 1800-2000* David Rock 2018

"In March 1811 he was appointed 'His Majesty's Consul at Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies' (London Gazette, 19 March 1811), the first British consul to be appointed to one of the new South American republics after the collapse of the Spanish American empire." [3782]

March 30th, in Spain, the Cortes de Cádiz belatedly approves the evacuation of the Soledad garrison.

"... (they) expressed their intention of reoccupying them when the situation was more propitious." [3783]

"... the document sent to the Minister of State's Office of His Majesty, with the actions of Field Marshal Gaspar de Vigodet, was (made) known to the Cortes of Cadiz, meeting in session on March 30, 1812, (which) approved the act, giving it the character of a transitory measure "on the understanding that when circumstances changed, the Regency would take care that they returned to work as they were."..." [3784]

April 9th, at the Rio de la Plata, José Gervasio Artigas lands on the east bank of the river; with an advance party for an invasion of the Banda Oriental by Buenos Aires.

"... by the time Artigas landed in April, nearly the whole province, with the exception of Montevideo, was in patriot hands." [3785]

April 30th, from Washington DC, Joel Poinsett, is appointed US Consul-General for Buenos Aires, Chile and Peru by President James Madison. [3786]

> *"... The disposition shewn by most of the Spanish provinces to separate from Europe and to erect themselves into independent States excites great interest here. As inhabitants of the same Hemisphere, as Neighbors, the United States cannot be unfeeling Spectators of so important a movement. The destiny of these provinces must depend upon themselves. Should such a revolution however take place, it cannot be doubted that our relation with them will be more intimate, and our friendship far stronger than it can be while they are colonies of any European power."* [3787]

May 14th, in Acuncion, Paraguay, a Junta (committee) declares full independence from Spain.

"During the long dictatorship of Francia, her first President, from 1811, when Spanish rule came to an end, down to 1840, Paraguay existed in a state of complete isolation ..." [3788]

May 18th, near the Eastern Bank (Banda Oriental) of the Rio de la Plata, General Artigas, supported by troops from Buenos Aires, is victorious in a battle at Las Piedras.

June 1st, Buenos Airean forces besiege Montevideo. Viceroy Elío appeals for assistance from Brazil.

July 5th, in Caracas, Venezuela a Junta declares full independence from Spain.

3782 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography - Index Number 101098243* 2004-9

3783 *Falklands or Malvinas? The Background to the Dispute*. J. Metford 1968 *International Affairs* 44 July 1968 pp.463-481

3784 *Malvinas: como EE.UU Provoco la usurpacion Inglesa* Mario Tesler 1979 p.35

3785 Bobb 1947

3786 Craine 1961 p.59 citing *Monroe to Poinsett April 30, 1811*. US Consul at Buenos Aires since June 1810. Appointing a consul for a territory is generally accepted as recognition of that country as an independent (*de facto* or *de jure*) nation. Appointing a consul for a region, however, appears less determinate. The more-so as none of these had declared their independence from Spain. Poinsett left Buenos Aires for Chile in November, 1811, where he was recognised as the US representative in February, 1812. Poinsett remained in Santiago until 1814; returning to the USA in 1815. *cf.* 1824

3787 *US Secretary James Monroe to Joel Poinsett April 30, 1811*

3788 *Report of the League of Nations Commission on the Chaco dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay* in *The American Journal of International Law* vol.28, no.4 (Oct) 1934 *Chapter II: The Chaco Dispute* pp.155-177

June 26th, in Buenos Aires, Bernardino Rivadavia suggests the appointment of Robert Ponsonby Staples - as British Consul - should be announced in the *Gaceta de Buenos Ayres*; despite being unable to confirm the appointment with London. [3789]

" His position was never officially recognized in Buenos Aires, whose new government received no response to letters addressed to the British government, which until 1823 had a policy of neutrality towards the Latin American republics, over which Spain still claimed sovereignty." [3790]

"The absence of formal diplomatic ties between London and Buenos Aires during the independence wars obliged Staples to perform his duties unofficially." [3791]

July 9th, in Montevideo, a commendation is requested for Pablo Guillén following his withdrawal of the "... *useless establishment of Maluinas*." [3792]

From Brazil, Portuguese troops arrive in the Banda Oriental to assist Viceroy Elío. [3793]

August 30th, in Paris, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville dies. His achievements honoured with a State funeral.[3794]

September 2nd, in England, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reports:

> *"Monte Video appears to be the only town throughout the whole Spanish possessions in that region of the globe, that perseveres in its submission to the mother-country. We see, however, ... in the Junta's letter to Lord Strangford, that the separated provinces "profess entire fidelity to their Sovereign, Ferdinand VII."..."*

September 29th, from Paris, US representative to Napoleon's government, Joel Barlow, reports to Washington.

> *"The Emporer (sic) has determined to declare the Spanish Americans free and independent and to give them arms and ammunition to defend themselves; this however on condition that they shall not connect themselves with England by exclusive privileges of trade. He probably means, tho' the Duke did not say it, that they shall adopt the Continental system of Europe and exclude the English trade altogether. He wants American aid in transporting the arms and ammunition"* [3795]

In **October**, from Spain, a ship with 7 officers and 80 men sails for Montevideo in support of the defenders. [3796]

Viceroy Elío proposes an armistice. Portuguese troops will withdraw, if Buenos Aires does the same. *"The so-called 'October Treaty' marked the beginning of a split between Artigas, representing the rebels in the Banda Oriental, and Buenos Aires. Until this time, the Uruguayan chief had worked with apparent willingness under the orders of the Porteño junta. Yet the armistice had been made without consulting Artigas, and the harm it did was directed exclusively at the Banda Oriental."*

3789 I can find no such public announcement.
3790 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography - Index Number 101098243* 2004-9
3791 Rock 2018
3792 *Biblioteca Virtual del Ministerio de Defensa* ref: *BMDB20150201577*
3793 Rather too many, causing the Viceroy some concern. Some sources describe this as a Portuguese invasion of the Banda Oriental.
3794 The man behind the first settlement in the Falkland Islands, and the first French circumnavigation of the world. *cf.* 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767 & 1801.
3795 *Barlow to Monroe September 26, 1811* quoted in Craine 1961 pp.44-45
3796 Costeloe 1986

"That October Elío concluded a peace treaty with Buenos Aires that provided for the lifting of the siege of Montevideo and the withdrawal of all the troops of Artigas, Portugal, and Spain from Uruguay. Artigas, his 3,000 troops, and 13,000 civilians evacuated Salto, on the Río Uruguay, and crossed the river to the Argentine town of Ayuí, where they camped for several months. ... The Portuguese and Spanish troops did not withdraw until 1812." [3797]

November 7th, in Buenos Aires, Spain's withdrawal from Soledad is noted in the *Gazeta Mercantil*.

> *"It is necessary not to forget the strategic importance of Malvinas, the key to the South Atlantic and the Strait of Magellan. The Falklands were discovered by a 1600 Dutch expedition (sic).*
>
> *No one has ever discussed its ownership of the Spanish crown, because it is within the jurisdiction of the Buenos Aires governorate first, and after the Viceroyalty of the Río de La Plata.*
>
> *In 1764 a French establishment was installed there but the Spanish government made the corresponding claim and in 1767 took possession of the town, which had been called Port Louis.*
>
> *In 1766 a British detachment was installed in Port Egmont, but the then Governor of Buenos Aires, BUCARELLI, following orders from the crown, evicted the intruders. This measure generated tension between Spain and Great Britain that could have led to war. Fortunately, the ability of the negotiators both Spanish and English avoided the conflict and the incident was resolved with an agreement that allowed Great Britain to reinstate the establishment le Port Egmont with the promise, verbally expressed, to abandon it in the end. This saved the outraged dignity of the British monarch and also the rights of Spain.*
>
> *In 1774 the British contingent which had landed in Port Egmont as a result of this agreement left the archipelago.*
>
> *Since then the Malvinas, like the towns of Carmen de Patagones, San José and San Julián, depended on Buenos Aires, residing in Puerto Soledad the successive governors of the islands since 1777. Generally, these officials were seafarers and were relieved annually.*
>
> *Now, this uninterrupted possession has been suspended by Spain and it must be filled quickly by our authorities. The Malvinas archipelago consists of two large islands and many islets. Lack of trees and vegetation is sparse. Penguins and sea lions are their only inhabitants. The great Antarctic winds sweep it continuously giving its climate, harsh peaks of cold. However, these inhospitable islands are, we insist, a key point for the domination of Patagonia and the South Atlantic."* [3798]

November 8th, in Spain, the Cortes de Cádiz abolishes the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata; demoting the area to that of a Province of the Spanish Empire. Viceroy Francisco Javier de Elío sails for the Iberian peninsula; formally resigning his office as the last Viceroy of the Rio de la Plata.

November 18th, the Cortes appoints Gaspar de Vigodet as Captain-General of the Rio de la Plata; with instructions to continue the defence of Montevideo.

3797 *Uruguay: A Country Study* Rex A. Hudson and Sandra W. Meditz (eds) Washington: Library of Congress, 1990

3798 *Gazeta Mercantil* November 7, 1811. A number of errors and omissions. Discovered by an Englishman in 1592, the Dutch arrived 8 years later in 1600. There was no verbal promise to abandon (see 1771). In 1774, the British withdrew a garrison leaving behind the marks and signs of sovereignty. Spanish governors first arrived in the archipelago in 1767. It would be the 1820s before Buenos Aires took this journal's advice to heart.

"In Buenos Aires, news of continuing military defeats in Upper Peru led to a change of Government. The Junta de Mayo was deposed, and a Triumvirate was established." [3799]

December 10th, in Washington DC, the US Senate and House of Representatives publish a Declaration.

> *"Whereas, Several of the American Spanish Provinces have represented to the United States that it has been found expedient for them to associate and form federal governments upon the elective and representative plan, and to declare themselves free and independent; Therefore be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That they behold with friendly interest, the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish Provinces in America, consequent upon the actual state of monarchy to which they belong; that as neighbors and inhabitants of the same hemisphere, the United States feel great solicitude for their welfare; and that, when these provinces shall have attained the conditions of nations, by the just exercise of their rights, the Senate and House will unite with the Executive in establishing with them, as sovereign and independent states, such amicable relations and commercial intercourse as may require their legislative authority."*

"While this is an official statement of sympathy for the Spanish Provinces in America, and the first statement of its kind made publicly by any branch of the United States government, it should be noted that it is a cautious but definite stand. There is nothing in it to arouse the enmity of Spain, no denial of her authority, and yet there is also an expression of ideas which play an important part in the development of United States policy down to the present – hemisphere solidarity." [3800]

1812 – January 8th, in the Iberian peninsula, British forces under Viscount Wellington advance from Portugal into Spain, besieging and overcoming Ciudad Rodrigo.

February 27th, at Rosario, in South America, Manuel Belgrano unfurls a new flag; a tri-band of light blue and white.[3801]

"It soon became apparent that the provinces of the former Viceroyalty lacked internal unity. The people of the province of Buenos Aires, who took the lead in the unification movement, were not trusted by those of the other provinces. Within a short time after the formation of the junta, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires were seeking to establish a centralized state in which their province and their capital city should hold first place; whereas, the provinces in other parts of La Plata, as well as certain elements in the rural population of Buenos Aires province, tended to favor a federal government along the model of the United States in which all members of the federation might have equal rights." [3802]

March 19th, in Cádiz, Spain, the Cortes promulgates a written Constitution. [3803]

> *"Article 1: The Spanish nation is the collectivity of the Spaniards of both hemispheres."*

3799 Bobb 1947

3800 Craine 1961 p.30

3801 Previously rejected in 1810 as an act of rebellion against the Spanish monarchy. There is some suggestion that the original design was a vertical tri-band. *cf.* 1816 & 1818

3802 Craine 1961 p.52

3803 This 1812 constitution reduced the powers of absolute monarchy and identified sovereignty as resident within the nation, not the Crown; changes that raised hopes of self-rule in Spain's American colonies.

"The Constitution of 1812, one of the most radical charters of the nineteenth century, abolished seigniorial institutions, the Inquisition, Indian tribute, forced labor – such as the mita in South America and personal service in Spain – and asserted the state's control of the Church. It created a unitary state with equal laws for all parts of the Spanish Monarchy, substantially restricted the authority of the king, and entrusted the legislature with decisive power. When it enfranchised all men, except those of African ancestry, without requiring either literacy or property qualifications, the Constitution of 1812 surpassed all existing representative governments, such as Great Britain, the United States, and France, in providing political rights to the vast majority of the male population." [3804]

In **April**, Badajoz, a fortress town in Spain, is besieged and captured by British forces under Wellington. [3805]

In **May**, the Cortes de Cádiz proposes direct commerce between England and Spanish America for three years, in return for permission to raise a loan of £10,000,000 in London. [3806]

June 18th, the United States of America declares war upon Great Britain. [3807]

> *"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That war be and is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the* ***dependencies thereof,*** *and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof."* [3808]

September 7th, in the Falkland Islands, US sealer *Nanina* (Charles Barnard) hunts. [3809]

"Charles Barnard, an American whaler and sealer who made several journeys to the Falkland Islands in the early 1800's left some of the best accounts of tussock at the time. In his narrative dated 1812-1816 he wrote of the deliberate destruction of tussock (grass), especially around the coastline of East Falkland. Noting heavy columns of smoke rising from the Speedwell group of islands, Barnard wrote of his belief that this was due to the actions of Spaniards from Buenos Aires: "As I have often heard that the Spanish Government was in the habit of sending out every year a Guarda Costa, to examine their harbours and passes for foreign vessels and if any were found, to order them off immediately: and so apprehensive were they that the subjects of a foreign

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3804 Rodriguez 2009

3805 With the British suffering 4,800 casualties.

3806 Williams 1935. Spain was still attempting to pursue protectionist policies. No agreement was reached.

3807 Approved by the Senate on June 17, 1812. Congress on the 18th. Signed by James Madison, the 4th President of the USA. The US had a number of grievances with the UK; including the impressment of American (ex-British who had fled to avoid the Napoleonic wars) sailors into the Royal Navy, and the support that Britain was believed to be giving to the indigenous tribes – in particular the Shawnee tribe. Accused of supporting indigenous peoples, is a novel complaint against the UK. Whilst not apparently relevant to the Falkland Islands, one US citizen, Charles Barnard, would disagree. See below.

3808 My emphasis. There is some evidence that President Madison saw an opportunity to annex Canada, which his forces invaded on July 12, 1812. As I write this in 2025, another US President (Trump) appears to be considering the same thing. History repeating itself?

3809 A 132-ton brig purchased in New York on February 12, 1812, the *Nanina* was 73 feet long, 20 feet 4 inches wide with a draft of 10 feet 2 inches. The management of the vessel was peculiar as, in addition to Charles Barnard, there appear to have been two other captains of equal rank on board; one of who was to return in *Nanina* with the hoped-for cargo while a shallop and boat remained hunting in the Falklands. Inevitably, there was conflict. See *Left for Dead: Shipwreck, Treachery, and Survival at the Edge of the World* Eric Jay Dolin 2024

power might form even a temporary settlement for the purpose of procuring seal skins and sea-elephant oil, that they often set fire to the tuchooks (sic), and thus destroyed the harbours of the seal, to prevent them as much as possible from resorting to these islands".” [3810]

In **October**, from Buenos Aires, following the failure of the *First Triumvirate*, a meeting of the provinces is summoned by the *Second Triumvirate*. [3811]

1813 – January 3rd, at New Island in the Falklands, a US sealer *Hope* (Obedia Chase), out of New York, anchors near one of *Nanina*'s cutters. Chase passes on the news that the USA is at war with Great Britain.

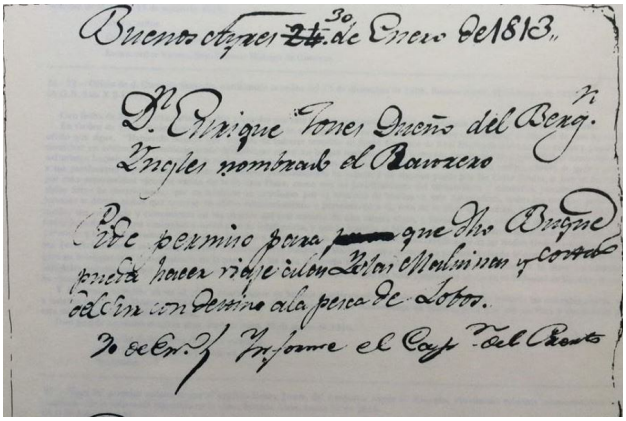
“Chase also handed over letters from Charles's friends and family, as well as a letter from the Murrays, instructing Barnard to return immediately to the closest and most convenient American port. This last order came as no surprise to Charles. The contract he had signed with Murray and Sons included a clause that declared the terms of the voyage "null and void" in the event of the outbreak of war.” [3812]

Charles Barnard summons the sealing crews back from the Jason Islands. He proposes that they ignore the instruction from the expedition's financiers, Murray and Sons, and continue hunting for twelve months in the hope that the war will not last long. Everyone agrees. [3813]

> *“... yesterday morning we where informed by Capt Barnard, of the arrival & departure of the ship Hope – Capt. Chase, belonging to Edmund Fanning of New York which place she left on the 12th of July – bringing with her the melancholy News of a war with Great Britain which took place on the seventeenth of June...”* [3814]

At South Georgia, *Admiral Colpoys* and *Georgia Packet* hunt seals. [3815]

January 30th, in Buenos Aires, a ship owner submits a note for the attention of the Port Authority.


Buenos ayres ~~31~~ 30 de Enero de 1813.

D. Enrique Jones, Dueño del Berg.
Ingles nombrado el Rastrero

Pide permiso para [redacted] que Dho Bergne
pueda hacer viage a las Islas Malvinas y costas
del Sur con destino a la pesca de Lobos.

No ha lugar. Informe el Capn del Puerto

“Buenos Ayres 30 of January 1813

Don Enrique Jones, owner of the English vessel name of El Rastrero.

Requests permission for the said vessel to make the trip to the Falkland islands and shores of the south, for the purpose of fishing for 'wolfs'.

30 of January. Inform the captain of the port.”

3810 Strange 1988. The evidence suggests that the last Spanish ship to the Islands, had been that which took off the garrison in 1811. However, Kohen & Rodriguez (2016 p.121) make much of Barnard’s subsequent narrative, where he expressed his initial fears that the smoke he could see came from Spanish camp fires. Erroneously suggesting that this proves Spanish sovereignty. See - https://www.falklandsbiographies.org/biographies/barnard_charles

3811 Now known as the *Asamblea del Año XIII* (Assembly of the Year XIII)

3812 Dolin 2024. Murray & Sons were the financiers of the expedition.

3813 *Ibid.*

3814 Logbook of Henry Ingman Defriez (multiple spellings), First Mate on *Nanina.* June 17, 1812 was the date that Congress approved a motion for war.

3815 *BSWF Databases* – A. G. E. Jones; Dale Chatwin; and, Rhys Richards.

"On January 30, 1813, Enrique Torres, from the English brig El Rastrero, requested authorization for the aforementioned vessel to make its trip to the Malvinas Islands and southern coasts where it would hunt sea lions." [3816]

"A request made in Buenos Aires by a resident of Buenos Aires is irrelevant and says nothing about the "perception" of British citizens. None of the hundreds of British captains based in Britain asked Spain or the Buenos Aires authorities for permission to hunt seals in the Falklands, either before or after Argentine independence, and Argentina never harassed British ships which put into Buenos Aires en route to or from the Falklands." [3817]

January 31st, at Buenos Aires, with representatives of many, but not all, provinces present, the *Asamblea del Año XIII* is inaugurated to decide upon the form of government that will rule in the Rio de la Plata (right). [3818]

"No deputies were invited from the Banda Oriental, but the assembly instructed Rondeau to secure from the besieging armies an expression of the assembly's authority." [3819]

February 8th, in the Falklands, off Eagle Island,[3820] in the early hours of the morning, the British ship *Isabella* (George Highton), sailing from Port Jackson in New South Wales, Australia to England, founders.[3821]

"This collision unshipped the rudder, leaving the Isabella unable to steer, and thus at the mercy of wind and waves. ... Isabella floated free of the rocks but was still being propelled towards the looming shore into increasingly shallow waters... Finally, Isabella stuck fast on a rock ledge." [3822]

Crew and passengers get ashore on to Eagle Island.

3816 *Archivo de la Nacion, Buenos Aires, Division Colonia, Seccion Gobierno, Hacienda, 1813* quoted in Caillet-Bois (6th ed.) 1982 p.180. I can find no record of *Rastrero* (*Crawler* or *Creeper*), however, Caillet-Bois appears to have misread the document as modern Argentine sources now refer to an Enrique Jones. Welsh by birth, Henry Libanus Jones (born 1789) arrived in Buenos Aires in October, 1810, although one account (*Patagonia, A Forgotten Land: From Magellan to Peron* C. A. Brebia 2006 p.141) suggests that Jones was a deserter from the British forces that attacked Buenos Aires in 1806/07. What is certain is that he was a citizen of Buenos Aires from 1812 until his death there in 1861. Jones sent sealing ships out to the coasts of Patagonia between 1814 and 1817. By 1819, Jones was transporting horses to the Valdés Peninsula (Hallera 2023). There is no record of him sealing in the Falklands, despite vague claims to the contrary (Caviglia 2012). No vessel of this, or any similar, name appears in the lists of sealers out of British ports. Kohen & Rodriguez (2016 p.118) claim that this application by Jones is evidence that the British recognised Argentine sovereignty over the Falkland Islands and that the commander of a British naval vessel in the Rio de la Plata – Peter Heywood (a pardoned *Bounty* mutineer) – would have been aware. The first suggestion is faintly ridiculous, and no evidence is offered for the second. The note appears to be little more than a notification for the Port Authority requesting permission to leave the port; a requirement in 1813. There is no record of any response. Certainly no evidence of any licence being issued or any claim of right being made by Buenos Aires. For another reference to Jones, see 1823.

3817 Pascoe 2020 p.55

3818 Chose a national coat of arms, considered a national anthem, voted to end slavery and abolished the inquisition. As regards the organisation of a new nation, little appears to have been achieved. See 1815.

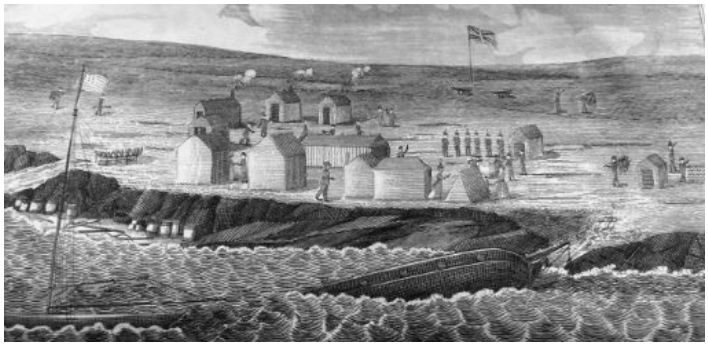
3819 General José Rondeau led the Buenos Aires force blockading Montevideo. General Artigas arranged for five deputies to represent the Banda Oriental and attend the assembly. On arrival, however, they were not recognised. The subsequent resentment would lead to the eventual break-away of Artigas and the Banda Oriental. See January, 1814.

3820 Now known as Speedwell Island, this lies to the south-west of the part of East Falkland Island called Lafonia.

3821 The captain, apparently drunk. Amongst other items, *Isabella* was carrying 91 casks of whale oil and 19,000 sealskins. There were 23 crewmen and 34 passengers of which 14 were Royal Marines.

3822 Dolin 2024

February 9th, *Isabella* is unloaded of clothing and provisions. Make-shift tents are constructed (right).[3823]



"Over the next couple of weeks, the castaways kept quite busy. ... The men built a storehouse with walls made of turf 'bricks', while spars from the Isabella overlaid with the brig's sails provided the ceiling. Food was guarded and distributed according to a set schedule ... the goal being to have the supplies last for up to a year. Weekly rations were set at one pound of beef or pork, half a pound of flour or rice, two pounds of bread, and a pint of wine." [3824]

February 21st, in the makeshift camp on Eagle Island, Captain Robert Durie's wife, Joanna Anne, gives birth to a daughter, Elizabeth Providence Durie. [3825]

> *"On Sunday, the 21st, we were sitting at dinner, when I observed Mrs. Durie's countenance change, and I saw her time was come.*
>
> *I took a glass of wine, and said to Captain Brookes, "A safe passage to all on their journey; — gentlemen," said I, "we will take a walk;" and out we went. In about an hour and a half we returned, and the poor lady had been safely delivered of a daughter..."* [3826]

February 23rd, from Eagle Island, six of the *Isabella's* passengers and crew set off in the ship's longboat, renamed *Faith & Hope*, to seek help. [3827]

They finally settled on a plan to send six men off in the 17.5-foot longboat to explore the Islands and see whether they could reach Port Egmont. ... If the men in the longboat failed to get help at Port Egmont, they would plan to sail to Montevideo, ... and then on to Rio de Janeiro, where relief might be found." [3828]

March 6th, at Salvador Water, *Isabella's* longboat hits a rock and is damaged. While repairs are made, some of the crew discover an abandoned hut.

March 8th, Lieut. Richard Lundin nails a note to a beam of the hut.

> *"Spaniards and Christians, should this ever meet your eye, know that fifty-four British subjects have been shipwrecked upon one of these desert islands... six of whom, in order to obtain relief, have endevored to reach the mainland in a boat. If the fail in this undertaking, their companions will, in all probability, be left to perish. If you find them there, the boat has been lost. If not, we have brought them relief. March 8, 1813"* [3829]

3823 The castaways camp, called by them Newtown Providence, was sketched. Published by Barnard in 1829. Above.
3824 Dolin 2024
3825 *Ibid.* This author suggests that the child was likely the first European born in the Falklands. Not so. In fact, the 5th European child following four births to the Acadian/French settlers in the 1760s. See also *The Wreck of the Isabella* David Miller 1995
3826 Robert Durie quoted in Holt 1838 p.341
3827 Captain Brooks, previously master of a merchant vessel; Lieut. Richard Lundin (Army), 1 marine and 3 seamen. Those remaining included Joseph Holt, an Irish rebel leader, and 3 women, all of who had served terms of imprisonment in New South Wales. Also three marines and their wives.
3828 Dolin 2024
3829 Quoted in Dolin 2024

One of the crew then sees a track, which two of them follow. It leads to the abandoned Spanish garrison site at Puerto Soledad.

"... the establishment they found unoccupied, and in whose church found the Spanish royal crest and the plate left in February 1811. Finding that the islands were uninhabited, (they) decided to sail towards the continent, aiming for Montevideo, believing that the Portuguese (sic) would be more cooperative than the 'Spaniards' of Buenos Aires." [3830]

"They found a track with marks of carriage wheels, and followed it till they saw houses in the distance; they avoided being attacked by the wild cattle, and eventually reached the former settlement. It was a ghost town partly in ruins; they cut some cabbages in the abandoned gardens, but were glad to leave again." [3831]

"Nobody responded to their calls, and every structure was empty. A sign on the side of a building proclaimed that these islands (sic) belonged to King Ferdinand VII, bearing the date of February 1811." [3832]

March 10th, from the Falkland Islands, the *Isabella*'s longboat crew sail north.

March 14th, in Berkeley Sound, *Columbia,* a Canadian ship, anchors.

March 25th, *Isabella*'s longboat sails into the Rio de la Plata. [3833]

March 30th, at Montevideo, having interviewed the *Isabella*'s longboat crew, Capt. Peter Heywood, commanding HMS *Nereus* and officer-in-charge of the small British naval force moored near Buenos Aires, orders HMS *Nancy* prepared for a rescue mission.[3834] Under the command of Capt. William Peter D'Aranda.

April 2nd, a message is sent to England regarding *Isabella*.

> *"On the 30th ult., a boat of about 70 feet keel, arrived at this place (Montevideo), with six persons on board. The following is the account they have given:- That they sailed from New South Wales on the brig Isabella, George Highton master, on the 4th December last; that the made the land about Cape Horn on the 2d February, and Falkland Islands on the 7th of the same month. In the morning of the 8th, about one A.M., the vessel struck on the rocks and was wrecked. The crew and passengers fortunately got on shore, on a desert island, forming one of the group of the Falkland Islands, and the weather being moderate, were enable to save from the vessel the provisions and stores.*
>
> *On the 23rd February, having raised the long boat and decked her, it was agreed a part of the unhappy sufferers should embark in her for the purpose of arriving at some inhabited place, where the means might be procured of sending a vessel to bring away the other part of the crew and passengers.*
>
> *The six men who arrived here, accordingly put to sea on the said 23rd of February, and after a voyage of upwards of 450 leagues in the ocean, they arrived in this river, ...*
>
> *On the first intelligence of the event, Captain Heywood, Commander of His Majesty's ship Nereus, gave instructions to W. D. Arand, a Commander of the Nancy brig of war, to prepare for sea, and proceed to the relief of the unhappy sufferers. It is expected she will sail about the 7th instant. ..."* [3835]

3830 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016 p.123. *cf.* 1811 above.
3831 Pascoe 2020 p.58
3832 Dolin 2024. For the wording on the notice, see 1811 above.
3833 1,896km/1,178 miles
3834 *Nancy* was an 80-foot, two-masted, 200-ton brig purchased for the Royal Navy at Buenos Aires in 1808. Not in a good seaworthy condition, but the only vessel available.
3835 *Caledonian Mercury June 24, 1813*

April 3rd, in the Falkland Islands, near Eagle Island, Charles Barnard, in *Nanina*'s shallop *Young Nanina,* sees smoke and investigates. He discovers the remaining crew and passengers from *Isabella*. [3836]

"Charles Barnard, ..., echoed a rumour that the Spanish used to send a 'Coast Guard' every year to the ports and passages of the Falklands, to examine whether they found foreign ships, and expel them immediately."[3837]

"... the captains called a meeting of everyone on board Young Nanina. It was clear, they said, that the Isabella castaways knew nothing about the war. Since there was no telling how they might react to that information, the captains thought it best not to inform them until they had a better idea of how this situation was going to play out. ... the crew agreed to keep the secret." [3838]

April 4th, an agreement is reached whereby Capt. Barnard will take the *Isabella* survivors to South America in *Nanina*, in exchange for the salvage rights to *Isabella*. Barnard informs Captain Durie that the USA and Britain are at war. After some dissension, *Isabella*'s castaways agree to ignore the state of war and continue with the agreement.

April 13th, Charles Barnard, with sixteen of the passengers and crew from *Isabella,* sails to New Island to retrieve *Nanina*. Six of his American crew remain on Eagle Island to obtain whatever can be salvaged from the *Isabella*.

April 16th, off Montevideo, HMS *Nancy* makes ready to sail.

May 3rd, following a difficult voyage, *Young Nanina* finally rejoins its parent brig at New Island.

"... the Americans, aided by the British, spent their time loading the Nanina and fitting her out so that she would be as "staunch as possible". [3839]

May 15th, HMS *Nancy* arrives off the Falklands. [3840]

May 17th, on his arrival at Eagle Island, fully aware of the Anglo-American conflict, Capt. D'Aranda seizes the American salvage crew as prisoners of war.

May 25th, the shallop, *Young Nanina,* arrives back at Eagle Island. Its crew are immediately detained by British Marines and the vessel taken as a prize of war.

3836 Barnard, hopelessly out of date, had initially considered the smoke to be from a Spanish ship. No Spanish ship had visited the Falklands since 1811. The chart (above) was published by Barnard in 1829, in a book of his experiences. Interestingly, he identifies the two main Islands of the Falklands archipelago as '*English Maloon*' (Malouines) and '*Spanish Maloon*'.

3837 Haller 2023 citing Barnard 1836.

3838 Dolin 2024.

3839 *Ibid.*

3840 Holt 1838

June 13th, at New Island, unaware of the arrival of the British navy and after six weeks of waiting, the sailors and marines from *Isabella* seize *Nanina*.[3841]

Charles Barnard is away hunting on Beaver Island with a small crew made up of one American (Jacob Green), and three British sailors from *Isabella* (Samuel Ansell, Joseph Albrook and James Louder).

June 14th, under British control, *Nanina* sails for Eagle Island.

June 15th, at Eagle Island, there is some confusion when Capt. D'Aranda, unaware of the vessel's new status, sends his marines to capture *Nanina*.

On the same day, Barnard's hunting party returns to New Island to find Nanina gone. In the only small boat that they have, and without navigation equipment, they set out for Eagle Island.

"... a compassionate and responsible commander – which D'Aranda was not – would have despatched the shallop as soon as possible to rescue the men, who were, after all, not only Americans but also British." [3842]

July 27th, from Eagle Island and the Falklands, HMS *Nancy* sails for Montevideo. *Nanina*, with a prize crew, is sent to England towing *Young Nanina*; *"Finally, on July 27, 1813 – exactly 170 days after the Isabella slammed ashore and 44 days since the five-man hunting party had been left on Beaver Island – the Nancy and the Nanina were fully loaded and ready to set sail."* [3843]

With poor weather slowing them, Charles Barnard and his marooned group settle on Swan Island to see out what remains of the austral winter – surviving on feral hogs.

August 19th, in the Rio de la Plata, HMS *Nancy* arrives off Buenos Aires in such a poor condition that she is immediately declared unfit for further service.

"As soon as D'Aranda disembarked from the Nancy in Buenos Aires, he reported the results of his trip to local British officials. Perhaps already realizing that his behavior might not stand up under scrutiny, D'Aranda wrote a defense of sorts to Captain William Bowles, of the HMS Aquilon, on station in Buenos Aires. ... After submitting his report, D'Aranda was told that the Nancy was in such bad condition that she had to be condemned and sold, ... Thus D'Aranda lost his command." [3844]

August 23rd, at Rio de Janeiro, also in poor condition, the prize *Nanina* anchors with eleven American prisoners of war on board. Rear-Admiral Sir Manley Dixon, on hearing the full account, immediately orders the release of the prisoners. [3845]

Early **October**, from Swan Island, Barnard and the castaways return to New Island which they believe is more likely to see the eventual arrival of a ship. However, after a few days, Jacob Green, Samuel Ansell, Joseph Albrook and James Louder take the boat; leaving Charles Barnard alone on the island. [3846]

3841 There was an allegation that Barnard had been tardy in returning to rescue the remaining passengers from Eagle Island. Barnard blamed poor weather conditions.

3842 Dolin 2024

3843 *Ibid*. Improperly secured, the towrope soon parted and *Young Nanina* drifted away.

3844 *Ibid.*

3845 See Miller 1995; Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.60; Pascoe 2022 vol.1 pp.355-393 and Dolin 2024

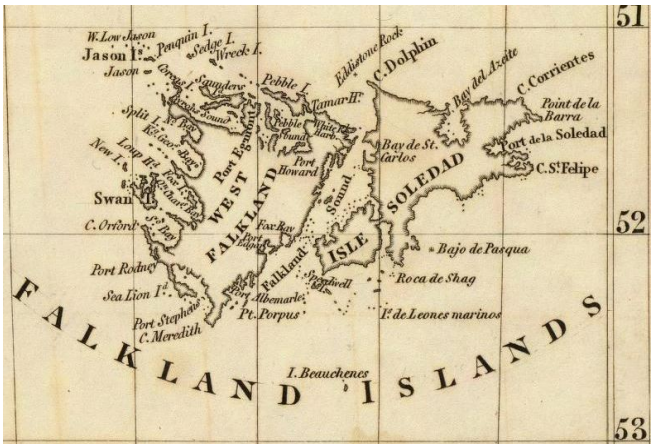
3846 Seemingly, the four men had come to believe that the *Isabella* survivors were still at Eagle Island. Why they abandoned Barnard has never been explained. A fractious group at best. Barnard and Ansell were both aggressive, violent and dangerous men; disputes and fights were frequent and before the end of the year, Ansell would also find himself marooned on an Island for a time.

December 11th, in Europe, under the terms of the *Treaty of Valençay*, Napoleon agrees to recognise the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne of Spain. All French forces are to withdraw from Spanish territory. [3847]

December 17th, in the Falklands, Green, Ansell, Albrook and Louder return to New Island seeking a reconciliation with Charles Barnard; having made their way to Eagle Island and confirmed that everyone else had gone.

1814 – January 20th, on the eastern bank of the Rio de la Plata, with troops from Buenos Aires already withdrawn, General José Artigas abandons the siege of Montevideo.

In London, Aaron Arrowsmith produces an atlas which includes a map of South America – *Outlines Of The Physical And Political Divisions Of South America: Delineated By A. Arrowsmith Partly From Scarce And Original Documents, Published Before The Year 1806 But Principally From Manuscript Maps & Surveys Made Between The Years 1771 And 1806, Corrected From Accurate Astronomical Observations To 1810* (detail right).



January 31st, in Buenos Aires, following decisions made by the Asamblea del Año XIII, Gervasio Antonio de Posadas is appointed Supreme Director of the *United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*. The Second Triumvirate is dissolved. Posadas declares Artigas an outlaw and traitor, with a reward of six thousand pesos – dead or alive. Troops from Buenos Aires return to blockade Montevideo under General Carlos Alvear. Admiral William Brown prevents relief arriving from the sea.

In **March**, in Spain, following the withdrawal of French forces from the Iberian Peninsula, Ferdinand VII re-enters his country and takes up the throne.

"When therefore the Government of Buenos Aires claimed during these early years to be acting on behalf of the former Viceroyalty of La Plata, the claim was open to question. It certainly professed to rule in nominal allegiance to Ferdinand VII of Spain until the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on the 9th July, 1816." [3848]

May 4th, Ferdinand VII reimposes absolute monarchy; dismissing the 1812 *Constitution*.

"In the first moments of his restoration to Madrid, he declared us to be in a state of mutiny, but since then he has refused to hear our complaints, to admit our requests;..." [3849]

"The first constitutional era ended in 1814 when King Fernando VII returned. The king's return provided an opportunity to restore the unity of the Spanish World. Virtually every act that had occurred since 1808 – the struggle against the French, the political revolution enacted by the Cortes and the autonomy movements in America – was taken in his name. Initially it appeared that he might accept moderate reforms, but ultimately the king opted to abolish the Cortes and the Constitution of Cádiz. His autocratic government relied on force to restore royal order in the New World. There followed a five year period in which, unfettered by the

3847 This treaty was promptly repudiated by Spain, once Ferdinand was safely back in Madrid.

3848 *Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in *LCO 2/490*

3849 *Manifesto directed to all nations of the Earth, by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, respecting the treatment and cruelties they have experienced from the Spaniards, and which have given rise to the Declaration of their Independence* Buenos Ayres, October 25, 1816

Constitution, the royal authorities in the New World crushed most insurgent movements. Only the isolated Río de la Plata remained beyond the reach of a weakened Spanish Monarchy." [3850]

May 16th, From Montevideo, Spanish ships move into the Rio de la Plata to challenge those from Buenos Aires.

"In 1814, the famous Admiral Brown blockaded Montevideo by sea and Alvear attacked by land with 4000 troops which had crossed to Colonia. The Spaniards sailed out on May 16th to meet the Argentines, but by strategy Brown got between them and land and completely destroyed their fleet." [3851]

June 22nd, Montevideo falls.

June 23rd, in the Banda Oriental, Governor Gaspar de Vigodet and his Spanish troops finally abandon Montevideo; *"... the last Spanish force still occupying the Plata region."* [3852]

At the Falkland Islands, *Diana* and *Recovery* hunt for seals. [3853]

July 5th, Britain and Spain agree a further *Treaty of Friendship and Alliance*. [3854]

> *"Art. 3.— It having been agreed by the treaty signed at London on the 14th day of January, 1809, to proceed to the negociation of a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain, as soon as it should be practicable so to do, and the two high contracting parties desiring mutually to protect and extend the commerce between their respective subjects, promise to proceed without delay to the formation of a definitive arrangement of commerce. ...Art. 5.— The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within forty days, or sooner if possible."* [3855]

"... the Treaty of 1809 was replaced by the Treaty of 1814 – and what does that Treaty contain? First the expression of an earnest wish on the part of His Majesty, that Spanish America may be re-united to the Spanish Monarchy." [3856]

"When the treaty of July 5, 1814, was published, it was seen, however, that Spain agreed merely to make a treaty of commerce as soon as possible, although it did promise most favoured nation treatment to England if it ever opened the colonies to any foreign nation." [3857]

July 20th, in the Falkland Islands, Louder, Albrook and Green set out for Eagle Island to retrieve anything useful from the wreck of *Isabella*. [3858]

July 21st, sealer *Admiral Colpoys* sails for South Georgia.

In Entre Rios, General Artigas rejects the authority of Buenos Aires and declares the *Lega Federal*; a territory comprising parts of the old Viceroyalty. [3859]

3850 Rodriguez 2009
3851 Whittemore 1920
3852 *Naval Warfare in the Rio de la Plata region, 1800 – 1861* Clifton B. Kroeber 1956 in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts & Letters vol.45* James A. Larsen (ed) 1956
3853 *The Maritime Activities of the North West Company 1813 to 1821* Marion O'Neil 1930 in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* vol.21. No.4 1930. A regular stop-over for this Company between 1813 and 1821.
3854 Canning viewed the 1809 Treaty as restricted to an *"Alliance during the war."*. See https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1815/mar/16/treaty-of-friendship-and-alliance-with
3855 *HC Deb 16 March 1815 vol.30 cc226-8.* It was March 16, 1815, before this treaty was laid before Parliament.
3856 *George Canning to the Chevalier de Los Rios, Minister of His Most Catholic Majesty March 25, 1825. cf.* 1825
3857 Williams 1935
3858 A round trip that should have taken, at worst, a few weeks, took three months.
3859 Rock 1987. Artigas also rejected the old Spanish boundaries. *cf.* 1815 & 1828.

"The withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Montevideo marked the end of the first phase in the battle for Uruguayan independence. Enemy No. 1 was gone. Now began the second campaign, that against Buenos Aires." [3860]

August 24th, in North America, the British conduct an amphibious attack on Washington DC. British troops led by Major-General Robert Ross burn the White House down, before doing the same to the Capitol, the Library of Congress and other government buildings. [3861]

August 28th, additional articles are agreed between Spain and Britain.

> *"Art. 1.—It is agreed that, pending the negotiation of a new Treaty of Commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain upon the same conditions as those which existed* ***previously to the year 1796****. All the Treaties of Commerce which at that period subsisted between the two nations being hereby ratified and confirmed."* [3862]

"But this article (Art. 1) could have related only to the treaties of commerce between the European dominions of the parties; for in the first place, no commerce existed agreeably to treaty, between either party or its colonies and the colonies of the other, before 1796; and moreover, another article in the same Treaty of Madrid provides that, "in the event of the commerce of the Spanish American colonies being opened to foreign nations, His Catholic Majesty promises that Great Britain shall be permitted to trade with those possessions, as the most favored nations. Thus it would seem that the convention of October, 1790, between Great Britain and Spain, expired in October, 1795, and has not since been renewed; and if that be the case, Great Britain and Spain should each stand with regard to the Falkland Islands, as if it never had been concluded." [3863]

"But is the Nootka Sound convention still in force? ... the undersigned is satisfied to leave the question to rest upon his former argument, as the British plenipotentiary has contented himself with merely asserting the fact, that the commercial portion of the Nootka Sound Convention was revived by the treaty of 1814, without even specifying what he considers to be that portion of that convention. If the under-signed had desired to strengthen his former position, he might have repeated with great effect the argument contained in the note of Lord Aberdeen to the Duke of Sotomayor, dated 30th June, 1845, in which his lordship clearly established that all the treaties of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and Spain previous to 1796, were confined to the trade with Spain alone, and did not embrace her colonies and remote possessions." [3864]

"This treaty (Nootka) was abrogated in October 1795, when Spain declared war against Britain. However, it was revived by Article 1 of the Additional Articles of the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Great Britain and Spain from July 5, 1814, which was signed in Madrid the August 18, 1814." [3865]

"The British Foreign Office was advised by the King's Advocate on 8 June 1826 that a convention of 1790 relating to fishery rights in the South Seas 'will not, I conceive, be applicable to the present state of South America.'..." [3866]

3860 Bobb 1947

3861 Negotiations for peace had already started in Europe, culminating in a treaty at the end of the year. News, however, took a long time to travel.

3862 My emphasis. A return to the 1790 Nootka Sound agreement? Much debated.

3863 Greenhow 1842. The *"convention of October, 1790"* is a reference to the Nootka Sound accord of that year.

3864 *Last Letter of Mr. Buchanan to Mr. Pakenham on The American Title to Oregon* James Buchanan 1845 p.5. There was much debate in the mid-1840's over the effect of the Nootka Sound Convention and the rights, if any, obtained by the USA in its 1819 treaty with Spain. In 1845, Britain argued that the Nootka Sound Convention had been reinstated in 1814. The UK has not always been consistent in its arguments.

3865 Foreign Office *memo* written by John W. Field dated February 19, 1928. Quoted in Kohen & Rodriguez 2016.

3866 *The Law of State Succession* D. P. O'Connell 1956 p.34 citing *FO 83/2366, Appendix no.3*

"The British hoped that the Seville junta would generously reward them by granting them direct trade through open ports or by sanctioning their existing contraband trade. To British chagrin, the Seville junta was not so inclined and actually tried to prevent the colonists from learning that England was giving assistance to Spain. In spite of all Canning did, the Spanish junta stood on its argument that the colonies had been elevated to a status of legal equality with Spain and nothing further need be done. ... Spain.... Thought they had solved all the colonial troubles by granting them ***equal rights with Spain****."* [3867]

At Puerto Soledad, HMS *Orontes* inspects the remains of the *presidio*.

> *"... this place appears to have been settled by the Spaniards. By a paper I found in the Governor's house it appears they left it in April 1811 (sic). The houses were in good condition, and consisted of about twenty built of wood, and a small Church. In the vicinity of the harbour, on the first day of our arrival, I saw about fifty head of fine Oxen, and as many horses, likewise as many Pigs, and the tame Geese were so numerous that one man shot in one day as many as were sufficient for the Brig for the week. We likewise found a Bakehouse with every utensil in good order.."* [3868]

October 5th, Louder, Albrook and Green return to New Island with boards, canvas, rope and nails from *Isabella*.

Sealers *Norfolk* and *Recovery* sail for South Georgia.

In mid-**November**, Barnard, Louder and Albrook sail their small boat over to Swan Island to kill hogs.

November 25th, on Swan Island, two of the three castaways climb a hill.

"... Charles (Barnard) and Albrook heard Louder scream. Rushing down the hill to see what was wrong, they found Louder rolling on the ground and crying - not from pain, but from joy. ..."Two ships, two ships!" Albrook exclaimed, and when Charles looked towards New Island, he saw them too" [3869]

Capt. Barnard and his four marooned companions are rescued by British whalers, *Asp* (John Kenny) and *Indispensable* (William Buckle); 534 days after their abandonment in the southern Falkland Islands. [3870]

In England, Barnard's ship *Nanina* is declared a lawful prize. [3871]

December 12th, during heated talks to find some resolution to the inconclusive *War of 1812*, English negotiator Henry Goulbourn refers to driving the Spanish off the Falklands in 1771. John Quincy Adams responds that he believes such was not the case; *"... as I remembered it, the Spaniards in that case had driven the British off, and Great Britain had insisted upon being restored to the possession, though she immediately afterwards abandoned it, and the claim to the islands themselves."* Goulbourn disagrees; *"Well, we fitted out a fleet and troops, and Spain knew that we would have taken them, and so she chose to give them up."* [3872]

3867 Craine 1961 p.46 & 48. See January 22, 1809, above.

3868 *Remark Book, HMS Rinaldo 1st July to 30th November 1824 Misc. Papers vol.50 (AD.2).* Written by Lieut. John Arthur Moore commanding *Rinaldo* a decade after his first visit to Puerto Soledad; Moore is known to have served as Masters-Mate on HMS *Orontes* at the West Indies in the second half of 1814. *cf.* March, 1813 & 1824

3869 Dolin 2024

3870 Headland 1989. Charles Barnard finally returned to New York, via the Pacific Ocean, on October 24, 1816. He returned to the Falklands in *Charity*, in 1821. See Dolin 2024.

3871 *Nanina*, now in England and declared a legal prize in November, 1814, was subject to an appeal by *Murray & Sons* to the Advocate-General in June, 1815. The Advocate-General's decision favoured the Americans. With the war ended, the US State Department also protested the actions of Capt. D'Aranda. In February, 1818 the Prize Appeals Court ruled in favour of *Murray & Sons*. *Nanina* was returned, together with compensation for the loss of its cargo.

3872 *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising portions of his diary from 1795 to 1848* C. F. Adams 1874 vol.3 p.108. *cf.* 1770, 1771 & 1774

December 24th, with little achieved by either side and pre-war boundaries restored, the *Treaty of Ghent* ends the 1812 war between Britain and the USA.

"A meeting in Belgium of American delegates and British commissioners ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814. Great Britain agreed to relinquish claims to the Northwest Territory, and both countries pledged to work toward ending the slave trade. America, in turn, gained influence as a foreign power. News of the treaty spread slowly, and word of peace did not reach the American and British armies for some time. American forces, led by Andrew Jackson, won the Battle of New Orleans on January 8, 1815, ending the hostilities after the official peace." [3873]

1815 – at the Falklands, two French sealers out of Le Havre, the *Elephant de Mer* and the *Zenaide*, come to anchor. At South Georgia, British sealer *Norfolk* hunts.

January 9th, in Buenos Aires, General Carlos Maria de Alvear is appointed Supreme Director of the United provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Manuel Jose Garcia is entrusted with letters authorising him to seek British protection; he also carries letters stating that Buenos Aires wishes to belong to Britain and is willing to accept her laws. He is to request troops to restore order. [3874]

"The population of Buenos Aires, by the city census of 1815, was 51,779." [3875]

January 10th, at Guayabos, General Artigas routs a Buenos Airean army.

January 15th, Artigas captures the city of Santa Fe; *"The successful conclusion of the Santa Fe campaign saw Artigas at the height of his power. He was acknowledged as the protector over 350,000 square miles of Plata territory, stretching from Cordoba to the sea."* [3876]

In **April**, Alvear leaves Buenos Aires at the head of an army, which almost immediately mutinies.

April 15th, with an uprising in Buenos Aires, Carlos Maria de Alvear resigns as Supreme Director of the Rio de la Plata; fleeing to Rio de Janeiro. A General Congress is called. [3877]

April 18th, Juan Jose Viamonte Gonzalez is appointed Supreme Director of the United Provinces. [3878]

April 20th, Jose Rondeau Pereyra is appointed Supreme Director of the United Provinces. [3879]

3873 National Archives. For the treaty terms see - https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-ghent

3874 At Rio de Janeiro, Britain's Ambassador, Lord Strangford, informed Garcia that Britain had agreed to act in harmony with Spain on the issue of its colonies.

3875 *Foreign Finance in Argentina for the First Half-Century of Independence* D. C. M. Platt 1983 in *Journal of Latin American Studies* vol.15 no. 1 May, 1983

3876 Bobb 1947

3877 Congress of Tucumán. See 1816.

3878 Appears to have immediately left for Sante Fe Province.

3879 Not actually present in Buenos Aires, and it was quickly realised that he was not in any hurry to return.

April 21st, José Ignacio Álvarez Thomas is appointed Supreme Director of the United Provinces. [3880]

May 9th, in Spain, Ferdinand VII orders an expedition to recapture Buenos Aires from the rebels.

"By the aid of his ministers, he then applied himself to the forming of large armaments, with a view to employ them against us... He has made special regulations for cruizing against vessels belonging to America, containing barbarous clauses, and ordering that the crews shall be hung... What had America to expect from a King who ascends the throne, animated by sentiments so cruel and inhuman?.." [3881]

"A royal order of May 9, 1815, announced that the army would be gathered in Cádiz and nearby cities and that it would consist of 20,000 men – making it the largest single expedition Spain ever sent to America." [3882]

June 18th, in Europe, Napoleon Bonaparte is finally defeated at the Battle of Waterloo.

"With the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815 Britain could turn its attention away from the continent again and look to the rest of the world. Within four years Stamford Raffles had founded Singapore, within ten years the British had invaded Burma, within twenty years there were colonies in Western Australia and the Falkland Islands, within thirty more colonies in Aden, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Natal." [3883]

June 22nd, in Buenos Aires, an American mariner, David Jewett, rendered unemployed by the Anglo-US peace treaty, applies for a privateer's *Letter of Marque* from the government. [3884] Immediately issued, together with instructions regarding use against Spanish vessels. [3885]

> *"Every Spanish vessel on course to the River Plate, whether man-o-war, merchantman or privateer, will be considered an enemy of this government and of this State and may therefore be pursued, captured and, if necessary, burned, ...*
>
> *In case of naval engagement, the flag of the United Provinces will be flown, ..."* [3886]

3880 Appointed in the absence of Jose Rondeau Pereyra. This quick changeover of leaders would repeat itself in 1820.

3881 *Manifesto directed to all nations of the Earth, by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of South America, respecting the treatment and cruelties they have experienced from the Spaniards, and which have given rise to the Declaration of their Independence,* Buenos Ayres, October 25, 1816

3882 *The Buenos Aires Expedition and Spain's Secret Plan to Conquer Portugal, 1814-1820* Timothy E. Anna 1978 in *The Americas* vol.34, No.3 (Jan., 1978), pp.356-380. Never growing to more than 14,000 troops, one setback after another delayed departure and the army, rapidly deteriorating, was still in Spain four years later. *cf.* 1818

3883 *Empire* Jeremy Paxman 2012 p.55

3884 Jewett/Jewitt (born 1772 in New London, Connecticut) had been a member of the US Navy (confirmed as Master Commandant in 1800) and Privateer in the 1812-1814 Anglo-US war. *Letters of Marque* were issued to Privateers (both ships and commanders) to separate them from pirates; affording the Privateer some immunity. Jewitt is the spelling used by Fitzroy, Weddell, Greenhow and others, which appears to accord with the signature on a letter to the Supreme Director of Buenos Aires in 1821. It was also the spelling used by his father. However, Jewett is the form most commonly occurring today and I use it for ease of references and searches. *cf.* 1817, 1820 & 1821

3885 The *Letter of Marque* was seemingly back-dated to the day before the request. Quite why, is not apparent. This has led some commentators to date the request to the 21st. See *David Jewett's visit to the Falklands, 1820-21: no valid "possession-taking"* Graham Pascoe 2020 - https://falklandshistory.com/wp-content/uploads/David-Jewett's-visit-to-the-Falklands-1820-21-no-valid-"possession-taking".pdf

3886 Quoted in *David Jewett: Una Biografia para la historia de las Malvinas* J. A. da Fonseca Figueira 1985. Also *Malvinas, Soberania, Historia y Justicia – 10 de junio de 1829* Sergio E. Caviglia 2012 p.165.

"The story of the deep-water privateers of Buenos Aires and Montevideo… is a sequel to the North American sea war against Britain in 1812-1815. Many of the same Americans participated, sailing now under the flags of nations whose language most of them did not speak and whose shores some of them never saw. These corsairs were usually financed by foreign merchants…" [3887]

"Privateers licensed by Buenos Aires began their activities with a single vessel that brought two prizes into the home port in 1815. The next year Thomas Taylor appeared in Baltimore, where he purchased two ships and experienced little trouble disposing of a number of privateering commissions. New Orleans and Baltimore became centers for privateering activity, the former for ships operating under the colors of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico, and the latter serving those from Buenos Aires." [3888]

"A privateer was a vessel owned, equipped and armed by one or more <u>private</u> individuals, and duly commissioned by a belligerent power to go on cruises and make war upon the enemy, usually by preying on his commerce." [3889]

"… the United Provinces gave him a privateering commission licensing him to attack Spanish ships, with the proviso that Spanish property found under the flags of Britain or the United States was to be respected." [3890]

July 3rd, the US government grants permission for ships from insurgent governments to use US ports.

"Spain also claimed that ships sailing under the flags of the rebellious colonies were pirates, and should be treated as such. In Spanish eyes American neutrality was made even more favorable to the South Americans by an order of the Treasury Department dated July 3, 1815. This order specifically stated that ships flying the flags of any of the insurgent governments were to be admitted to the ports of the United States. The indefatigable Onis (Spain's representative in Washington) vigorously protested this ruling. Onis was quite correct in pointing out that the law made it much easier for the Spanish-Americans to obtain war supplies, but the American feeling was that it was only strict and impartial neutrality which, in effect, granted both parties access to American ports on equal terms." [3891]

July 17th, from Buenos Aires, Thomas L. Halsey, US Vice-Consul, reports to the Secretary of State in Washington DC, that Britain maintains a frigate in the Rio de la Plata. Anchored some ten miles from the city.

"He informed Richard Rush, Acting Secretary of State, that the English had only one frigate "anchored about ten miles from this town, which the Commanders declare to be out of the territory & jurisdiction of this Government." He added:"The British Commander and one of the Lieutenants always live on shore; a frigate of the United States bringing a good pilot or taking one at Montevideo and proceeding up the river immediately between Banco Ortis and Banco Chico would be able to attack the British frigate before any information could be given to the commander or proper preparations be made for defence…" Halsey never heard anything from Washington regarding this adventure on his part into naval affairs." [3892]

3887 *Naval Warfare in the Rio de la Plata region, 1800 – 1861* Clifton B. Kroeber 1956. As South America had no ship building or fitting facilities, many of the privateer vessels were purchased and fitted out in the USA, creating some difficulty for the US Government which had declared its neutrality in Spain's wars with it colonies. The US Governments position was not helped by there being a surfeit of willing men available after the War of 1812; and the local courts having some sympathy with the South American rebels.

3888 Craine 1961 p.96

3889 Peña & Peña 2018 fn.218. My emphasis.

3890 Pascoe 2020 (2)

3891 Craine 1961

3892 *Ibid*. p.68 citing *Halsey to Monroe July 17, 1815.* Clearly, news of the Anglo-US peace treaty had still not reached all parts.

September 1st, in Washington DC, President Madison confirms that the USA considers itself '*neutral*' in the wars between Spain and her American colonies.

At South Georgia, British ships *Admiral Colpoys* and *Diana* hunt for seals. [3893]

At Puerto Soledad, American sealer *Volunteer* (Fanning) comes to anchor. [3894]

December 10th, Edmund Fanning, leaves a gang of 9 men at the old Spanish garrison with orders to hunt seals in the area until his return. Fanning sails for Cape Horn.

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Maps & Charts

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